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THE PUBLICATIONS OF
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THE
PUBLICATIONS OF
THE CHAMPLAIN
SOCIETY

JOURNALS OF
SAMUEL HEARNE AND PHILIP TURNOR
BETWEEN THE YEARS 1774 AND 1792



TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY

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JOURNALS OF
SAMUEL HEARNE
AND
PHILIP TURNOR

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
J. B. TYRRELL, M.A., LL.D.

TORONTO
THE CHAMPLAIN SOCIETY
1934

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Publication of this volume has been made possible by the kindness of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have placed at the disposal of the editor the Company's unique records at Hudson's Bay House, London, and have also granted permission to publish the numerous extracts.

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PREFACE

WHEN engaged in editing *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America*, which was published by the Champlain Society in 1916, several references were found to his predecessor and tutor, Philip Turnor, but beyond the bare facts that he had been on the Saskatchewan river in 1779, that he had wintered at Cumberland House about 1790 and had there taught surveying to David Thompson, that he had made a trip from there to lake Athabaska, and that he had made some surveys on the Albany and Moose rivers and their tributaries, and had crossed over from one of them, the Missinaibi river, to lake Superior, very little could be learned of him.

In the autumn of 1931, however, I wrote to my friend, Mr. R. H. G. Leveson Gower, the Archivist of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, asking him if that Company had Turnor's journals in its possession. On receiving an answer from him in the affirmative, I wrote to the Secretary of the Company asking permission to peruse the journals, and, if they should appear to be sufficiently interesting, to be allowed to publish them in full, or extracts from them.

The Governor and Committee of the Company very kindly acceded to my request, and sent me the journals here reproduced in full, as well as four other shorter ones written between 1782 and 1787 while Turnor was trading, not surveying, on the Moose river and its

tributaries. Abstracts of these are given in the following Introduction. At the same time they had photostatic reproductions made for me at the British Museum of the maps and plans drawn by Turnor. Most of these are here reproduced.

The Governor and Committee also supplied me with photostatic copies of the journals of Samuel Hearne in 1774 and 1775, when he went inland from York Factory to found Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan river; and, in addition, the journals of Peter Fidler and Malchom Ross, from 1790 to 1792, when they accompanied Philip Turnor on his expedition to lake Athabaska. Hearne's journals are here printed in full, while the parts of those of Fidler and Ross which seemed to add anything material to that of Turnor, are printed as foot notes.

In addition to the above they also supplied me with photostatic copies of a number of other journals or parts of journals kept by employees of the Company who had travelled into the Saskatchewan country prior to the time when it was first visited by Turnor in 1778, as follows:

Anthony Henday, 1754-5: two copies of parts of his journal, one copy edited, probably by Andrew Graham.

Joseph Smith, 1764: (in part).

William Pink, 1766-1770: four journals.

Mathew Cocking, Journal, 1772-3: (in part).

Mathew Cocking, Log Account of a Journey Inland, 1772-3: (in part).

Mathew Cocking, Journal, 1774-5.

Mathew Cocking, Journal, October 4, 1774—July 28, 1776.

Cumberland House Journals, July 4, 1776—July 4, 1777.

Cumberland House Journals, July 5, 1777—October 15, 1778.

In addition, Mr. J. Chadwick Brooks, the Secretary of the Company, has supplied me with biographical notes about its former employees, and has kindly answered my questions on many points which it would here be tiresome to enumerate in detail.

Finally, after the manuscript had been set in type, but before it was put in book form, it was submitted to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and, after examination, was approved.

Most of the places referred to have come under my own observation at some time during the past forty years, and it has been a pleasure to me to recall my visits to these places, and to add the information that I obtained about them to what had been written of them by the old fur-traders more than a hundred years before.

No attempt is here made to write a history of the earliest approach of European civilization to the Saskatchewan and Athabaska districts, or of the fur-trade in these districts; but the journals here published are primary and unimpeachable authorities for such a history, and it is a pleasure to be able to present them to students of the progress of civilization across the continent.

The parts of the continent of America with which this volume is chiefly concerned embrace the great plains of western Canada, which were the home of vast herds of buffalo that pastured and waxed fat on its rich grasses, and the partly wooded and forested areas

that extend northward from those grassy plains, and which supported large numbers of elk, moose and smaller deer, along with what were thought to be unlimited numbers of beaver and other fur-bearing animals; while the lakes in the wooded areas were teeming with excellent fish.

With such a food supply available, the country had a large Indian population who subsisted entirely on the flesh of the animals, birds and fishes that they killed, and who clothed themselves in the skins of fur-bearing animals. During much of the year, these Indians were not obliged to spend all their time in hunting for food and clothing, and consequently they had plenty of leisure in which to kill or trap more fur-bearing animals, if sufficient inducement were offered them to pay for their extra exertion. The Europeans wanted furs, and in order to get them, were determined to gain access to this favoured country, where the climate was pleasant and invigorating, furs were plentiful, and food and friendship could be easily obtained.

This country was very largely drained by the Saskatchewan river and its tributaries, which formed the great natural highway into and through it for the birch-bark canoes of the Indians, and of the white men who wanted to trade with them. It flows from the Rocky Mountains eastward across the plains into lake Winnipeg, and thence by Nelson river into Hudson Bay. Another tributary of lake Winnipeg is the Winnipeg river which rises not far from lake Superior, and flowing westward, joins the waters of the Saskatchewan in lake Winnipeg. Thus these streams occupied a unique position in favour of the westward progress of the white races, for they constituted a great continuous waterway, or line of

water transportation, half way across the continent either from Hudson Bay, or from the confines of lake Superior, into the Rocky Mountains; and whichever branch of this route might be followed, whether up Nelson river from Hudson Bay or down Winnipeg river from lake Superior, the traveller was all the time among Algonkian or Cree Indians who spoke the same language, dialectically different in different places it is true, but mutually intelligible. In fact, the traveller from Montreal up the Ottawa river to the Great Lakes, and thence by the above route to the Nelson and Saskatchewan rivers, was all the time among Algonkian Indians, who spoke languages akin to that of the Crees, and most of the members of any of the tribes encountered knew enough of the related languages of the others to communicate freely and easily with them. On this account, the white fur-traders followed these water routes with a reasonable amount of confidence, knowing that when they had learned to converse with the Indians first met in the east, they would be able to make themselves understood by, and to establish friendly relations with, the tribes in the more remote western countries.

During the preparation of this volume, I have received unstinted assistance from Mr. W. S. Wallace, Librarian of the University of Toronto, whose extensive knowledge of the life histories of the Canadian fur-traders has been placed freely at my disposal. His forthcoming book on the lives of these fur-traders will be awaited with keen interest by all students of Canadian history.

I have also received generous assistance from Messrs. F.-J. Audet of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa; E.-Z. Massicotte, Archivist, Montreal; S. B. Clement, Chief

Engineer, and A. A. Cole, Mining Engineer, of the Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, of North Bay and New Liskeard respectively; George W. Yates, Assistant Deputy Minister, Department of Railways and Canals, Ottawa; T. Kydd, Editor, *The Gazette*, Montreal; W. H. Fyfe, Principal of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, and formerly Head-Master of Christ's Hospital, and D. Allan, Clerk of Christ's Hospital; The Reverend W. A. Macdonell, and Philip Walker, of Prince Albert; and C. P. Schmidt, the Indian Agent at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan.

J. B. T.

March, 1934

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

§I. *Early Inland Journeys*

THE Hudson's Bay Company sent its first fur-trading expedition to Hudson Bay in 1668 in the *Nonsuch*, and in the following year King Charles II granted it a comprehensive charter under the title *The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay*.

Its right to trade in the bay was at once disputed by the French Canadian merchants from Quebec, and for thirty years the bay itself was the seat of an almost continuous naval war, in which the French were often victorious; though after their victories they rarely left enough men, equipment, or supplies at the trading-posts on its shores to secure their possession. Finally, by the Treaty of Utrecht signed in 1713, France acknowledged the British ownership of Hudson Bay and all the country surrounding it.

About 1745 some French traders from Montreal got as far west and north as the Saskatchewan river, and intercepted some of the Crees and Assiniboines who were on their way to trade with the Hudson's Bay Company at York Factory, and in this way interfered with the trade of the Company at that post.

Realizing this fact, the Company sent Anthony Henday inland from York in 1754 to visit the Blackfeet who lived between the headwaters of the North and South Saskatchewan rivers in what is now the province

of Alberta, and to endeavour to induce some of them to trap furs and to bring them to York to trade for the knives and utensils of the white men; but his expedition was without success, as the Blackfeet did not use or know how to handle canoes. On the way west, Henday passed a French trading post at Pasquia, now The Pas, in Manitoba, though here he found that "the Master had gone down to Montreal". In one manuscript copy of his journal, which had evidently not been revised, Henday gives the following account of his reception at this place:

We came to the french factory on my arrival, two french men came out, when followed a great deal of Bowing and Scraping between us, and then we Entered their fort, (or more properly a Hogstye) for in Short it is no Better, they have neither victuals nor drink, Except a Little Ruhigan, they are very Lazey, not one stick of wood anigh their house; they asked me where the Letter was, I told them I had no Letter, nor did not see any Reason for one, but that the Country belonged to us as much as them; he made answer it did not, and that he would detain me there, and send me home to france, I told him I knew france as well as he did, and was not afraid to go their more than himself, which Made Monsieure a Little cooler.

On his return journey down the Saskatchewan river to York in 1755 he passed two French trading-posts, both on the south side of the river. One was the "upper French fort" near La Corne in Saskatchewan, and of it he says in his manuscript journal:

Ye 23rd [May] we came to a french house, where was 5 french men, the Gov^r. came with his hatt in his hand, and followed a great deal of Bowing and Scraping, but neither he understood me nor I him, he treated me with 2 Glasses Brandy and half a Bisket, this Evening he gave the Ind^s. 2 Gallons Brandy, for to get them for to trade, but he got but very Little trade. Ye 24th Saturday fine weather wind S E^t. Lay by, this day Breakfasted, Dined and Sup'd with the french, he asked me many Questions, but I told him I know nothing but come to see the Indⁿ. country.

The other was at The Pas, which he had passed on his way west the year before. Of it he says in the same manuscript:

We came to another French fort called Paskeway Yey, here was 3 french men, 2 of them I see in the fall.

In another manuscript journal the statement under the same date is as follows:

Came to the French house I passed in the fall, there were a Master and 9 men.

These two small French settlements or houses, however, do not appear to have had any serious influence on the trade in furs at York, and none at all on the trade at Churchill.

After the capture of Quebec by the British in 1759, the French traders who had been in charge of the trading expeditions to northwestern Canada ceased operations and retired from the fur trade; but some of their subordinates and former employees undoubtedly remained in the west and endeavoured to carry on a trade in furs on their own account.

However, in 1766, when William Pink,¹ an employee of the Hudson's Bay Company, went up the Saskatchewan river to the country of the Assiniboine Indians, he did not meet any French traders. Having probably been a sailor, his journal is very little more than a daily record of the weather; but he speaks of meeting or hearing of four Englishmen, all doubtless from York Factory, living among the Indians. Their names were Isaac Batt,² Edward Lutit, James Allen, and James Dearing.

¹William Pink entered the Company's service in the capacity of labourer in 1765, and was employed at York Factory or in the country tributary to it. He made four journeys inland with the object of persuading the trading Indians in the interior to bring their furs down to York Factory. His last journey was from June 29, 1769, to June 15, 1770, on which date he returned to York, and in the autumn of the latter year he sailed for England.

²Isaac Batt was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company from 1754 to 1775 in the various capacities of labourer, canoeman and steersman. In July, 1758, he left York Factory with George Potts on a journey inland for the purpose of inducing the Indians to bring their trade down to the Factory. He returned to York in June, 1759, but in a few days he again set out for the interior, returning in June, 1760. That autumn he returned to England, and in April, 1761, the Governor and Committee granted him a gratuity in consideration of "having Travelled two Years inland among the Natives in Hudson's Bay for the Advancement of their [the Company's] Trade", and "for his extraordinary pains and

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In 1767 Pink built canoes on the north bank of the Saskatchewan river, probably somewhere not far from Prince Albert, and on May 14 started down stream for York Factory. Two days later, on May 16, he says:

This day we pitched [camp] on the N.W. side of this river over against which I saw the Ruins of an Old French House. the Indians say that about Ten years ago they had heard of it.

He continued down stream for fifteen days, accompanied by a great number of Indians in their canoes, and on May 31, when near The Pas, he writes:

With 240 Canoes of Indians in Company With me, Likewise three other English I find that about half a Mile below this place there is the Ruins of an Old French house Where the French has Been Gone from about 7 Years.

I have heard Sevrill times this year of the people of Canadae being coming hear a Gaine to Repair it for Staying at a Gaine as the French Did.

But now the Indians Say it of a Sortanty the Say there is five Large Canoes of them will be there this Summer or Rather in the fall.

Four days later he left the Saskatchewan, and doubtless took the Middle or Minago river track, and on June 25 arrived at York Factory with a "large body of Indians in Company with me." He stayed at the Factory eight days, and then started back into the interior, this time to the Moose Hills and Beaver river in the present province of Alberta. He travelled up Hayes and Fox rivers to Deer and Cross lakes, and up Minago river to the Saskatchewan. On July 24 he passed the ruins of two old French houses at The Pas, and he hears that "the people

Labour therein, as well as for a recompence for the dangers and difficulty Attending the same". In the spring of 1762 he was re-engaged by the Company, and proceeded again to York Factory. From 1763 until 1774, with the exception of 1772, he went regularly inland in each successive trading season. In June, 1775, he left the Hudson's Bay Company and engaged with Charles Paterson, one of the Canadian traders, but on May 24, 1777, he re-engaged with the Company. Later he lived for a year or two in a house on the south bank of the Saskatchewan river between Nipowin and La Corne, the house being generally known as "Isaac's House". In the summer of 1791 he was killed by the Blackfeet, when, in company with John Thompson, he was hunting buffalo. Thompson was allowed to go unhurt.

of Canada are Neare hand . . . four Larg Canewes of them . . . withe Four people in Each Canew", but he did not himself see any. He continued up the river until August 6, when he "piched [camp] on the N Side of this River Opposite to the Ruiens of the uper French house." Here the party abandoned their canoes, left the river, and started on foot and with horses northwestward and westward towards the Moose Hills and Beaver river. Having spent the winter hunting in that country, he and the Indians with him built canoes on the bank of the Saskatchewan south of the Moose Hills, near where Buckingham House and Fort George were afterwards built, and on May 8 started down the river. On May 22, 1768, they "piched [camp] opisite the ruines of the upper French house" where they had abandoned their canoes in the previous autumn. This was the Fort des Prairies of the French traders, and it was evidently deserted both then and when visited in the previous autumn.

On the opposite side of the river from Peonan Point and the "upper French house" is a nice low wooded point at which the river can be reached easily by any one coming from the north and which would therefore furnish an excellent starting-point for any one going into the north country. In fact Fort Carlton, a trading-post of the Hudson's Bay Company, and probably also Fort St. Louis of the North West Company, were afterwards built on the north side of the river, on this alluvial flat, doubtless to intercept the northern Indians coming with furs, before they would reach the river.

On May 25, three days after passing the upper French house, Pink records in his journal:

This Day as we Ware paddleling Down the River i See all on a Sodon on the North Side of it Some of the people of Cannada and Likewise a Little

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up from the Rivers Side i See thare house the has Made up of poplor wood. the are Consisting of Twelve Porsons in Number, the Chiefest porsons Name is Shash. the are all French men that are hear upon the account that the English Did not now the way. the Chief of those are the ones that ware Liveing at those houses a bout Teen yeares a gow. i find that the are intended for to gow Something fother up this River this Sommer and thare the are intended to Bild a house propper for them. the are Expecting 2 Canewes more up this Sommer and Seavrel of them are English men that are with them, the say.

The position of this house was at or close to Pemmican Point, a hundred and seventy miles above The Pas, where local tradition has it that there was once a French trading-post. "Shash", the chief, was undoubtedly François or "Franceway" whose name appears many times in the journals of the Hudson's Bay Company about that time.¹ "Shash" and his men were the first Canadian traders or Pedlars whom Pink had met in the two years that he had been on the Saskatchewan. They had been there ten years before, after which they seem to have deserted the country for a time; but by 1768 they were beginning to come back, and as we shall see, they were coming back in very considerable numbers.

About a hundred miles down the river below "Shash's" house at Pemmican Point, Pink met a large canoe coming up the river with eleven men in it, mostly French, going up to "Shash's" house. These, together with the twelve men at the house, twenty-three in all, were engaged in trading with the Indians, and there were others whom Pink had not encountered. Montreal was the market for any furs that these men might secure.

When he reached The Pas on June 3 and pitched his tent on the south side of the river at the "ruens" of the first French house (going up river), he found Isaac Batt in camp with thirty tents of Indians. They told him

¹"The Pedlars from Quebec", by W. S. Wallace, *Canadian Historical Review*, December, 1932, pp. 390-2.

that there was another Canadian house on another river to the south called "Mith quag e me", which was the Indian name of the Red or Assiniboine river. The upper part of this river was only about a hundred and fifty miles across country to the south, and could be reached by a fairly easy canoe route from Cedar lake, farther down the Saskatchewan.

On June 28 Pink reached York by the Middle or Minago river route, and after staying there less than a week, he started back to Moose Hills in Alberta. This time, instead of going by Cross lake and Minago river, by which route he would reach the Saskatchewan river below The Pas, he went by the Grass river, and reached the Saskatchewan at Pine Island lake, where he arrived on July 25. From Pine Island lake he ascended the Saskatchewan river, and on July 29 reached Pemmican Point, where about two months before he had visited "Shash" and his men, but they had already moved away. He makes the following record of what he found:

this day we came by the place where the people of Quebec were staying as I went down, but now I find that they are gone something farther up this river.

The following day he "came to the place where they has built another house and there they are intended to stay." This house was clearly at Nipowin, and we have here the first record of the erection of a house at that place. Whether it was actually built by "Shash" (François), or whether, as seems more likely, he had gone to Grand Portage with his furs and it was built by some of his men left behind for the purpose, is not known. On August 1, Pink writes:

We came to our families inland Tenting opposite the ruins of the upper French House, consisting of fifty tents and a little below this on the opposite side there were tenting thirty tents where to more Englishmen came with their Indians to their families.

He and the Indians came to the low point in the valley opposite Peonan creek, and the thirty tents were probably on the low alluvial point below it which extends northward into the valley. From there the party proceeded northwestward and westward by land to the Moose Hills as in the previous year, and remained in what is now Alberta throughout the winter. While there he speaks of the presence of the same four men who were on the Saskatchewan two years before, namely James Allen, Isaac Batt, Edward Lutit and James Dearing.

On April 24, 1769, Pink started down the river for York, but nothing of importance is mentioned in the journal except the weather until he arrived at Nipowin on May 16, when he wrote as follows:

I came Down to the plase whare the people of Qebeck ware Staying as I went up heare I find the people Belonging to this man [François] ware not yet come up. But heare is one English man with 12 French men With hym his Name is James Finley From Montreal he came up with Three Canewes to this house, and Left a Little a this Side of the Ruenes of the Loer French house one Canew with one English man and Fife French men, and in theare way a Comeing up Hither. Below this they has Left at to Diferent plases Canewes a Gaine, the Say the has Liberty to come or Gow as Far as the chueses in to the in Land contrey, But the Say that the are all Gowing Down to Montreale this Yeare Except one English man and one French man that is to Stay at the Loer house, for in the Fall they are Expecting up Fife Canewes more.

On May 25 "we came to the plase whare I hearded the one Canew was left with six men", namely at The Pas. From here he continued by Minago river and Cross lake to York, where he arrived on June 18.

But York had no attractions for William Pink, and on the twenty-ninth of the same month he started back for the fourth time to the Saskatchewan, by the same route that he had come down. On July 23, less than two months from the time he had left The Pas where "the Englishman" was staying, he returned to it, and he refers to it as

“the Lower house whare the people of Mountreale ware Staying but heare now is Onely one English man Staying heare Exspecting of Canewes up in the fall of the Yeare with Goods.”

Continuing up the river, his next reference to a habitation of any kind is on July 31, when he says “Came to the Famelyes inland on the south side of the maine river at the upper house.” Whether this was the old French house, or the house built by “Franceway” at Nipowin the previous year is not stated; but there is no mention of meeting any traders either there or at any other place since leaving The Pas. From the “upper house” they travelled overland to the Eagle Hills, where they spent the winter with the Assiniboine and other Indians. Mention is made of two other Englishmen who were there at the same time, namely James Dearing and Thomas Haddle.

On April 28, 1770, he started down the river with a band of Indians in canoes, and on May 21 he reached the trading house at Nipowin which had been built by “Franceway’s” men in 1768, and where he had met Finlay in the spring of 1769, but it was now deserted. His reference to it is “we came by the Upper House where the people of Mountreale did stay but I found none heare now wich I was feary glad of.” On May 28 the Beaver Indians left the party at the Pine Island portage to go down Churchill river, and on May 30 Pink reached The Pas, the conditions at which he describes as follows:

We came to the Loer house whare the one English man was Staying But there was No canewes came up in the Fall With Goods, But yesterday thare was a canew came up with Four French Men to take Down this Yonge Man that Stayed heare, and Broate Tobacoo to Smoke with the Chiefs, the Say that in the Fall of the yeare the Frenc Man called Sarchshrew is Coming up with Four canewes Loden with Goods and the Say that there ware 16 canewes on the way But the Winter came upon them before they

could Get up the say that a Greate Deale of thar Goods ware Taken from Them a comeing up i cannot Give no Other a Count of them, i heare that the See an English man be Low that comes from one of the Fortes at the Bottom of the Bay and he Should Give a Truer a Count than I can do for I Onley hared what These had to Say.

From The Pas Pink continued to York by Minago river and Cross lake as before.

Up to the year 1768, as far as is known, no British trader from Montreal had reached the Saskatchewan country; but during that year James Finlay succeeded in getting to the river and ascending it for three hundred and fifty miles, past Cedar lake, The Pas and "Franceway's" deserted house at Pemmican Point to Nipowin, where "Franceway", or his men for him, had built "anoather house" a few months before. It is not unlikely that "Franceway" had gone down to Grand Portage that summer with the furs secured the previous winter, and that he had met Finlay there; and though he himself does not appear to have reached Nipowin that autumn, it is highly probable that he sent some of his men to guide Finlay to his new house, where he was visited by William Pink in the spring of 1769 as stated above. He was successful in his trading enterprise and went back to Montreal in 1769. Finlay was the fore-runner of many hardy British traders who were to follow him from Montreal, and who were destined to secure a large proportion of the furs that had formerly been carried by the Indians to York and Churchill. Thomas Corry followed him to the Saskatchewan in 1771, and spent the winters of 1771-2 and 1772-3 on the river, first on Cedar lake and then at Pasquia.

By this time officers of the Company at London and York Factory became very seriously concerned about the loss in their trade to the Canadians, and in 1772 they sent

Matthew Cocking, who in 1765 had been engaged as a "Writer" for York, and who now was second-in-command at that place under Ferdinand Jacobs, to report on the number and resources of the so-called "Pedlars" from Montreal, and on the advisability of establishing a trading-post somewhere on the Saskatchewan to trade with the Indians in their own country as the Pedlars were doing.

Cocking left York on June 27 and started inland by the route which had been used almost exclusively up to that time by the Indians coming and going from and to the Saskatchewan river in their small canoes, in which they had to provide for themselves by hunting and fishing on the way, and in which they were able to avoid any large bodies of open water where they might be delayed by storms or adverse winds. Fifty-three servants of the Company had also already gone inland from Hudson Bay, mostly by this route, so that it was fairly well known. Starting from York, this route was up Hayes river to the mouth of Hill river, thence westward up Fox river, and thence south-westward up Bigstone river to Deer lake, on to Cross lake, through it to its western end, up Minago river to its source, over a portage to one arm of Moose lake, across it and up Summerberry river to the Saskatchewan. Afterwards, when larger canoes became necessary, this route was abandoned, and the very fact that it had ever been a through canoe route was forgotten. In fact, portions of the route northeast of Cross lake have not been explored or surveyed up to the present time. After reaching the Saskatchewan river, Cocking paddled or tracked up it for two hundred and sixty-five miles, past the old French houses at Pasquia and Pemmican Point, with reference to the latter of which he says, "In the

afternoon [of August 8] passed an old Pedlar's house, where the Pedlar called Franceway resided four years ago". The position of this old trading house is definitely located at Pemmican Point by Cocking's survey notes, or "log", which are now before me. The next day he ascended the river for twenty-one miles, about the end of which distance he "Passed another old house; one Mr. Finley from Montreal resided in it five years ago". Another copy of Cocking's journal in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company refers to this house as follows: "In the evening passed a Pedlar's house where Franceway formerly and since the Pedlar called Finlay resided." It is evident, therefore, that Cocking had been informed that "Franceway" occupied the house before Finlay's arrival in the autumn of 1768.

Cocking visited this house in the following May on his way back down the river to York when it was occupied by "Franceway" and about twenty of his men. He then gives the following description of this old trading post:

His house is a long square; built log on log: half of it is appropriated to the use of a kitchen: the other half used as a trading room & Bed room; with a loft above, the whole length of the building where he lays his furs: also three small log houses; the Men's apartments: the whole enclosed with ten feet Stockades, forming a square about twenty yards.

After leaving Finlay's old house, he continued up the river in canoes for two more days, a distance estimated in one place at thirty-one and a half, and in another place at thirty-four and a half miles, to a place where he says "We threw away our canoes." Of this place Cocking states in his manuscript journal "Here the Indians always wait for the arrival of their friends, Plenty of horses and dogs with them. They tell me a French house formerly stood here possessed by the Pedlar Franceway, but no remains of it appears. Course, Distance, Etc. . . . as p.

log.” The published edition of his journal merely says “Formerly the French had a house here”. When Joseph Smith, a servant of the Hudson’s Bay Company, paddled down the river in 1764, he records on May 16 “We cam to wher the freansh hous was but the Indans had bornt it”. It had also been mentioned on several occasions by William Pink, as stated on previous pages.

The place where the Indians were accustomed to “wait for their friends” ascending the river is still very well known. It is the top of the bank just south of the mouth of Peonan creek. The name Peonan is said to mean “Waiting-place for those coming in canoes.” Here the prairie comes to the edge of the valley, and from the open space thus formed an extensive view may be had up and down the magnificent valley, such as cannot be obtained anywhere else in the vicinity, as the forest usually extends up the side of the valley to its summit, making any outlook impossible.

When Cocking and the Indians with whom he was travelling left their camp by the river, and started on foot inland in a direction south-west by south, they travelled over “country hilly, producing short grass, low willows, and ponds in places, also many vermin [gopher] holes”, which description would apply admirably to the country south west of Peonan Point. We may therefore assume that Cocking “threw away his canoes” at the Waiting-Place just below Peonan creek. Nearby some old pits and heaps of stones in the middle of the forest indicate that buildings built by white men had stood there many years ago; and these are almost certainly the remains of the “old French Fort”, built some time between 1751 and 1754, occupied in 1755, and deserted ten years before 1767.

Cocking’s party spent the autumn and fore part of the

winter at the Eagle Hills, south of Battleford, after which they crossed the North Saskatchewan river to the Thickwood or Moon Hills. In the spring they built birch bark canoes on the bank of the river somewhere near where Fort Carlton used to stand, and from there descended in canoes to York Factory by the same route that they had followed on the way west in the preceding summer. On the way west Cocking had not seen any of the Montreal traders, although he speaks of Corry being at Cedar lake, but returning in this year (1773) he met "Franceway" with about twenty men at Nipowin as above stated, and William Bruce at Pasquia. Of this latter meeting he gives the following account in his journal:

In the afternoon [of May 27] arrived at the place called Basquio where We met with six Tents of Indians—Also a Canadian Pedler, laying in a Tent with four of his Men; and two more belonging to the old Pedler Above. This is the Man I have mentioned before [May 26] to be at a Lake just above this Place. He has only one Canoe—The Pedler tells me that he has been at this Place fifteen days, and intends to embark in a very short time. . . . This Pedler I find is not the Man that came up last Year, as I was lead to suppose by the Indians account in the Fall. He seems like the Man above to be of no very great depth; Was very communicative about his Affairs without being asked many Questions, with a view I suppose by his openness to ingratiate himself into my good Opinion, hoping that I would by my report forward his Proposal, which he seemed very desirous of being accepted. He told me his name was Bruce. That he had been a Trader among the Indians at Mississippi, where a difference happening between his Men and the Natives he had killed one of the Latter, and was obliged to leave that part and entered into this Trade, being the first time of his being up. That the Pedler who lays next below this place is in Partnership with Franceway; but he himself is entirely unconnected with either.

Cocking also records elsewhere that Barthélemi Blondeau was at the time on Red Deer river.

But it was not only the number of Montreal traders whom he actually met which accounted for his ideas of the extent of the opposition that the Hudson's Bay Company had to contend with. On March 27, he had written as follows:

They [two Indians] inform me that François, the old French pedler, has 6 large canoes with him [at Nipowin], and 3 canoes more are lying at the Shallow lake, on this side of Basquia [Bruce?],. . . and 2 more canoes are lying a little below Kippahagan Sepee [Summerberry river]. . . He says 4 canoes more are lying in the track of the natives who are more southward, and who paddled down the Chuckitanaw [Hill] river in their voyage to York Fort; and that several more pedlers are lying all along to the Grand Portage, to intercept the Natives who annually trade at Severn, Albany, and Moose Settlements.¹

The same year (1773) in which Cocking went back to York to report to the Council there, more traders came up from Montreal, for Cocking in his journal under date of August 29, 1774, wrote as follows:

Am told that 45 canoes of Pedlars came up last year, Kenotosish [Blondeau] brought 10, 2 he left at Jack river, 2 he left here [Red Deer river] with The Deer, and took remaining 6 up Saskatchewan river to winter a little below where I threw away my canoes in 1772 [at the upper French fort]. Franceway brought 11 canoes up Saskatchewan river to his old settlement where I see him in 1773 [at Nipowin], then he went up on the ice to winter with a pedlar [Blondeau] farther up the river.

Thus Blondeau appears to have gone up the river in 1773 and to have built a house a little below the old French house, which would be on the site of Fort à la Corne; and he and "Franceway" spent part of the winter of 1773-4 there together. Others wintered farther east, among them being Joseph Frobisher and Louis Primeau, who wintered at Pine Island lake.

In the following year (1774) Blondeau did not return to Fort à la Corne but spent the winter of 1774-5 on Lake Winnipegosis, while "Franceway" and Charles Paterson were on the Saskatchewan river, probably at this fort. In the winter of 1775-6 the site was occupied by Charles Paterson, Barthélemi Blondeau, William Holmes, Peter Pangman, and possibly other traders, with a number of employees. In January, 1776, Alexander Henry Sr.

¹"An Adventurer from Hudson Bay." *Transactions Roy. Soc. Can.*, Third Ser., Vol. II, Sect. II, p. 116 (Ottawa, 1909).

ascended the river on the ice from Cumberland to Fort des Prairies (Fort à la Corne), and at that time there was no one living on its banks between the two places.

Henry describes the fort and its surroundings as follows:

Fort des Prairies, as already intimated, is built on the margin of the Pasquayah, or Sascatchiwaine, which river is here two hundred yards across, and flows at a depth of thirty feet below the level of its banks. The fort has an area of about an acre, which is enclosed in a good stockade, though formed only of poplar, or aspen-wood, such as the country affords. It has two gates, which are carefully shut every evening, and has usually from fifty to eighty men for its defence.

We departed [from the fort] at an early hour, and after a march of about two miles, ascended the table-land, which lies above the river, and of which the level is two hundred feet higher than that of the land on which the fort is built. From the low ground upward, the soil is covered with poplar, of a large growth; but, the summit of the ridge is no sooner gained, than the wood is found to be smaller.¹

The general locality of Fort à la Corne is also mentioned at later dates by David Thompson, Alexander Henry Jr., Gabriel Franchère, Sir John Franklin, and others. The number of trading stores that have been built at different times and by different interests in this vicinity has given rise to much confusion. I therefore wrote to an old Hudson's Bay Company employee named Philip Turnor, perhaps a descendant of the author of the journals here reproduced, who was living at the time at Saxby, Saskatchewan. Under date of February 4 and March 2, 1910, he enumerated and described the following trading establishments:

Fort Mosquito was situated about three miles below the junction of the two rivers (N. & S. Branches). The stone chimneys were still up, the cellars and foundations of the buildings were still visible. It was situated on the north side of the river.

Fort Batoche: 15 or 16 miles below Fort Mosquito on the north side of the river, inside the James Smith Reserve. The cellars and marks of the foundations were visible when I saw them last.

¹*Travels and Adventures*, by Alexander Henry (New York, 1809. Pp. 314 and 275).

Fort St. Louis: Two miles below Fort Batoche on the south side of the river, within the James Smith Reserve. This one I have not seen myself, but the Indians which told me, who saw the indications of the old buildings, also told me where they were.

Fort à la Corne: I remember faintly when it was re-established some time near about 1846 & 47. The names of the men who came up from Cumberland were George Ballendine, Baptiste Sahyer and Charlie Fiddler, sent up by the H.B. Co. to put up some buildings. The following year a clerk by the name of Edward McGillivray was sent up with a York Boat of goods to take charge of the trade. When the above mentioned men put up the buildings, they located them on the same spot where old Fort à la Corne [of Blondeau, Holmes, Pangman, etc.] was located. The potatoe patch fort à la Corne people had, the drill or ridges were quite visible and so were which the old the old cellars, and the marks of the foundations could be traced. After the re-establishment of Fort à la Corne they planted some potatoes, and in hoeing them they found some bits of old cutting of iron, and iron wrought ring, and on the shelter of bank or rising ground could be seen quite plain the levelled beds of their large canoes, where I fancy they laid them up for the winter. Of course you are aware that while I was in charge at Fort à la Corne in 1887 and 1888 the buildings were again removed about three miles southwest to their present position.

I was at old Fort à la Corne in 1896, and in the summer of 1933 I revisited it in company with Professor H. A. Innis of Toronto. We did not visit Fort Mosquito, but we learned that traces of it could still be seen, though nothing is known of its history. "Fort Batoche" we found on the north side of the river within the James Smith Indian Reserve. It was about a mile northeast of the mouth of Peonan Creek, though the distance would be nearer two miles if the river were followed downwards to it. It was situated near the north end of a level alluvial plain that lies in a bend of the river, and from thirty to forty feet above the water. A short distance to the north the wooded side of the main valley rises from the flat to a height of from a hundred to a hundred and fifty feet. From these "hills" flows a little creek which doubtless supplied water to the fort. The site is three hundred and fifty feet west of the bank of the river, and is now marked by a number of pits and small stone

mounds, seven of the former and six of the latter, which are included in an area a hundred and forty feet square. A forest of large poplar with abundant underbrush now covers the whole alluvial point, the trees growing out of the pits and mounds being of just the same size and character as those growing on the surrounding unbroken ground. Other than the pits and mounds, which are difficult to find in the underbrush, no evidence was seen of the existence of the little village once occupied by white men at this place. This "Fort Batoche" was either the "Fort St. Louis" of the North West Company, or Fort Carlton of the Hudson's Bay Company, as both of these trading-posts may have been situated on the same alluvial flat, north of the river.

Among the early fur traders on the river, however, these forts or trading houses were usually known as Nippowee or La Corne.

The former was a house one hundred feet long, built in the summer of 1795, or possibly 1794, by Louis Chastelain, who had been in charge of South Branch House of the North West Company when it was destroyed by the Fall Indians in June, 1794. From 1795 onwards for several years it was in charge of James Finlay, Jr., a son of the James Finlay who had wintered at Nippowee in 1768-9. He had been in charge of Pine Island Fort near Manchester House, when it was attacked by a band of Fall Indians in November, 1793; and during the winter of 1794-5 he had charge of the department of Lower Fort des Prairies, with headquarters at the mouth of Sturgeon river.

According to Alexander Henry, who passed here on his way up the river in 1808, the place was abandoned in 1805. It was still empty and deserted when Sir John Franklin

stopped there on January 26, 1820, when he wrote of it as "upper Nippéween, a deserted establishment." It is not improbable that there was no other trading-post in the vicinity until the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort à la Corne in 1846 on the site of the old trading-post of Holmes and Paterson.

Carlton House, of the Hudson's Bay Company, was one of two trading-houses of that name built by the employees of the Company in 1795, both probably named after Carlton House, Pall Mall, London, at that time the residence of H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, afterwards King George IV.

One of these houses was built by Charles Thomas Isham (q.v.) on the bank of the Assiniboine river, and occupied by him, in company with Peter Fidler, during the winter of 1795-6.

This house on the Saskatchewan river was built for James Bird in the autumn of 1795 by James Sanderson and two men, who were left on September 11 by William Tomison to erect a house near that of Louis Chastelain; and when James Bird arrived from Cumberland on October 22 he found it all ready for roofing. During the following three years Bird remained in charge, where he was visited by William Tomison, Chief Inland, on his journeys down and up the river to and from York Factory. In the fall of 1798 he removed to a new house near the mouth of Setting (Sturgeon) river, in which vicinity the North West and X.Y. companies had already built trading-houses. On his departure, he left James Sanderson in charge of Carlton House, where he was visited by William Tomison on his way down the river in 1799.

In the winters of 1799-1800 and 1800-1 it was in charge of Joseph Howse, a writer in the employ of the

Hudson's Bay Company, who some years afterwards followed David Thompson's route across the Rocky Mountains, and spent the winter of 1810-11 at the north end of Flathead lake in Montana. The route he took across the mountains was called Howse Pass on Arrow-smith's Map of Western America.

It is not certain who was the Master at this house during the three following winters, but in the winter of 1804-5 it was in charge of J. P. Pruden.

During the summer or autumn of the latter year (1805), it and the adjoining house of the North West Company were moved to the South Saskatchewan river, about six miles above where the house that was destroyed in 1794 had been located.

This new trading post was commonly known as South Branch House, but in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company, although the position of the trading-post had been altered, the name had not been changed, and South Branch was officially known as Fort Carlton.

For the next four years this Fort Carlton of the South Branch was in charge of Joseph Howse. Daniel Harmon, of the North West Company, was his neighbour for the first winter.

In the autumn of 1809, J. P. Pruden was placed in charge, and he remained here during the ensuing winter. In the following summer (1810) he moved Fort Carlton to the Crossing Place of the North Saskatchewan river, where it was occupied until comparatively recent times.

The next fort, here called Fort St. Louis, was located two miles upstream from "Fort Batoche", not below it. It was situated near the south end of a level alluvial plain, which extends from the high bank of the valley northward past the mouth of Peonan creek, and which is of the usual

height of thirty feet above the river. A strong well-marked foot and horse (pack) trail runs from the top of the bank down through spruce and poplar trees to the flat. Just after the trail reaches the flat it passes four pits and the same number of stone mounds buried in the fallen timber and underbrush, the largest of the pits being six feet deep. They extend in a curving line roughly north and south for a distance of a hundred feet. Thirty-five feet north of the north pit is a creek which flows into the Saskatchewan river two hundred feet to the east; and the mouth of this creek is a thousand feet south of the mouth of Peonan creek. The whole flat is thickly wooded with large poplar and underbrush.

As indicated above this is probably the site of the first old French fort built in 1753 or 1754 by men from the east whose homes had been in the forest. They built it just below the "Waiting Point" where the prairies first reach to and overlook the river. It is probable that the site was occupied for only a short time by the early French fur-traders, but it may have been re-occupied at a later date, for it is hardly likely that a trading-post which was only an outpost from that at The Pas, and which had but five inhabitants when it was visited by Anthony Henday in 1755, would have included at least four houses, with cellars and chimneys. Whether it was first built by Niverville, Saint Pierre, La Corne, or by some men sent by one or other of them, is uncertain. Perhaps the actual builder was François. In fact this may have been the "Fort Lajonquière" which was built by ten of Niverville's men on May 29, 1751. Saint Pierre boastfully said that these ten men in two canoes "*remonterent la Riviere du Paskoya jusqu'aux Montagnes des Roches, ou ils firent un bon fort que je nommé Le fort Lajonquière.*" They might

have got this far up the river from The Pas by May 29, but they would not have been able to get within sight of the Rocky Mountains so early in the year.

Fort à la Corne was situated in the Hudson's Bay Reserve on a level alluvial plain on the south side of the river and thirty feet above it. This plain lies in an embayment in the higher banks of the valley, while on the opposite or north side of the river is also an alluvial flat on which an Anglican Mission was formerly situated. The plain was doubtless at one time covered with timber, but this has been cut off, and it is now covered with rose bushes, wolf willow, eleagnus and small poplar. Between the pits and stone piles of the old fort and the river is a considerable patch of ground covered with hops, and a hundred yards west of the houses was the old potato patch. The fort was situated on Lot 18 of the Hudson's Bay Reserve, six hundred feet east of the north-west corner post of that lot, which would place it about the middle of the N.E. $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sect. 25, Tp. 48, Range 20, West of the 2nd Meridian. A quarter of a mile east of it, the river turns sharply to the north, while at the angle a little creek joins the river, up which there is said to be a saw mill. From the fort a wagon trail winds up the hill through the woods, crosses a creek at a distance of a couple of miles, and then comes out into more open country on the upland near the new fort which was built in 1887. The store at the lower fort was taken down and erected again on the new site. In the spring of 1932 this upper store at the new site was closed, and the houses were deserted. Nothing now remains of the old fort by the river but some pits and heaps of stones. The lines of the stockade could be seen when I visited it in 1896, but I could not see them in 1933.

The flat on which the old fort was located is called by the Indians Nitágrochgigan, meaning "Where something is grown", such as a field or garden.

When David Thompson descended the river in the summer of 1808 he wrote in his journal as follows:

July 7 [1808] At 2¼ A.M. set off, at 6 A.M. at Sturgeon Rivulet[Setting or Shell river just above Prince Albert], at 2½ P.M. at the Forks, 5½ P.M. Fort St. Louis [North West Company], 6¼ P.M. Fort la Corne. At 8 P.M. Put up.

Thus this place was known as Fort la Corne as early as 1808 at least, although it was evidently deserted at the time.¹ The accompanying map shows the position of Fort à la Corne and three old forts above it.

§II. *Samuel Hearne*

It is clear, therefore, that by 1773, when so many traders with well-loaded canoes were rushing from Montreal to the Saskatchewan, and returning with heavy cargoes of the richest furs the country could produce, matters had reached a critical stage with the Hudson's Bay Company. Consequently they sent inland Samuel Hearne, who had in 1772 returned to Churchill from his adventurous trip to the Coppermine river. His orders were to found and build a trading post at Pasquia, or at some other favourable spot on the Saskatchewan river; and a few days later Matthew Cocking was sent to assist him, and to take him additional supplies.

Hearne took a new route up Hayes and Fox rivers, across Nelson river, up Grass river, and down Goose river to Pine Island lake; while Cocking took the route up

¹The description here given of Fort à la Corne and vicinity should be substituted for the note on the same locality in David Thompson's *Narrative*, p. lxxxix. (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1916.)

what is now known as Hayes river through Oxford lake, and across the north end of Winnipeg lake. Hearne's journals for 1774 and 1775 are published in this volume, so that it is unnecessary to say more than that after careful examination of the Saskatchewan river from Pasquia to Pine Island lake, he built Cumberland House on the latter lake. The house was founded with the hope of meeting the Indians in the very centre of their own hunting grounds, and of being able to buy their furs before the "Canadians" could get them. But Hearne found that the Company's new fort was surrounded on all sides by Canadian traders. To the north were the Frobishers at Beaver lake and Frog portage; to the east were the traders at Pasquia; to the south were other traders on Lake Winnipegosis and Red Deer river, with scouts probably as far west as Quill lakes; and to the west were many traders up the Saskatchewan river as far as Fort à la Corne. These traders would need to be followed, but the Company had hardly any canoes, and had no way of getting more, and even if it had canoes it had no men to handle them. Hard-earned experience had shown that they could not depend on the Indians for transportation. Wooden canoes had been suggested, but the suggestion was either not acted on, or the crafts were found to be useless. Meanwhile some of their younger men learned to handle birch bark canoes, and a few learned to make them. Then the struggle was to make the Indians friendly to the Company and its employees at any cost; to persuade them that they needed the goods that could be procured only from the Company; to induce them to trap fur-bearing animals the skins of which they could trade for these goods; and afterwards, as a mixture of gratitude and self-interest, to bring these skins to the

trading-post of the Company, rather than to the Montreal traders.

A short biographical sketch of Samuel Hearne is given in my Introduction to the edition of his *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean*, published by the Champlain Society in 1911; but the following additional information has been kindly furnished by the Board of the Hudson's Bay Company for this volume:

Samuel Hearne was engaged for the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1766, and landed at Churchill in August of that year. He was employed for two years as mate of the *Churchill* Sloop, and in 1768 he was appointed mate of the Brigantine *Charlotte* which had been sent out to Churchill for purposes of prosecuting the fishery. In the following year Hearne was selected to command an inland expedition being fitted out with the object of extending the Company's trade to the northward of Churchill, this being represented to the Governor and Committee to be "his particular Inclination"; and at the same time a supply of mathematical instruments was forwarded from England in order to enable him to take competent observations on his journey. It is evident that Hearne was not fully satisfied with his employment as mate of the *Charlotte*, for in writing to the Governor and Committee in August, 1769, he asks to be transferred to some other branch of the Service "where there is a greater probability of making some returns, and giving satisfaction to my Employers."

The story of his three journeys to the northward of Churchill is well-known, and has been described at length in his book *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay, to the Northern Ocean . . . in the years 1769, 1770, 1771 & 1772* (London, 1795).

On his first attempt Hearne set out from Fort Prince of Wales on November 6, 1769, but was obliged to return owing to the infidelity of the Indians who accompanied him, and was back again at the Fort within five weeks.

On the second occasion he started on February 23, 1770, but was forced to return some months later since he had broken his quadrant, and was in consequence no longer capable of taking competent observations for Longitude and Latitude. He reached Fort Prince of Wales on November 25, 1770, and left again on his third and final attempt to reach the Coppermine river only twelve days later. He arrived at the mouth of this river and viewed the Arctic Ocean in the middle of July 1771, and thus effected the purpose of his journey, afterwards returning once more to Fort Prince of Wales, where his arrival is recorded on June 30, 1772. At a meeting of the Governor and Committee held on December 23 following, Hearne was credited with a gratuity "for his great Labour & Pains" in prosecuting his journeys in the

direction of the Coppermine river. On his return from the Coppermine, Hearne was once again appointed mate of the *Charlotte* in accordance with instructions received from London. In the Autumn of 1772 Andrew Graham communicated with the Governor and Committee in London, detailing the necessity of forming an inland establishment for supplying goods to the natives, in order to enable the Company to compete more effectively with the "Pedlars", and suggested that either Hearne or Thomas Hutchins of York Factory were best suited for employment to this end. This letter was considered in Committee early in 1773, whereupon it was decided to form, as soon as practicable, an inland settlement "at or near Basquiau", and Hearne was selected "to take the conduct thereof" and to be assisted by Matthew Cocking of York Factory, who, in the course of his recent inland journey, it was thought, had probably penetrated beyond "Basquiau".

This decision was conveyed to Ferdinand Jacobs and Moses Norton, chiefs respectively at York and Churchill Factories, in letters forwarded by the packet in the spring of 1773, and they were urged to put the plan into operation with all possible speed, in order to counteract as effectively as possible the menacing competition of the "Pedlars". At the same time Hearne received instructions to proceed to "Basquiau" without delay, and to build during the winter as many birch rind canoes as practicable, in which to bring down the results of the trade to York Factory in the ensuing summer. He was also to ascertain, if possible, the Longitude and Latitude of "Basquiau", as well as of the lakes and rivers traversed en route thither, together with particulars regarding "the situation of the other Lakes and the course and Con[n]ection of the other Rivers in those parts and of the nature and produce of the Country"; and above all he was charged to keep an ever watchful eye on the activities of the "Canadian Pedlars".

Accordingly, accompanied by Robert Longmoor, he set out from Churchill for York Factory at the end of August 1773, since the latter was considered the most suitable place from which to start for the intended destination. But on arrival it was found impossible to provide sufficient Indians and canoes to commence the construction of the new establishment in the fall of 1773; and it was therefore decided by the Council at York Factory on September 6 that Hearne should remain there through the winter and proceed to the interior in the ensuing spring. Isaac Batt, however, had already been despatched overland to "Basquiau" with the object of informing the natives of the Company's intended new settlement in the vicinity; but he had returned as early as September 8, 1773, without having been able to proceed further than "Chaw kee tay naw" (Hill) river owing to lack of water.

In the spring of 1774 considerable difficulty was experienced in persuading the Orkney men to accompany Hearne on his intended expedition to the interior, but they were eventually persuaded, with one exception, in consideration of a "trifling gratuity". This prompted Hearne to suggest to the Governor and Committee in London that it should be specified in all future servants' contracts that they would be under obligation to "go to Basqueaw if Requir'd". In a letter to the Governor and Committee written in the

spring of 1774, Hearne gives the names of the eleven men selected for his inland expedition, and states that it is his intention to precede them, accompanied by four Upland Indians. In the same letter he offers himself as a candidate for the command of Fort Prince of Wales, in the event of Andrew Graham's retirement from that office. He also requests that a sum of money be paid to the account of his mother, Mrs. Diana Paine.

He eventually departed from York Factory for the interior on June 23, 1774; and on September 3 he cleared a spot of ground on Pine Island lake for the purpose of erecting the new house—afterwards known as Cumberland House. On September 24, 1774, a letter from Hearne was received by Ferdinand Jacobs, Chief at York Factory, informing him that he was forming the new establishment sixty miles above "Basquiau". On May 29, after remaining throughout the winter in a temporary house here, Hearne started on his journey down to York Factory with the results of the winter's trade, and reached the Factory on June 23, 1775—exactly one year to the day after his departure. He left the new establishment in charge of Andrew Garrett, the house carpenter, during his temporary absence.

Matthew Cocking and his party, who had set out from York Factory twelve days after Hearne, had never succeeded in establishing touch with him; and after wintering in the vicinity of Witch lake (God's lake, or Devil's lake, now known as Good Spirit lake), reached the Factory again on June 27, 1775, four days after Hearne's arrival.

After a fortnight spent at the Factory, Hearne started again for Cumberland on July 8, and reached there on August 19, where he found very satisfactory progress had been made in the construction of the new house since his departure in the spring. Within a few weeks of Hearne's departure, instructions were received at York Factory for him to succeed Andrew Graham in the command of Fort Prince of Wales; and Matthew Cocking was accordingly despatched with all expedition to relieve him at Cumberland, where he arrived on October 4. Hearne left two days later, but it was found necessary for him to proceed via York Factory, since his Indian guide would not volunteer to conduct him direct to Churchill.

He arrived at York on October 27, 1775, but was considerably delayed in his subsequent journey to Churchill owing to abundance of ice in the river, so that he did not reach there until January 17, 1776.

On assuming the command at Churchill, Hearne was instructed by the Governor and Committee to continue the policy hitherto pursued by Graham in regard to the white whale fishery and the trade to the northward, and also to forward with the utmost diligence "all Inland Discoveries as the surest means of promoting Our Trade and the Public Interest". He was also instructed to pay particular attention to the procuring of oil, and to make efforts to induce the Copper, Dog Rib, and Athabaska Indians to live in harmony together "as the principal means of the Company availing themselves of the Trade of that extensive Country."

In a letter addressed to him by the Governor and Committee in the spring of 1777, Hearne was asked to consider whether the trade from Churchill

could not be effectually increased by sending some persons inland with goods to trade with the natives, with the object of preventing the "Pedlars" from extending their trade further to the northward. To this enquiry he replied that the method already adopted of sending the Northern Indians into the country of the Athabaska Indians to bring down their furs was the best and only method he could devise of increasing the trade. By this means the trade had already exceeded his most sanguine expectations, having risen to 11,000 Made Beaver, whereas formerly it had not exceeded 6,000 on an average.

In August 1778, Hearne wrote to the Governor and Committee intimating that it might be necessary for him to return to Europe on account of ill-health; and we find previous reference to his indifferent state of health in a letter addressed to Humphrey Marten at York Factory on January 18, 1778.

At about this time Hearne was accused by Marten of endeavouring to entice the Indians who had been accustomed to trade at York Factory to take their furs instead to Churchill, to which accusations he replied to London in 1779, referring to them as "of so peevish a nature as not to claim the notice of my pen."

In 1781 a suggestion was made to Hearne by the Committee that an attempt be made to increase trade "on the Borders of the Great Lake in which Chesterfields Inlet ends"; since if the Sloop could be found there annually on a given date, the Indians who resided too far to the northward to permit their visiting Churchill might be induced to come to the former place. Hearne's reply was to the effect that an expedition to the area referred to would give little satisfaction, since the country around was uninhabited, and also that the Sloop would not then have time to call at the other northern posts.

In reply to a further suggestion that a diligent search be made to the northward for sea otters, a number of which were reputed to have been discovered by Captain Cook on the northwest coast of America to the northward of Latitude 64° N., Hearne was of the opinion that they were not to be found in the neighbourhood of Hudson Bay. In 1782 the Committee asked for definite proposals from Hearne for increasing the trade at Churchill, which had of late shown a serious decline, and simultaneously suggested the establishment of further settlements inland; but any plans which he may have had were frustrated by the fact that a French squadron under La Pérouse arrived at Fort Prince of Wales early in August, 1782, and Hearne was faced with no alternative but surrender, seeing that his garrison numbered only thirty-nine men, whereas the enemy numbered four hundred.

The fort hitherto deemed impregnable was captured and its batteries were destroyed by the French, and Hearne and his garrison were conveyed as prisoners on board the French vessels. He was, however, treated kindly by La Pérouse, and was allowed to retain his private papers. On November 28, 1782, we find reference to a letter addressed to Hearne at Gosport; and after the conclusion of peace with France and the United States in 1783, he was

entrusted with the re-establishment of Churchill, and was instructed to choose the "most convenient Situation above Cuckolds Point near or upon the place where the Old Wooden Factory stood (5 miles higher up the River than where the Stone Fort was built)". He landed on September 14, 1783, on the site of the old wooden fort erected sixty-five years previously, and in writing to the Governor and Committee on September 25 he says:—"We have erected the house on the very spot where the old wood Fort stood; and is far preferable in point of Situation to that of the Stone Fort being much nearer to the woods, water, hunting grounds, &c."

The position of Fort Churchill has been unchanged to the present day, and the ruins of the old stone fort Prince of Wales are still to be discerned at Eskimo Point near the mouth of the river.

In the autumn of 1784, Hearne conveyed the intimation to the Governor and Committee in London that "the most famous Northern Leader Matonabbee", who had acted as his guide on his expedition to the Coppermine river in 1771, when he heard of the capture of Fort Prince of Wales, hung himself. In 1784 also David Thompson, afterwards to become the famous explorer of the North West Company, arrived at Churchill, and Hearne was directed to take all care of his morals and behaviour.

In 1785, the Company in London expressed displeasure at Hearne's extravagance in the management of the trade and use of provisions at Churchill. In reply to this accusation Hearne "thinks it a duty incumbent on himself in vindication of his conduct to assert . . . that after nineteen years hard servitude in a variety of Stations & places of trust, he can with the strictest Truth and Boldest Confidence Assert" that the Company's interests had ever been his foremost care.

In August, 1786, he writes to the Governor and Committee stating that ill-health had been the cause of his writings being so backward on the ship's arrival, and that he was unable therefore to forward so precise an account as usual of the expenditure of trading goods at Churchill.

In the summer of 1787 he received permission to return to England and instructions to hand over the charge of the Factory to William Jefferson. The remaining five years of his life were spent in retirement in England, and he died in November 1792, at the early age of forty-seven.

In 1818 it is recorded that the Governor and Committee presented to the British Museum a piece of copper found by Hearne on his journey to the Coppermine river in 1771.

§III. *Matthew Cocking and the Nor' Westers*

As we have seen, Matthew Cocking followed Hearne towards Pasquia by a different route, but he did not make connection with him, or reach Pine Island lake at all that year. Cocking's journals are in existence; and

from them we shall here give a brief summary of his proceedings on this trip, and of his experiences later with his rivals the Nor' Westers while he was Master at Cumberland House.

On July 4, 1774, he left York, with a party of Indians and with James Lisk as his white companion, carrying additional supplies for Samuel Hearne. Isaac Batt and Charles Isham had left York Fort with the same object a short time before.

That day they ascended Hayes river to Rainbow island. They continued up the river, past the mouth of Shamattawa river, caught up with Batt and Isham in Hill river, passed through Knee and Oxford lakes, and reached the height of land portage, afterwards known as Painted Stone Portage, on July 20. On the twenty-third they crossed Little Playgreen lake, and ascended the steamboat channel past Norway House to Sea (Winnipeg) lake. On the left was Kinnasew (Pike) river. "On it 2 canoes of pedlars wintered last winter and left it this summer. One of the men was drowned afishing." These were the two canoes with men that had been left by Blondeau, as stated above. After crossing lake Winnipeg they ascended the Saskatchewan river to Mah che kish (Cedar) lake, on the south side of which they came to Muskeak (Swampy) Carrying Place, where they found that Batt and Isham had been abandoned by the Indians in whose canoes they had been travelling. Cocking could not leave these men to starve; and as he could not arrange to take them along, and as his own Indians objected to going farther up the Saskatchewan river, he remained with them.

After remaining nine days on the portage, they crossed it to Lesser Sea (Winnipegosis) lake, and coasted along its

shore to the mouth of Was ka sew (Red Deer) river, where they remained for several weeks living on the fish that they were able to catch.

The whole party then ascended Red Deer river, crossed Red Deer lake, and continued up the river for sixteen miles above the lake, where they came to the "Pedlers' late settlement". Here Blondeau, with five canoes, had spent the winter of 1772-3, and here one of his men named the "Little Deer", with two canoes, had spent the preceding winter, though apparently the place was now completely abandoned. His description of his approach to the place from his camp on Red Deer lake is as follows:

1774

Sept. 12th Monday. Wind S.W. Clear Weather. We proceeded leaving behind four Tents lately arrived. Our Distance about 20 Miles; at four miles entered a narrow River called by the same Name as the one lately left, Shoal at leaving the Lake, then fine Water & little Current for about Fourteen Miles, afterwards sandy Shoals with a strong Current. Good Spruce & Other Wood on the Shores. At the conclusion came to the Pedlers late Settlement.

13th Thursday. Wind & Weather the same. We did not proceed. The whole length of The Pedlers House is about twenty-one yards. It is separated into three Divisions; One for the Master which is eight Yards in length and the same in Breadth on the outside; Part of this at one End has been appropriated to the Use of a Trading Room, and part for a Bed Room; One Corner of the other end has been used as a Cabbins and the other Corner for laying wood in with the fire Place in the middle: this is made of Stones cemented with Clay below and Clay & Straw above, Supported with a frame of Wood. The remainder of this Division has been used as a Kitchen and Sitting Room. A raised loft above for laying their Goods in. The Roof covered with large Slips of Bark of Trees, about ten feet high to the Eves. The Mens Appartments are both together thirteen Yards long & six broad; Cabbins for six Men and a Fire Place in each; but no loft above being under a lower Roof than the Masters. No Communication within between the Divisions, which seems odd. In the Front of the Building a little Office for laying their Provisions in. The whole is inclosed with twelve foot Stockades. Hunters killed an Elk & red Deer; Being the covering Season with these animals they are easily found by their calling to each other in the Woods.

The exact position of this early trading-post on the Red Deer river has not been determined, but it is not

improbable that it was a short distance above the site that was afterwards occupied for a number of years by the North West Company, which was on the north bank, eight miles in a straight line above the lake. A mile or so above the site of this North West Company's post the river becomes unnavigable at times of low water in the autumn, when the traders would arrive with their large heavily loaded canoes. When the writer visited it in the autumn of 1889, he described it as follows:

The fort had a pleasing situation on a level alluvial plain, in front of which the river, with a width of 250 feet, flows in a channel fifteen feet in depth. Just on top of the steep bank, and almost ready to be carried away by the first flood, is a heap of earth and stones, representing a chimney of one of the old houses, while all the others seem to have been already carried away. Several small depressions in the vicinity may however, represent old cellars, or holes in which potatoes were stored.

Standing with his face towards the river the writer looked across a lovely forest of elm and (ash-leaved) maple, just tinted with brilliant autumn colours, while to the right were groves of maple and willow, and to the left was a forest of poplar pinacled with spires of dark green spruce.¹

Leaving this old settlement, they continued a little farther up the river in their canoes, after which they proceeded overland to a "small branch of Swan river called Ke-chew-e-maw-mes (Etoimami) river", and sixteen miles farther they came to a branch of Blood (Assiniboine) river, and twenty-seven miles farther to Hessa (Shell) river. Near here he states that two Indians arrived with the information that Blondeau with twenty-three men and five canoes had come to the mouth of Steep Rock river to spend the winter, and Bruce with five canoes had gone to winter farther south in Lake Winnipegosis. Forty canoes of pedlars in all went in that year. These were undoubtedly all large canoes well loaded with goods, including rum and tobacco, to trade with the Indians for

¹"Report on North-Western Manitoba", by J. B. Tyrrell. *Annual Report of the Geological Survey of Canada* (Ottawa, 1892). Pp. 125E-126E.

their furs; and as the men obtained their food from the forests and streams as they travelled, the size and weight of the load was not influenced by the quantity of provisions carried.

The party moved on to the vicinity of Witch lake, which was about two miles wide, and without an outlet. It was probably the lake marked on Arrowsmith's map of 1802 as Gods lake, and now known as Good Spirit lake, which lies in Tp. 30, Range 5, West of the Second Meridian, about thirty-two miles west of Kamsack, Saskatchewan. This was probably the lake visited by Daniel Harmon of the North West Company in 1802, and called by him Devils lake. Here they spent the winter, and were visited by some of Blondeau's men from Lake Winnipegosis.

In the spring of 1775 Cocking moved north to a branch of the Red Deer river, where the Indians built fifty-four canoes in all. Apparently nothing was thought to be too bad for the pedlars and traders from Montreal to do. Among other things, he hears that "Franceway" is doing well up the Saskatchewan, and that he has traded two Yeach-i-thin-ne (Blackfeet) women slaves whom he takes to Montreal and sells. On reaching the mouth of Red Deer river on May 28, Cocking found that Blondeau's party had left the mouth of Steep Rock river on May 23.

His party paddled along the shore of Lake Winnipegosis, crossed Swampy (Mossy) portage, and reached the mouth of the Saskatchewan on June 25, where he met "Franceway" and his partner Charles Paterson, who were on their way to Grand Portage with a hundred and seventy bundles of furs, ninety pounds to each bundle. Here Isaac Batt, one of Cocking's men, left the service of the

Hudson's Bay Company, and engaged with Paterson. From the Saskatchewan river the party proceeded to York by the same route that they had come inland; without apparently making any further effort to locate Samuel Hearne.

Hearne's journals, as reproduced in this volume, will give us a clear idea of the kind of life led by the men at Cumberland, so that no attempt will be made in this Introduction to do more than tell the story of the post for the next three years, from the departure of Samuel Hearne to the arrival of Philip Turnor in the autumn of 1778.

Matthew Cocking came to Cumberland to replace Samuel Hearne, following the route from York up Nelson and Grass rivers, and he took charge of the post on October 6, 1775.

On October 6 ten canoes of Pigogomew Indians arrived from the Eagle Hills, where Cocking himself had been in 1772. The name "Pigogomew" is applied by both Philip Turnor and David Thompson to the south branch of the Saskatchewan river, and these Indians probably came from there.

On October 9 these Indians left for their own country, and Robert Longmoor and Charles Isham were sent with them to spend the winter. They remained with the Indians up the Saskatchewan river till May, 1776, when they came down with Pigogomew and Beaver Indians, so that it is possible that they went west as far as Beaver river in Alberta.

Five days later an historic party arrived from Montreal, consisting of Joseph and Thomas Frobisher, and Alexander Henry, Sr., on their way to Beaver lake.

The following extracts from the "Journal of Occur-

rences and Transactions at Cumberland House, by Matthew Cocking, Master," give the contemporary record of Henry's three visits to this Fort, the first on the way to winter quarters, and the second and third when going to and coming from Fort à la Corne on the Saskatchewan river:

1775

Oct. 14th Saturday. Wind Variable Clear Weather. Three Canoes of Indians arrived. One with Geese & two with dried Moose flesh to Trade. In the Evening Ten Canoes of Pedlers arrived, putting ashore a little below Us, and the Masters (Three) soon after paid me a visit. Four of the Canoes belong to one Henry, a New Adventurer this way, and the other six to the two Frobishers who resided near the Thopiskow Indians last Year, and the Year before in this Lake when Joseph Handsome wintered with them.—They inform me that they are all going to reside in one Place in the Beaver Lake not far Distant. The Frobishers and their People having been greatly distressed for want of Provisions at their late Settlement.—It seems that twenty-three Canoes of Pedlers intend to Winter up the River Saskachiwan Under several Masters, 18 of Which are gone past.—The Pedler Patterson is again going up the River Saskachiwan; that he has got for his Interpreter the Pedler Blondow, who wintered at the rocky shore River lesser Sea Lake as mentioned in my Journal last year; That Isaac Batt is gone with another Master & two Canoes to reside in the lesser Sea Lake; but in what part was not determined until they see the Indians there.

Oct. 15th Sunday. Wind Variable Clear Weather. I have shewn the Masters so far civility as to desire their eating with me. They speak of several Canoes of their People left on the road, whom they expect some to reside below and others above the Sea Lake; that six of their People were killed by the Natives below the Sea Lake, four in the Winter and two as they were going down in Canoes; that one man more was lost by a Canoe over-setting upon a Fall in going down.¹ These losses of Men they say has frightened the Canadians, several of their old Servants having quitted, and that they found much difficulty in procuring fresh Men; that they lost one Canoe now in coming up in the Sea Lake, and the Goods with one Man were lost by its filling in a great Swell.

Oct. 16th Monday. Wind N.W. a fresh gale towards Evening. Clear Weather. Early in the Morning the Pedlers proceeded on their Journey.

1776

Jany. 20th Saturday. Wind N.E. Weather most part Cloudy with drift. Nine Sturgeon & Two Tickameg from the Nets. In the afternoon two

¹This probably refers to the accident which Alexander Henry says occurred on August 19 near Bull Head, when a canoe and four men were lost.

of the Master Pedlers arrived from the Beaver Lake Settlement. One of them (Henry) is going as they say on a Visit, to the Upper Settlement, the other (Frobisher) came here in compliment of accompanying Henry on part of his Journey and to pay me a Visit. Two Men also arrived with them hauling their Provisions & Other necessities, they also left two more on the Road hauling Provisions for Henry's Journey to the Upper Settlement. They tell me that they have been four Days in coming following the course of the Lakes & the Rivers in their Road but that they have been told by Indians that this Place is only two very short days Walk in a straight Course from their House.

Jany. 21st Sunday. Wind Variable Weather clear & Sharp. The Two Pedlers Men left behind arrived. The Masters say that they have abundance of Provisions of the Fish kind at present except Sturgeon which are no Inhabitant of that Lake But no other kind of Provisions to serve to their Men. They pretend to have seen no Indians since the first of the Winter, when some fresh Elk Flesh was brought in; and being told by the Indians that Animals were plenty they sent some of their Men away with them to be supported, but these have since returned in want, saying that the Natives were in great distress for Provisions. The Pedlers method it seems is to divide their Men into Companies of six each whom they supply with two Nets & Hooks to provide for themselves, And a few whom they employ to hunt for them provide Partridges & Rabbits, which with Salt Provisions (small Quantities of which they bring up) serve with Fish as their food. They Brought some Salt Provisions here with them.—In contrast to the above account of the Scarcity of Flesh Provision, they afterwards mentioned several Elk Tracks having been seen about them. They tell me that they did hear in the Fall from the two Canoes left by Frobisher in the Thopiskow Indians Country last Summer. They were intended to have gone a considerable distance up a River that way to Trade but the account received from them informs that they had gone but a little way & were scarce of Provisions.

Jany. 22nd Monday. Wind S.W. Clear Weather very sharp. Henry with his two Men set off on their way to the Upper Settlement Frobisher with his Men on their return to the Beaver Lake.—These Pedlers seemed to be very polite rather upon the extreme owing to their intercourse with the French Canadians; indeed the common Men seem to affect a kind of fulsome finess in their Behaviour to each other, much above their Situation. Our Conversation ran chiefly on indifferent Matters, but sometimes flagging, kept up with Accounts of their own Affairs, much of no consequence; but the chief, that French Laws having been established in Canada last April they suspect the Pedling Business will be confined to few hands as in the French time, and consequently that the present Quantities of Furs Yearly carried down will be much deminished tho' the Profits accruing will be much greater in proportion. That at present the Traders most of them carry on the Business seperately, being supplied with Men & Goods from Montreal; But being so Numerous several of them are obliged often to reside in one

Place, when to prevent Confusion the Goods are laid in one common Stock for the time, and one person takes the Direction of the whole, each Trader receiving his proportion of Furs according to his Stock.—That the Traders are Yearly increasing, and this Year no less than Sixty Canoes with Goods came from the Grand Carrying Place: by this means the Profits, considering the great adventures in coming here to Trade are reduced to near as low an Ebb as the Mississippi Trade and the minds of the Natives are continually corrupted by the separate Interest of the Traders who use very ungenerous methods with each other. They were very free in their observations on some of their fellow Traders etc. The Pedler Bruce who was in the little Sea Lake as mentioned in my last Years Journal and in my former Journal to be at Basquo, Is it seems at present below the large Sea Lake. These Pedlers giving as a reason for his shifting so often that his severe method of treating the Natives prevents his residing twice in one Store. The Pedler Franceway who has been many Years Trading in these Parts being superannuated is retired.—The Men employed cutting up Firewood. being very cold I did not send any to the Nets. James Batt sick.

March 9th Saturday. Wind Variable clear Weather. The Indians went away. In the afternoon the Pedler Henry with Nine Men arrived from above on their way to the Beaver Lake.

March 10th Sunday. Wind S.W. clear Weather. No fish from the Nets. The Pedlers went away.—Henry informed me that they have abundance of fresh Buffalo Flesh at the upper Settlement at present; that the Indians have been of late very successful of Pounding Buffalo, and are continually bringing the meat in Fresh the Masters not being able to prevail on them to dry it.—That the Pedlers have collected but little Beaver, but have got upwards of fifty Bundles of Wolves of fifty skins Each. That several of the Assinnee Poet Indians from Sacketakow Wachy (i.e.) Thick woody Mountain whom they never used to see till they came past in Canoes, Have been there this Winter; and have traded Supplies, saying that they do not intend to build Canoes, but were going directly away to War. That no account has been received from the Beaver Indians only from the reports of others they are not expected to come down even in the Summer, on account of a Quarrel having happened between them and some others last Winter. That an Indian was shot by another the first of this Winter at the upper Settlement, the Indian killed having murdered his Wife last Summer was the reason of the other's taking the same revenge, the Woman being his Sister: Tis supposed that the affair will stop here. The Man murdered belonging originally to a Tribe of Indians a long way below the sea Lake.—He said that the Pedlers are all rejoiced at this Man's Death, having always been very troublesome to them. He said that the Pedlers were greatly in distress for want of Provisions all the Fall and first of the Winter at the House, Notwithstanding most of the Men being sent away with the Natives to be supported, the Grass Ground being burnt last Summer for a considerable distance in, and they were obliged to give very great Premiums for what little was brought.—He said that the Pedlers require

so much Food, (being near an hundred) for present use to supply them in their Journey down, that the Natives seem to have little occasion to Trap Furrs, for what with trading Provisions, lending their Women to Masters and Men they obtain more necessaries than they want.—He said that no Letters had been received from the Settlements below; but that accounts had been brought by Indians of three Canoes of Pedlers being plundered of all their Goods at the (Swan) River in the Lesser Sea Lake. These Canoes it seems belonged to two French Men (new Adventurers this way), who had proposed to have Wintered with the rest at the upper Settlement, but being left on the road are supposed to have changed their Intent. This Pedler (Henry) tells me that He has been for some years past a Trader in the Lake Superior up a River (I forget the Name) on the back of Albany Fort, and often used to see the Bungee Indian Debtors belonging to that Place, and that He has share in a Settlement thereabouts at Present. That He has obtained a Competency and thought of retiring but several of his former Men being in his debt and having an Inclination to see this Part He has made this Journey to Trade as well as to clear his Debtors. That he proposes to Visit England Next Fall, and if he can get an Opportunity to speak to the Hudson's Bay Gentlemen will make a proposal to them for employing Canadians to be engaged by him for a term of Years at Montreal to serve as Bow-men & Helms-men and building large Canoes. I gave him no encouragement to think that his proposals would be received.

The accounts of these visits of Alexander Henry to Cumberland House may be compared with his own accounts in his *Travels and Adventures*, which was evidently written without having his notes beside him, since, in the first place, all three dates of arrival and departure differ very considerably in the two accounts. The dates given in the Hudson's Bay journals are October 14-16, January 20-22, and March 9-10; while Henry's dates are October 26- , January 4- , and April 5-7. The latter two dates cover his visit to Fort à la Corne, and the journals show that he was absent from Cumberland only between six and seven weeks instead of three months, as stated by Henry. He also states that Peter Pond and Cadotte separated from his party at Cumberland House, but neither of these men visited Cumberland House with Henry. Peter Pond had doubtless separated from the party at Cedar lake, and crossed the Mossy Portage to

Lesser Sea (Winnipegosis) lake, taking Isaac Batt with him, as this was the regular route that had been used by the Canadian traders for several years. Batt had left the Hudson's Bay Company and engaged with Paterson the year before. In stating that Cadotte went up the Saskatchewan with four canoes Henry probably intended to refer to Blondeau, for there is no evidence that Cadotte was on the Saskatchewan that year, and his statement that James Finlay was at Fort des Prairies was also a mistake, for James Finlay was one of those who signed the capitulation of Montreal to Montgomery in November 1775, and consequently he could not have been on the Saskatchewan at that time.

On April 20 a family of Indians who arrived from Beaver lake report "that one of the Master Pedlers [Thomas Frobisher?] with eight men went off last month hauling rum for the two canoes residing in the Thopiscow Indian country." This evidently means that he was sent to and up the Churchill river to where Primeau with two canoes had spent the winter, doubtless at Primeau lake. Henry says that Thomas Frobisher was despatched from Beaver lake with six men to the Churchill river where he was to prepare a fort, apparently to put the buildings at Frog portage in order, so that they could again be occupied for they had already been occupied by Joseph Frobisher in the winter of 1774-5. After their arrival at Frog portage Alexander Henry and Joseph Frobisher continued up Churchill river probably as far as Primeau's house.

On May 17 Cocking was informed, doubtless by Longmoor and Isham, who had just come down the Saskatchewan river, that "the Master Pedlers up the

river are at variance and have parted stocks"; and that Peter Pangman was trading outside of the stockades.

The next day William Walker started on a trip up the river to the Pedlars' settlement at Fort à la Corne, where he was kindly treated by Charles Paterson. It was rumoured that Peter Pangman and another proposed to build a house higher up the river the next fall.

On May 31 the Pedlars went down the river on their way to Grand Portage, but some were left in care of the house, and these were to go up the West (North) branch and build a house on this side of the Thickwood hills.

On June 1 Cocking sent Robert Longmoor and some Indians in a canoe, with five gallons of brandy, some ammunition and tobacco, and directed him to go above the Pedlars (on Churchill river) and wait for the Indians there, and endeavour to prevent them trading with the Pedlars. On June 27 Longmoor returned, and Cocking gives the following account of his proceedings:

1776

June 27th Thursday. Wind N.E. a fresh Breeze Weather Cloudy rain in the Afternoon. The Men employed squaring Timber. Towards Noon Robert Longmore arrived with the Canoe of Indians I sent away with him the 1st Instant. He gave me the following Account of his Proceedings: That he reached the Pedlers Settlement up a River called Winnepeg-e-chick on the 7th Instant, having laid up the keg of Liquor some way on this side, and finding two Tents of Indians he landed there and lived with them proposing to wait for any Indians arrival. He found two of the Master Pedlers were gone up with a Supply to the upper Settlement sometime, the Master left at the House (the Elder Forbisher) did invite him in and offer him any assistance he might want which he refused except for taking of a little Food. On the 16th the two Masters returned from above, accompanied by Lewis Primo who had resided at the Upper Settlement. In the Evening Robert Longmore was invited into their House to partake of some Liquor with them, this he did, but suspecting they intended to make him intoxicated before it Grew late he took his Leave: On this Visit they often offered to assist him with any little Necessaries he might want, and were inquisitive to know the Intent of his Journey, whether he proposed going further or what he intended; however he evaded answering their Questions. As usual they

seemed to be very communicative themselves, informing him that as soon as the Indians were come down, The Elder Forbisher with Primo were to be sent with the remains along way up above the Upper Settlement there to winter. On the 17th Day Robert Longmore set off up the River to meet the Indians, being Supposed to be near; Soon after a Pedlers Canoe with six Men followed him with half a Roll of Tobacco watching his Motions, they both returned to the Pedlers Settlement in the Evening: this was repeated the two following Days, on the last the Indians arriving. He says that he supposed there were an hundred Canoes of them, the chiefest part A' Thopuskow Indians, the rest were only loaded with the Pedlers Furrs from the Upper House. The A' Thopuskow Indians informed Robert Longmore that they had seen the Grass River Indians (who went that way to War last Summer) in the Winter; who have sent word that they do not expect to return until next Summer; as he was informed by some, & by others that they may return very late next fall. A few of them had been in to the Pedlers upper Settlement in the Spring and traded a fresh Supply of Ammunition &c. He accordingly distributed Presents to the Indians arrived to induce them to come here to Trade; and also Traded a few Furrs; And Several promised to accompany him proposing to Trade only some Liquor there: accordingly the first Day they Traded Liquor, many telling the Pedlers they intended to Trade no other Goods, but come here: The second day they also traded Liquor; but two Indians who were Sober having desired Robert Longmore to take their Furrs under his care and to set off on his way here the next morning, they being to follow him; He accordingly received a Bundle from one Man, and from another He received two Bundles; these he was Carrying one at a time from their Tents to his own, Passing near the Pedlers House: On passing with the Third Bundle he was addressed by the Pedler Henry (walking without) with the words You seem to be very Busy to Day? to which Robert Longmore returned not very busy, but that it was seemingly a busy time with them: Henry then said that he was more busy than He had a right, demanding to know what right he had in that Bundle, saying that He (Henry) had no right to interfere Henry then Threatened to take the Bundle from him, this Robert Longmore said he would resist, when (after some more repetitions [*sic.*] of the like Nature) Henry ordered four of his Men to take the Bundle by force. One Man immediately came & took hold of it but the other three did not Obey his Order until he had again repeated it with Swearing; accordingly they forced the Bundle from Robert Longmore's hands, he endeavouring to keep it: in the Struggle they had got within the Door of the House, He holding by a String; when the Younger Forbisher came to them, and being informed of the Affair, he insisted upon the Bundles being delivered up to them, this Robert Longmore as Strongly refused and some Altercation passed, but no personal Abuse, Forbisher and the other two Partners often telling Robert Longmore to recollect where he was, to Bridle his Tongue, and likewise often threatening they would make it worse for him, but not Specifying in what Manner. They told him He had no right to come upon their Plantation to Trade, more particklarly to go into

an Indians Tent to Trade; that he had no right to endeavour hindering Indians trading with them, concluding with their old Threat by way of intimidating him. To these He gave proper answers, saying that as the Honble. Hudson's Bay Company's Servant, He had a right to go to any part within their Limits where he was sent by his Superior & would, and hinted at their being Interlopers, some more words having passed but not of greater purport than above, Forbisher told Robert Longmore he might take that Bundle away but forbad his fetching at his Peril any more from the Indians Tents: To this Robert Longmore returned that he would not Comply, accordingly after he had carried that Bundle to his Tent he went for more; but He found the Indian whose Furrs he was fetching had been taken into the House by the Pedlers: Sometime after a Message was brought by an Indian demanding two Bundles of Furrs belonging to the Man in the House; this Robert Longmore would not comply with, saying that the Indian who belonged to them must himself come; the Messenger said that he could not being confined; then Robert Longmore went into the House to be certified, when the Indian that owned the Furrs desired they might be sent in lamenting that the Pedlers had in a Manner detained him as a Prisoner refusing to release him until all his Furrs should be brought in, then Robert Longmore seeming to pause Forbisher told him he must Comply otherwise the Furrs should be taken out of his Tent by force, He then went & gave them up to the Indian Sent for them. The first Bundle he received belonging to another Indian was all he had now in his Care.—In the Evening and during great part of the Night Robert Longmore observed the Pedlers Men to be very busy in Carrying into their House all the Indians Furrs they could find, this they did whilst the Indians were Drunk, lifting up the Eves of the Tent Cloths & taking the Bundles out, the Indians not having courage to resist: In the Morning a Native missing part of his Furrs that were carried in in the Night—He was referred by one of the Pedlers men to Robert Longmore saying that he was supposed to have Stole them having been seen Carrying Bundles of his Tent the day before: the Indian accordingly applying, Robert Longmore satisfied Him, shewing the Bundle He had in care and a few Furrs he had collected in Trade: Robert Longmore then went to the Window of the House and desired to Speak with Forbisher and asked if it was by his Order that he had been accused of Theft by one of their Men, shewing him the Person; this Forbisher denied, telling him however, that he supposed he had been drunken with the Natives in the Night and was then besotted so as to be incapable [*sic.*] of knowing what he had done: to this Robert Longmore returned, that he scorned the action of getting Drunk with the Indians or even with him; that He Could Justly say that he (Forbisher) had pillaged a Native of his Furrs Yesterday. The Indian having complained of their taking of his Furrs from him, and he had recieved Nothing in return except being made intoxicated; Forbisher then said that it was no Business of his, again bidding him remember where he was & threatning him that otherwise it should be worse for him, and again repeating that he had no right to Stop Indians Trading there, and it would

be serving him right to confine him in Irons as *Pangman had been lately confined by Mr. Jacobs at York Fort.** Some more words passed much to the same purport, the other Forbisher & Henry assisting to browbeat him saying *they were not afraid of the Company & such Stuff*; to these Robert Longmore returned proper answers, however cautiously avoiding saying anything that they might construe into personal Abuse; and reminded Forbisher of his having been very Active with his Colleagues in Collecting a large Quantity of Provisions here in the Fall of 74, which the Indians would not Trade before with Mr. Hearne notwithstanding his being in want and it being all procured by Ammunition supplied gratis by him, however He (Mr. Forbisher &c) on their Arrival very generously purchased the whole with their Liquor and Carried it off with them. Then one of their Men stepped up in a Bullying Manner, bidding Robert Longmore to desist from disputing with the Gentlemen their Masters, otherwise he and another present (whom he pointed to) would beat him & send him away abused to his Tent; before an Answer could be given to this, Forbisher told Robert Longmore to go about his Business, calling him dirty Rascal; accordingly thinking it unnecessary to continue the dispute he went away to his Tent, and according to agreement before made with the Natives he embarked; several having promised to follow him: the Second Day he was overtaken by Six Canoes of the Indians all that are coming, these saying that they were coming with what little they had left; but chiefly to see the road here none of them having ever been this way before.—The Indians with Robert Longmore having described the road and promised to leave Marks to guide them they left them on their way, he being desirous of getting speedily here to inform me of his Proceedings, and they are expected on Saturday. Robert Longmore told me that he traded the Keg (which he laid up some distance on this Side the Pedlers) with some Indians on his return whom he found waiting in the way to Trade with the Pedlers as they returned; but he collected from them all the Furrs they had, except one Beaver Coat which was said to have been traded before by the Pedlers and only lent to wear.—The two Canoes of Indians whom I sent off with William Flatt for York Fort on the 10th Instant I find are laying at a place for killing Sturgeon along with other Indians two days Paddle from Hence they pretending that one of their Canoes was in bad condition and one of them is become Sick; that by waiting there they have expended what Provisions & Ammunition they had, some of the Indians had also privately Stole William Flatts Supply, and therefore are waiting until I go to them proposing to accompany me down.—Robert Longmore informed me that the Pedlers were preparing to embark Just after him, Two Canoes of them set off that Morning before him, these he overtook and left on the Road having paddled in the Night, they are expected to pass here tomorrow.—I received 101 Made Beaver in Furrs from Robert Longmore in return for 94 Beaver of Goods sent with him, but he having kept no Account of his Expences I am prevented making a distinct Charge: I shall therefore Account for them along with the rest

*The Pedler Pangman received no such Treatment from Mr. Jacobs.

of the Trade as all Traded, as I had done with those before Expend by William Walker, charging no further expence on both Journeys except what was given as payment to the Indians for Carrying them. Robert Longmore informed me that the Course of the Place He was at is about N.W. from here; that they passed over Thirteen Carrying Places two in his passage from this Lake to the Beaver Lake where there is very bad Water; but beyond they had fine deep Water except at 11 Falls Where they carried. The Beaver Lake He said was only Clear of Ice about the distance of two hundred Yards agoing, But they did not see any Ice on their return. . . .

July 1st Monday. Wind Variable clear Weather. The Men employed squaring Timber. Six Canoes of A' Thopuskow Indians arrived (those expected) brought very little with them. They tell me that the Pedlers (four Canoes) overtook and passed by them three days ago; as we did not see them pass by here they must have gone by in the Night or gone down to Saskachiwan River through the little River below Us, which they did not use to do before, being Shallow in Places for them, however as the Water is at this time increased they may have gone that way: These Canoes with the two We see before pass are all that are going down, the other four are sent up with the Elder Forbisher with what Goods are remaining to reside above the Upper Settlement; The two Canoes which were used in carrying the Goods to the Upper Settlement last Year are it seems Useless. The Indians say that they Expect the Pedlers now gone down will be Stopped in their Passage Up by the Winter setting in; but most likely they will return in good time, as undoubtedly if they are late in Arriving at the Great Carrying Place Men with Goods in New Canoes will be sent up to meet them & exchange with them on this side, which they have before done upon these Occasions.

July 2nd Tuesday. I smoaked & traded with the Indians giving them Presents as encouragement; they greatly lament their Furrs being mostly expended at the Pedlers Settlement now they see the great difference of the rate of Trading here and there, pretending that many of them did propose accompanying them with Furrs but the Pedlers did in a Manner take them by force; however they say they came Now purposely to see the road being unacquainted, and promise to come here next Year; and also expect that The Account of their Treatment will induce many of their Countrymen to accompany them; but there is no dependance to be had in their Promises this way, for notwithstanding a Native may form ever such a Strong resolution he is of such a wavering disposition & Indolent the Pedlers by being in his road will cause him to change with their Liquor. These Indians seldom used to go down to York Fort generally going to Prince of Wale's Fort, but since the Pedlers have laid up that way that Trade has been entirely cut off, their Furrs are generally Beaver & Split Cats with a few Wolves & Martins. The Cats with some Beaver They Trade from Yachithinnee Indians in friendship & bordering upon them. The Pedlers by their Penetrating still further up seem to intend reaching these by this Means they will carry off all the Inland Cats, four or five Years ago, Cats were very plentiful

Here & in the Woody parts to the Southward &c. But now the Natives say there are scarce any, this is attributed to the Scarcity of Rabbets These being the Cats chief food. the scarcity of Rabbets was also remarked down to the Northward where they used to be Plentiful owing to a supposed dearth Amongst them. From what has been said I shall presume to infer the Necessity of the Company's having outer Settlements to Trade at: This Place is seemingly very well situated for Food which the everlasting resource of Fish will insure and it is very conveniently Situated as a repository for Goods when brought up &c. But otherwise Events will prove that but few Furrs can be collected here from the Natives; and for the kindest Treatment great presents & easy Trading will be an almost fruitless Expende, as they cannot pass the Circle of Pedlers that surround It, and even those that may come through the Pedlers most of them will be fleeced of great part of their Furrs. The advantages the Pedlers have is in their Situations & Quantities of Goods, from their great convenience of Carriage; But if the Company had as good conveniences, the Natives Approve so much of their Goods which I may presume to say may be traded at such a rate as most probably must in time ruin the Pedlers Until out Settlements can be made sending Men with Goods to Trade with the Natives in the Spring will be serviceable but liable to great delays from the lateness of the Season and rendered of small effect without a convenience of Transporting a considerable Quantity of Goods up is obtained.—I am fearful of being thought impertinent by presuming to point at any remedies, however with deference I think that Vessels in Canoe form made of Fir might be contrived of a small Draught of greater burden than the Indians Canoes, and Yet of such a Weight as to be carried occasionally by those who go in them, & the Company's Servants will probably sooner learn the Management of these as they will be much Steadier than Indian Canoes, which are dangerous to unskilful Persons. I have in my first Journal said that the Canadians are very unfit Men to be employed by the Company, from their General Characters & Obvious Behaviour, but if it may be thought Necessary to employ some of them many may be engaged in Canada who are proficient in building after the Pedlers manner.

It is clear therefore that the two Frobishers and Henry secured a large quantity of furs in the spring of 1776 from the Indians; that Primeau had spent the previous winter up the Churchill river, probably at Primeau lake; and that Thomas Frobisher and Primeau were to go up the Churchill river with four canoes to establish a post above Primeau's house at Ile à la Crosse. This post was established; but, as we shall see later, Thomas Frobisher did not remain in it during the winter. Joseph Frobisher

and Henry left the country and went down to Grand Portage and Montreal, the latter calling at Michipicoten on the way.

Between July 6 and 15, John Cole with nine Canadians arrived at Cumberland. The new house which they were building farther up the Saskatchewan was about three days' paddle above their former settlement. On October 4 two canoes of Canadian pedlars, with five Masters, including Frobisher, stopped for a short time on their way up the river; and on the ninth Captain Tute with two canoes stopped on his way to Frobisher's old houses at Beaver lake. In all, twenty-three canoes went up the Saskatchewan river.

It is here clearly shown that if one Frobisher had left the western country and had gone to Montreal in the previous spring, the other Frobisher was not at Ile à la Crosse on the Churchill river, but was now on his way up the Saskatchewan.

On October 5 Robert Longmoor, James Spence, and Malchom Ross were despatched up the Saskatchewan river to Eagle Hills, and did not return till February 7, 1777. They passed the Lower House (Fort à la Corne) where one Master and a few men, including Isaac Batt, were residing. The Upper House is up the West (North) Branch of the river, at a small river (Setting or Sturgeon river) a little on this side of the Thickwood Hills. Robert Longmoor's account is as follows: "They overtook the pedlars at the portage across the island and were in company with them most of the way up." On October 15 they reached the Lower Settlement (Fort à la Corne). On October 22 they reached the Upper Settlement (Sturgeon Fort) and remained there till November 2,

after which they pitched away to the plains. They left Eagle Hills about January 1. 1777

The pedlars were apparently very kind, for when Longmoor was coming down he reports:

Frobisher—one of those who behaved so ill to the northward—did ask his pardon for his ill treatment of him and laid the blame upon his partner Henry whom he said was the cause of all. . . .Frobisher it seems when here last Fall, made use of the same mean subterfuge of throwing the blame upon Henry, and asked pardon. . . .The pedler Frobisher is to come down with two canoes to go to the northward in the spring.

Longmoor was informed that the pedlars had received a packet overland from the north-west pedlars that winter, which said that they had traded twenty-eight packs of furs. The packet was only fourteen days in its passage. It was doubtless from Primeau at Ile à la Crosse, which is at the discharge of the Beaver river into the Churchill river.

On February 10, 1777, Robert Longmoor, Malchom Ross, James Wass, and William Oman set off again from Cumberland up the Saskatchewan. They went up beyond Sturgeon fort and did not return till June 7.

On May 8 William Tomison and William Walker, with William Lutit, William Gray, Magnus Twatt, Mitchell Oman and four Indians, started up the Saskatchewan river, with instructions to meet the Indians above the pedlars' settlement. On May 24 they reached the "Upper French House" [Sturgeon river fort], and put up a little above it on the opposite side of the river. "The Frenchman's House was just joining to two tracks; the Beaver Indians and the Snake Indians tracks." On May 25 it is recorded that "the men employed pitching a tent and logging it up about 4 feet high to stop theft." On May 28 William Walker went up the river to look for Robert Longmoor, who had left Cumberland House on

February 10, but on the following day he returned with Longmoor and his companion. One June 10 the party returned to Cumberland House.

On his return Tomison reported "that besides the emulation between him and the Pedlers, there were two different interests among the Pedlers themselves, having separated partnership awhile before—The pedlers have all come down from the settlement and are gone past, having accompanied Tomison part of the way."

Unfortunately we are only told the names of three of these pedlars, namely, Frobisher, Blondeau and Holmes; but we know from Peter Pond's statement on his map that he was at Sturgeon Fort that winter, and we may conjecture with reason that Peter Pangman, Booty Graves, Charles Paterson, and perhaps Charles McCormick, were also there.

On May 23, 1777, Frobisher called at Cumberland on his way to Beaver lake, where he had two canoes under Captain Tute, and from there he went on to Churchill river. On May 29 Robert Davey was sent after him to go to meet the "Athopaskow" Indians on Churchill river. When Davey returned on June 29 with twelve canoes of "Athopaskow" Indians he gave the following account of his trip:¹

1777

June 28th Saturday. That on the eight Day from here they reached the Pedlers Settlement in Missinnippee River to which all the Pedlers were removed from the Beaver Lake; Here the Leader contrary to his promise to me landed; the same day Robert Davey received three Messages from Frobisher desiring Him to come in, But he excused himself; The Next day Frobisher Himself came, and was so pressing for him to come in that He could not refuse any longer to Comply; Robert Davey accordingly went in,

¹"Journal of Occurrences and Transactions at Cumberland House by Matthew Cocking and others, commencing the 4th July 1776 and ending the 4th July 1777. July 4-Aug. 30 Wm. Walker, Aug. 31-Oct. 12 William Tomison, Oct. 13-July 4 Matthew Cocking."

and partook of a little food and a Pot of Liquor and then took his leave. On this Visit Frobisher offered Robert Davey any Assistance that He might want of Food &c. but which He excused himself from accepting, not being in want; Frobisher also assured Robert Davey, that none of their Men should use Him ill, telling Him that He was Welcome to Trade any Furrs then that He could or when the Indians might come down, but that He Himself was not wanting to make his fortune immediately and therefore would enlarge so much in Presents as to prevent any Indians accompanying Him here, except one Man might who was here last Year. *N.B.* To this Robert Davey returned; that He thought their Men had no right to use Him ill, and that He would do his best endeavours for the Interests of his Masters.

N.B. If Frobisher is to be believe He has already acquired a competent fortune Isaac Batt when here having informed me that He has heard Frobisher declare that last Year being the fifth his gains were in the whole increased to 9000£ & upwards and this is seemingly not to be discredited when the large Quantities of Furrs carried down by Him are considered Isaac Batt Also informed me that Blaundo who acted this Year as an Interpreter and Trader has two Hundred Pounds Salary besides other emoluments. Quere? [In different handwriting]

The next day (being the tenth day from here), Robert Davey and his Company embarked, proceeding by Short Stages up the River. The Indians Hunting as they went; On the fourth day They were overtaken by a Canoe of the Pedlers loaded with Goods, Frobisher being with them; and notwithstanding the Pedlers paddled briskly, they kept up with them and lay near them at Night; In this Manner they proceeded four days more; when they met the Indians, Twenty-eight Canoes; but previous to this they the day before met a Canoe of Indians bringing a packet for Frobisher, and soon after Lewis Primo with others in one of their own Canoes loaded with Furrs, three more of the same, seemingly well loaded, arrived with the Indians; One of them a new One built for them by the Indians, two more those who went up last Summer, and the fourth one of the old ones mended up, which were said last Year to be expended. On meeting the Indians, every one landed and Frobisher immediately cloathed Robert Daveys Leader and wife and intoxicated him with Liquor, to prevent his exerting himself: However the Indians traded Robert Daveys Liquor, Tobacco, and some of the other Articles, some of them at the same time Trading with the Pedlers; The next morning Robert Daveys Leader invited the Indians to his Tent and smoaked with them, endeavouring to perswade them to come here to Trade; This was complied with by those now arrived: The next day the Pedlers proceeded on their return to the lower House, The Indians who had traded with them returning for their own Country; Robert Davey and those who proposed to accompany Him also set off on their way here, when arrived near the Pedlers Settlement they crossed to the Opposite Side of the River to a Carrying Place they had to pass over, where they had landed their Furrs and were taking their Canoes out of the Water when they percieved a Pedlers Canoe coming

across, when they embarked in the empty Canoes and went to meet them having left their furs at the Carrying Place with Robert Davey alone. On meeting the Pedlers, after a little Conversation they all proceeded to the Settlement, and remained there that Night; The next day the Indians returned again to Robert Davey as empty as they went, saying that the Pedlers would give them nothing without the Furs were carried there, and accordingly they proceeded immediately on their way here. I have received 175 Made Beaver in Furs from Robert Davey in return for 73 Beaver of trading Goods expended by Him. What Goods remained He brought back.

June 30th Monday. Smoaked and Traded with the Indians giving them Presents as incouragement. They inform me that Several Canoes of their Countrymen expended all the remainder of their Furs at the Pedlers Settlement up Beaver River and went back, having traded great part there in the Winter; That most of those who traded with the Pedlers after they met Robert Davey (Sixteen Canoes) had but few Furs left, and therefore thought it Needless to come Here, The last Account Robert Davey has confirmed having observed only one Man to have a quantity of Furs considerable part of which He traded with Robert Davey for Tobacco.— Two Canoes of the Indians now arrived are but poorly Gooded, saying that as they wintered near the Pedlers Settlement they had not discretion to keep their Furs, notwithstanding the Pedlers having traded at an exorbitant rate; The rest of the Indians now Arrived were well gooded. I have traded 688 Made Beaver in Furs which added to 175 mentioned to be recieved Yesterday from Robert Davey, make 863 made Beaver recieved by this Expedition, almost wholly Coat and parchment Beaver.

On July 2, 1777, Cocking, the Master at Cumberland,¹ was told that "Frobisher, with seven canoes lay last night at the head of the little river [Tearing River] below here, and is supposed to have proceeded down it this morning to Saskatchewan river." This was probably Thomas Frobisher's final departure from the Saskatchewan

¹On July 5, 1777 Cocking was succeeded as Master at Cumberland House by William Tomison, and he himself was appointed to the charge of Severn, where he continued to reside until 1781. It is evident that his health continued poor after his removal here, because in the autumn of 1779 he again requests permission from the Governor and Committee to return home on account of ill-health. Two years later, however, he agrees to take over temporarily Humphrey Marten's position as Chief at York Factory, in spite of continued ill-health. On Marten's return from Europe in 1782, Cocking embarked on board the Company's ship *King George* (Captain Jonathan Fowler) on August 22, 1782, and thus narrowly escaped capture by the French squadron under La Pérouse which had already been sighted at York Factory before the *King George* took her hurried departure for home. Within a few days Humphrey Marten was obliged to surrender the fort, and the majority of the inmates were conveyed as prisoners to France. It appears that Cocking subsequently lived in retirement, and that his death took place in or about the year 1799 when we find a reference to a provision in his Will for an annual payment to each of his three daughters at Hudson Bay.

country, and as Louis Primeau went to Montreal that summer, it is probable that these two went together.

On September 5 is the following entry in the Cumberland Journal: "Two canoes of upland Indians from the Buffalo country arrived. I do not think the two canoes of Uplanders would have come here had there been any of the Canadian traders up above." This, taken with the previous statement that all the pedlars went down in the early summer, would indicate that their houses were deserted for the summer. On September 22 Robert Longmoor, Edward Lutit, James Spence, and William Flatt set off from Cumberland for the Buffalo country, with a quantity of ammunition and supplies sufficient for the winter, and they also took a small assortment of goods to trade. At the same time Isaac Batt, who had rejoined the Hudson's Bay Company in the spring of 1777, set off for the same country with his family.

On October 1 Captain Tute called with four canoes, on his way to Beaver lake where he and St. Germain were to winter. He reported that seventeen canoes had gone up the Saskatchewan and twenty more were coming. Tute was given a bag of "pimmicon" and other food. This is the earliest date on which I know of the word pimmicon being used. It consists of lean meat, which is dried, shredded, and packed in a skin bag, usually made out of the green hide of an animal, after which enough boiling fat is poured into the bag to fill it.

On October 7 two Master traders came to the house, namely Pond and Bruce. The former had been up the Saskatchewan the previous year, and both now were on their way up the river.

On November 3 a man came from the Upper Settlement (Sturgeon Fort) on his way to John Ross at Pasquia. He reported that all the masters were at the same settle-

ment where they had been the previous year, and were all entered into one general concern. A Canadian and his woman coming from Pasquia on January 24, 1778, said that Ross and his men were starving. He brought with him the following letter signed by John Ross:

Sir,

If your generosity will induce you to supply the bearer with a little provisions you will greatly oblige his employers who is Messrs. Bruce, Graves and Pund.

It is needless to say that this help was not refused.

On February 13 two Canadians arrived from the Upper Settlement on their way to Beaver lake, and brought the following letter:

Sturgeon River Fort 29th Janny. 1778

Gentlemen

Tho' unacquainted with You, I take the liberty of writing to You, which I hope you will excuse when you consider the Contents. Last September a Man I had in my Service named Leduke (with four others, whose Names are Yarta, Marta and Savoy, the latter speaks a little English) ran off and stole from Me a Canoe load of Goods its my Opinion they'll be audacious enough to attempt to go to some of Your Forts next spring or Summer. Dear Gentlemen I beg you will take the trouble of advising the Gentlemen of your different Forts of the felonious Act committed by them Villains, I flatter myself by the Character you bear, if they steer their Course to any of Your places that they'll be apprehended and the effects seized which will be gratefully acknowledged by

Gentlemen

Your very Hum^{ble} Servant

Charles McCormick.

Last November a Frenchman named Francis killed an Indian here, He steered his Course by all Accounts we can hear towards You; it is humbly begged of You by all the Traders here; that if he happens to be at Your Fort or where he can be apprehended by You, We think ourselves as Englishmen in Friendship bound to advise You of the Villain as per Chance He may be guilty of as bad an Action at Your place: We are Gentlemen

Your very Hum^{ble} Servants

Booty Graves.

Charles McCormick.

William Bruce.

Peter Pond.

Peter Pangman.

Nicholes Ma Ture. [Montour]

Bart^w. Blundau. [Blondeau]

P.S. The Gentle-
men here have
permitted me to
sign for them.
Charles McCormick.

We have here the names of the seven Canadian traders who were wintering together at Sturgeon Fort, and who were all in one partnership. Whether Ross at Pasquia or St. Germain and Tute at Beaver lake were independent or not is uncertain. In a later place it is stated that the Canadians that winter had thirty-nine canoes up the Saskatchewan, two at Pasquia and four at Beaver lake. It is not likely that there were any traders at Ile à la Crosse that winter.

On May 4, 1778, William Walker, Robert Davey, Charles Isham, William Oman and William Taylor left Cumberland House to go up the Saskatchewan above the Canadian settlement; but as they got back to Cumberland on June 3 they doubtless did not go above Sturgeon Fort.

On May 26 is the following entry:

Peter Pond, one of the Canadian traders, arrived here with 5 large canoes from above loaded with goods. He is going to penetrate into the Athapuskow country as far as he can possibly go, and there to stay this next winter. He brought Isaac Batt with two bundles of furs from the Upper Settlement, he not having a canoe to come down in. I could not but in civility ask him to come in the house for his kindness, I also returned him thanks for the supply of provisions he gave to William Walker when he arrived at the Upper Settlement, which Wm. Walker informs me was of great service to him, there being no Indians there to trade provisions with.

Peter Pond had spent two winters on the Saskatchewan river with a number of partners in a trading-post just above the present site of Prince Albert, where he had doubtless had many opportunities of talking with Thomas Frobisher and some of his men about the trade with the Chipewyan Indians from lake Athabaska, and of the excellent quality of the furs brought from that district. He was a good trader, but a poor partner, for he was intolerant of instructions or suggestions from others. Seven fur-traders, as shown by the signatures to the above letter, he considered far too many to be

living at one trading establishment; and he believed, quite correctly, that he could realize a larger profit if he and the men employed by him alone could reach the centre of the Chipewyan country at or near lake Athabaska. The route up the Churchill river to Ile à la Crosse was doubtless perfectly well known to some of his men, and during Primeau's residence at this latter trading-post, men had probably been retained to guide him to Athabaska river and lake, or a packet may have been sent overland from Sturgeon Fort to Ile à la Crosse to have a guide waiting there for him on his arrival. His partners at Sturgeon Fort probably subscribed in providing his outfit, in the belief (which was quite natural for such men on the frontier of civilization, who had all their lives been accustomed to take great risks themselves, and to look with unconcern on others taking such risks), that he would either return having realized a good profit for them, or if he did not return they would be rid of an irritating partner. He had five canoes, with four men to a canoe, which made a party of twenty men in all under his control.

We know little about his subsequent movements that year except that he reached Athabaska river during the summer or autumn, and built a trading-post near the head of its delta south of lake Athabaska, where he spent the winter. The following summer he came out with a heavy cargo of rich furs. His later activities are referred to briefly elsewhere in this volume.¹

1775 On May 27 Joseph Hansom was sent off northward to meet the "Athopuskow" Indians, and on June 23 he returned, having had excellent success in securing furs to the value of 2010 Made Beaver.

¹For the fullest available account of Pond's life consult *Peter Pond: fur-trader and adventurer*, by H. A. Innis (Toronto, 1930).

On August 17 the Master at Cumberland writes "The Canadian Masters have left men up [the Saskatchewan] this summer to collect provisions etc., against their arrival." Probably these men continued up the river from Sturgeon Fort and built or were building the houses which Longmoor reached later in the autumn and Philip Turnor reached the following spring. They then went beyond that settlement to the Eagle Hills, where buffalo were plentiful, and built the houses where Cole was killed in the following spring.

On September 6, "6 canoes of Canadian Traders landed at a Point below us, the Masters of which are Monsieurs St. Germain and Primo, the former wintered last year in the Beaver lake, the latter is come from Montreal this summer; they intend to proceed nigh hand to the Athopuskow country, where Primo wintered two years ago. They are in the employ of Mr. Frobisher and Partners." They were on their way to Ile à la Crosse, where Primeau had already spent the winter of 1776-7. A few weeks later one canoe of Canadian traders went past on their way to Beaver lake. On September 21 an Indian reported that Blondeau and Pangman had gone up the Saskatchewan river, and a few days later Holmes and Graves with ten canoes also went up the river.

On September 24 William Tomison took charge at Cumberland House. He had brought with him from York Fort the following letter:

York Fort 4th August, 1778.

Mr. William Tomison or the Commanding
Officer at Cumberland House.

Sir.

We the chief and Council for the Honorable the Hudson's Bay Company at York Fort having taken into our most serious Consideration the Situation of the Companys Affairs Inland are greatly alarmed at the Information We

have received from You and Other Persons of the greatly increased numbers of Canadian Traders that now overspread almost this Country and have absolutely blocked up every Passage to their Honor's Inland Settlement, as most of those to York Fort. In Order to prevent as much as possible the apparent approaching increasing Evils from intirely destroying the Natives and consequently the Companys Trade, We think it necessary for You to send off from the Inland Settlement as soon as possible after Your arrival at that place Robert Longmoor with what men can be spared and an assortment of Goods that may be requisite for the Indians tribes that now are hindered by the Canadian Traders from coming to You; Robert Longmoor hath faithfully promised to go as far as any of the Canadians shall Inland, and to do his Utmost for his Master's Interest; in Consideration of his known abilities, Fidelity and Courage, We have agreed to his signing a Contract for one Year at 30£ Per Annum, but has it was impossible either to get Goods from hence Inland or to supply Robert Longmoor with Men sufficient to assist him in his intended Journey; We have entertained Willm. Oman one Year at 12£ with this Clann, that should the Honorable Committee agree to give their other Servants whom are now at William Oman's Wages a higher Salary, He shall receive an equal benefit; James Banks two Years and on the same Conditions William Flatt two Years and on the above Conditions, James Spence late Servant to Mr. Martin is engaged to serve the Company two Years at 10£; Isaac Batt having desired to have a quantity of Goods delivered to Him in trust to trade for his Masters benefit, Should You think it prudent so to do, We desire You will supply him in an Quantity that may be requisite to enable him to promote their Honors Interest; should any other Persons be willing to go on the like Service that You think are fit to be trusted You will please to assist them as farr as is necessary. Wishing You and all under Your Command health and Happiness We remain

Sir

Your Obedient Servants

Humphrey Marten, Chief

William Stephenson, Surgeon.

In accordance with the instructions contained in the above letter, Robert Longmoor was sent up the Saskatchewan river on September 27 with eleven white men and six Indians. "The men were as follows, viz., Robert Longmoor in charge, Magnus Twatt, Malchom Ross, James Banks, Charles Isham, James Spence, James Leask, Mitchell Oman, William Oman, James Spence [*sic*], James Batt and Isaac Batt, also assisted by six Indians.

I have sent with them an assortment of trading goods to the amount of 2406 Made Beaver”.

As we shall see later, these men ascended the river about forty miles above Sturgeon Fort, where the Canadian traders had built a number of houses. Here they were stopped by the ice forming in the river, and obliged to remain for the winter. The Canadians had another trading post near the Eagle Hills, ninety miles still farther up the river, which Longmoor doubtless intended to reach, but he was not able to do so on account of the ice in the river, though whether any of his men visited it during the winter or not is not known. The country along the river as far as the Eagle Hills was perfectly well known to him, as he had been up it four times in the past three years.

On October 11 Philip Turnor, a surveyor and mathematician just out from England, arrived at Cumberland House from York Factory and brought two letters from Mr. Humphrey Marten, the Master in charge of York Factory, the first of which was in part as follows:

York Fort 9th Sept., 1778.

Mr. William Tomison or the Commanding Officer at
Cumberland House

Sir.

By the safe arrival of the Company's ship *King George* Captain Jonathon Fowler, I received command from the Governor, Deputy Governor and Committee of the Honorable Hudsons Bay Company. . . .It would be highly pleasing to their Honors to have the House in the Buffalo Country settled as soon as possible, and I hope long since Robert Longmoor with sufficient hands and materials have been sent on that Service. I intend next year to augment your number to 26 men, that is if you should think that number requisite, three of whom may be left if convenient at the new Settlement, which for distinction sake, you may call Hudson House. . . .I beg Sir you will exert yourself to the Utmost and assure the Companys Servants of having their deserts laid before the board; the building of Canoes should be a primary Object with You; have inclosed three filled up Contracts, which You are to see dated and duly Executed, which you will please to return by the first Conveyance. . . .Should You find any thing in the Mineral or

Vegetable way worthy their Honors attention You will be carefull to send it; I would advice You to trade full to the York Fort for Prime Wolves or Otters and should any Indian bring You a considerable Number of fine skins, make him a suitable present rather then alter the Standard; I remain with sincere Wishes for Your health as also all under Your command.

Your Obedient Servant,
Humphrey Marten.

§IV. *Philip Turnor*

In the preceding pages we have traced the progress of the fur-traders inland from York Factory to the Saskatchewan river and for six hundred miles up that river to the country of the Buffalo-hunting Indians on the Great Plains. On the river the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and the independent traders from Montreal met in keen, but usually friendly, competition. The Canadian competition, however, cut seriously into the profits of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the officers of the Company in the country wrote to the Governor and Committee of the Company in London telling them of the efforts that they were making to retain the trade, and of how they were sending their men throughout that vast unknown country to follow the Indians to their hunting and tenting grounds, and to secure their furs before they took them to the Canadian traders.

Similar rivalry in the fur trade existed on the Moose and Albany rivers, a thousand miles and more away. The Committee in London sent out the supplies for the trade and was supposed to direct the trading operations in Rupert's Land. While the trading-posts were confined to the shores of the Bay this was comparatively easy, as the Bay had been sufficiently explored and charted to enable the Committee to keep track of the ships that plied between those posts and London. But

when it became necessary to follow the Indians inland, conditions became entirely different. The interior country southwest and west of the Bay was quite unknown. There were no maps indicating the positions of its rivers, lakes and other natural features, and the names of places used in the letters from the officers on the Bay were merely meaningless words.

In order to help the Governor and Committee to understand more clearly the efforts made by the Company's officers and employees to obtain furs from the Indians, and the conditions and difficulties that had to be encountered in obtaining these furs, they decided if possible to send three surveyors into that vast uncharted wilderness known to them as Rupert's Land to determine the positions of the rivers and lakes that their men had to navigate, as well as the positions of their own settlements, and those of the traders opposing them.

With this object in view the Secretary of the Company wrote the following letter to William Wales, an old friend who with Joseph Dymond had lived for a year with their officers at Fort Prince of Wales at the mouth of Churchill river, where they had observed the transit of Venus over the sun on June 3, 1769:

1778

Mr. William Wales,
Mathematical Master at Christ's Hospital.

Sir,

The Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company intending to send Out this year by their Ships which will sail the latter end of May next for their several Settlements in Hudsons Bay, three or more Persons well skilled in the Mathematics and in making Astronomical Observations, under the Direction of the Chiefs at the respective Factories, which Persons are to travel Inland with the Title of Inland Surveyors, and to rise to higher Stations in the Comp^y^s. Service according to Merit, and that each of the Persons so employed shall have a fixed Salary of Fifty Pounds a year, with the promise of a Gratuity in proportion to Services performed.

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The Committee therefore request you to use your best Endeavors to procure Persons, answering the above Description for the Companys Service.

I am,

Sir,

Your most hble Serv^t.

(signed) W[illiam] R[edknap]

Sec^y.

Wales evidently recommended Philip Turnor for the position, and he was accordingly engaged, as is shown by the following extract from the Minutes of the Hudson's Bay Company Committee of April 30, 1778:

Mr. Wales (of Christ's Hospital) having by letter dated the 14th Instant recommended Mr. Philip Turnor as a Person skilled in Mathematics to go in the Companys Service as an Inland Surveyor for 5 years, at £50 p ann. Engaged him accordingly; he is to mess with the Captain whilst On board the ship & with the Chief when at the Factory; his Wages are to commence from his Arrival at York Fort.

The Company showed its gratitude to Wales by the following action of the Committee on June 24, 1778:

. . . Passed a Bill of £3.15. for Mathematical Books for the use of Mr. Philip Turnor at York Fort & Ordered that £5. 5. be presented to Mr. William Wales of Christ's Hospital for his trouble in endeavoring to procure Inland Surveyors.

On May 6 Turnor executed his contract for service as Inland Surveyor for three years. In it he is described as "Aged about twenty-six years, of Laleham in Middlesex." Nothing is known of Philip Turnor's antecedents, nor of where or how he obtained his education or training as a surveyor, nor of what work he had done before he was employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Enquiries were made at Christ's Hospital, but his name is not in its records as having been a pupil at that great school. He was the first man to be definitely employed by the Hudson's Bay Company in the sole capacity of Surveyor, although many of the ship captains in its employ had doubtless been able to make surveys of the coasts visited

by them, and to take astronomical observations for latitude, and probably also for longitude. The Company had also from time to time employed a number of men who were more or less competent to make surveys, though their principal duties may have been in their other capacities. The Company informs me that "So far as we have been able to ascertain, Philip Turnor, when he entered the service in 1778, was the first person specifically engaged by the Company in the sole capacity of 'Surveyor'." In a letter from the Governor and Committee in London to James Nixon, Governor in Hudson Bay, dated May 29, 1680, the Company shows some desire for sketches and maps of the Hudson Bay Country. An extract from the letter reads as follows: "Wee recommend to your kind usage Mr. Bryan Norbury whose parents are persons of good value. And we hope his ingenuity and faithfullness will appear to be such that he will deserve a good character. Hee hath been entred in the Mathematicks and hath a peculiar Genius for making of Land-skips, wherein if he proves diligent he may be usefull to us."

Joseph Robson was sent out to Hudson Bay in 1733 as "Mason", being employed in this capacity in the construction of Fort Prince of Wales at the mouth of Churchill river. On the occasion, however, of Robson's second engagement in 1744, we find the following statement: "We have entertained . . . Joseph Robson, *Mason and Surveyor* for three years."

On April 27, 1744, the Committee sanctioned an expenditure "for a box of Surveying Instruments for Joseph Robson's use going to York Fort." Two years later Robson received instructions from the Governor and Committee in London to make a survey of Churchill

river, and a journal kept by him during the period 1746-47 furnishes an account of the survey then made.

On May 21, 1750, the Governor and Committee in London wrote to John Newton, the Governor of York Factory, instructing him "to ascertain various distances in the vicinity"; and for his assistance a complete set of surveying instruments and a measuring wheel were sent out, together with Joseph Robson's map of the lower part of Nelson and Hayes rivers, compiled in 1745. Newton and Captain Spurrell were requested to verify the correctness of the map.

In 1752, the Governor and Committee, in writing to James Isham and the council at York Factory, expressed their appreciation of the diligence shewn "in coming at the certainty of the distances specified in a Book together with Drafts", and recommended that "a further knowledge thereof" be pursued "when . . . opportunity presents without breaking into the Necessary Business of the Factory."

In February 1754, Anthony Henday received instructions to proceed with the measuring wheel on a journey of exploration from York Factory up the Hayes and Steel rivers returning to the Factory by Nelson river, and later in the same year he proceeded on a journey to the country of the Blackfeet.

On March 10, 1754, Christopher Atkinson and Joseph Waggoner were sent from York Factory with an Indian "to view the coast towards Severn river and to take a Draught of the same also to Erect Marks for the Sloop in the Summer," and on April 7 they returned from Severn after making the necessary observations.

On March 31, 1766, Matthew Cocking was sent from York Factory "to measure the distance between Ship

River and the Fort"; and during 1772-73 he undertook his famous journey of exploration to the Blackfeet country.

On March 6, 1774, John Martin, a Hudson's Bay Company servant, received instructions from Humphrey Marten, Chief at Albany "to measure the whole distance from Albany Fort to Henley House" including "the bearings of all the remarkable Points, Bluffs, Rivers, Creeks and Islands." He was in addition required to observe the course of each river or creek, to take its breadth at its mouth, and to notice if the shores were well provided with wood for building. Wherever possible, the breadth and length of all islands were to be noted, together with a description of the timber growing thereon, and both the English and Indian names of all places, rivers, etc.

In September 1775, we find that the following instructions were issued by Thomas Hutchins, Chief at Albany Factory, to John Favell, Master at Henley House:

You are to send out five or six of Your Men at proper Seasons to Lake St. Anns in particular which is supposed to be about 150 Miles above Henley. Your attention however is not to be confined solely to this Place, but to send your People to any other Parts of the Country; Search the Rivers, and Lakes & Observe their Connections, Source, Course, Depth, & other particulars and take a plan of them as exact as possible even to Lake Superior, Machillimackanac, and Montreal: after You have compleated the discovery of those parts adjacent to Henley; let your People be encouraged by Rewards and Promises of the Company's Favour to distinguish themselves on this Service & emulate each other in the fullest Execution of Your Orders.

On May 10, 1774, the Company engaged two apprentices from the Grey Coat Hospital at Westminster, namely, George Donald and John Hodgson. The following extracts shew that their educational abilities were considered as likely to be of value in the Service:

We recommend John Hodgson to your especial Care & Attention & that he be kept to the Practice of Writing & Accounts, at all Opportunities, when not employed on inland Journeys, making Observations & taking the dis-

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tances of Places, & making Plans, in which You are to take every Oppertunity of making him usefull, and which we have reason to hope may easily be effected considering his Education at School, & employment here this Summer, in Surveying Albany River.

and

We have engaged . . . George Donald as an Apprentice for 7 years from the 10th Instant whom We do recommend to the especial care and attention of Our present Chief and that he be kept to the practice of Writing and Accounts and the several Instructions He has already Received by his Education at School and whereby We expect he may become very useful to the Company and particularly by going hereafter Inland into the Country and making Observations and taking the distance of Places and making Plans.

It is evident from the following extract that the services of John Hodgson were soon appreciated at Albany Factory:

. . . I hope Your Honours will please to send me another, a brisk Lad who can write a good hand, or one out of the Grey Coat Hospital, that in time he may be useful in the same manner as John Hodgson who behaves extremely well, his Plans will shew that Care has been taken, he should not loose what he has learnt at School.

It will be remembered that a few years later, in 1784, David Thompson was apprenticed to the Service from the Grey Coat Hospital, and so also was George Charles in 1785.

As further evidence of the Company's increasing interest in surveying during the years immediately preceding Turnor's engagement, we find that in 1775 instructions were sent by Thomas Hutchins, Chief at Albany Factory, to Thomas Moore, Master at Eastmain House, urging that some of the Company's servants be sent inland and encouraged "to make proper Observations of the Course, Depth & Connection of Rivers & Lakes; Number, Situation, & Trade of Canadians, & Indians &c."; and that they be informed "that their assiduity & success . . . will redound to their own Honour & Benefit." In addition, the completion of the survey of Rupert river was strongly urged.

On May 15, 1776, the Governor and Committee asked Matthew Cocking for particulars of the Latitude and Longitude of Pasquia (Cumberland House).

In the early part of 1777, George Donald was employed in surveying the river in the neighbourhood of "Mesackamy" House. At about the same time instructions were issued by Thomas Hutchins, Chief at Albany Factory, to John Favell, Master at Henley House, urging him "to proceed up Country with a band of Indians, and during the journey to note down as Correct as possible the Names width and Depth of the Rivers and Lakes, with the number and length of Falls and carrying places, also on which side the Path is & how to be found, the situation of Fishing places, and what of that or other kinds of Provisions Can be procured at every Place." In addition, Favell was instructed to procure as much information as possible about "the Situation of the Rivers and Lakes" above Henley House, noting down the names and particulars regarding each.

In 1778, similar instructions were issued by Hutchins to John Kipling, Master of the newly established post of Gloucester House; and it appears that within a few months of this date John Hodgson was employed for the purpose of determining the precise situation of Gloucester House.

On May 20, 1778, Philip Turnor sailed from the Thames on board the Hudson's Bay Company ship *King George*, and arrived at York Fort on August 24. His instructions are included in a letter to him from Humphrey Marten, Chief at York Factory, and Matthew Cocking:

The Committee being Very desirous to have the Lattitudes [*sic*] and Longitudes of all their settlements properly ascertained [*sic*], also their respective distances from each regularly a[d]justed, you will be particularly

careful to give them full satisfaction on those heads; and if time would permit, to make sketches of the Rivers Lakes &c. you pass through, but by no means to retard your Journey this fall on that Account.

Orders having been given this Summer to the Commanding Officer inland, to erect a Settlement a considerable distance beyond Cumberland House, When you have finished your Observations at that place, you are to proceed to that which we expect will be Erected, and in like manner settle the Latitude and Longitude of its situation. . . .

The conditions under which he was employed, and generally what he was to do, are given in a letter dated May 13, 1778, from the Governor and Committee of Hudson's Bay Company, London, to Humphrey Marten, Chief at York Factory, from which the following is an extract:

Being very desirous to have the Longitude and Latitude of Our several Factories ascertained and also of our Inland Settlements, and their respective Distances from one another and from the Factory on which they are dependent in order to settle with Certainty the shortest communication between them, We have engaged Mr. Philip Turnor under the Title of Inland Surveyor for Three years at £.50. a year he is to mess at your Table and also at the Tables of Our other Chiefs during his stay at each Factory, and to be accommodated in the best manner possible for his several Journeys.

You are therefore to consult with Mr. [Matthew] Cocking [Chief at Severn], and give Mr. Turnor the fullest Instructions for his proceeding to Basquiau, Cumberland House and any other Inland Settlements that may have been made on that Track, and when Mr. Turnor has finished his Observations, at those places, he is to proceed to Albany and Moose Forts, upon the same Service—You are to send with him George Hudson Our Apprentice to be his Assistant, and he is occasionally to be Assisted by John Hodgson and George Donald Our other two Apprentices at Albany and Moose Forts.

Mr. Turnor is to be directed to keep an exact Journal of the proceedings and to give Us his Opinion on every matter that may occur;—And You are to write by him to Our other Chiefs for a due reception of him at their respective Tables, and for their best advise and Assistance during his Journeys.

Mr. Turnor having contracted for only 3 years, We expect to receive an Account of his Progress, by the next years Shipping.

As soon as Turnor arrived at York Factory he made a survey of it. He found it in a tolerable state of repair, and reported that only minor renovations were necessary.

A copy of his plan of the Factory is included at the end of this volume. It shows the fort just as it must have existed four years later when it was taken and destroyed by La Pérouse in 1782, at which time Humphrey Marten was in charge.

After making the plan of the fort he set off for Cumberland House, bearing the following letter from Humphrey Marten to William Tomison:

Mr. William Tomison or the Commanding
Officer at Cumberland House.

Sir.

The Bearer Mr. Philip Turnor, being by the Governor Deputy Governor and Committee of the Honorable Hudsons Bay Company appointed their Surveyor for settling the Latitudes, Longitudes, Courses and distances of the different Settlements Inland, You are to give the said Gentleman all requisite and possible assistance to enable him to give all satisfaction in the above, or any other duties required of him; He is to be treated in the most respectful manner, and accommodated with every thing requisite to facilitate his Expedition; on this Account the Expence it will Occasion must be only Your secondary Object; and the Gentlemen being desirous to have the earliest intelligence of Mr. Turnor's proceedings, You will transmit to Us whatever He shall think worthy of their attentions, taking particular care that every transaction be executed with the deepest Secresy:—For fear of Accidents in coming to the Fort duplicates should be taken of all material papers, and Transmitted to the Fort by different Channels, each to be entrusted to Englishmen only.—When Mr. Philip Turnor hath finished his Survey of the Inland Settlements under Your direction; It will be highly agreeable to the Committee could Mr. Turnor be conducted thro the Lakes inland to Albany or Moose Forts, but if that is not Practicable, You will give him every assistance to render his return to York Fort expeditious and agreeable; should the Indian Metu.ne.ke.shick. and Ne.pin.no.a.think behave well, You are to give each Six or eight Beaver they have been paid in part at this place 30 Beaver each, a little Brandy and Tobacco as usual.

You will please to observe that the Company have directed that Mr. Turnor shall mess at the respective Chief's Table where he shall reside, and should he proceed thro' the Lakes give Notice to the Chiefs of Albany and Moose Forts of their Honors pleasure.

We remain Sir

Your Obedient Servants

Humphrey Marten. Chief.

Matthew Cocking. Second.

William Stephenson. Surgeon."

From that time on, his journal, as printed in this volume, speaks for itself. He was taken by Indians in their canoes up Nelson and Grass rivers to Cumberland House, from which place, after the winter set in, he walked up the Saskatchewan river on the ice for about two hundred and eighty miles to a rough group of huts built by the Canadian traders, in two of which Robert Longmoor and his men were living. In the spring and summer he returned down the Saskatchewan and Hayes rivers in canoes to York.

At times he would appear to have had more accidents and difficulties than were necessary; but it must be remembered that his associates, and the conditions under which he was travelling, and the food which he was obliged to eat, were all quite new and strange to him. He did not grumble at the hardships he had to encounter, and his attitude in adapting himself to primitive conditions of life was one of great courage.

At some later time he made a map on the scale of seventeen nautical miles to the inch, extending from North latitudes 50° to $57\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and from West longitudes 93° to 107° , to which he gave the title: "A Chart of/Rivers and Lakes/Falling into/Hudsons Bay/According to a Survey taken/in the years 1778 & 9/By Philip Turnor." It delineates the two routes travelled by him from York Fort to Cumberland House, and the Saskatchewan river up to "*Where R. Longmore wintered in 1778-9.*"

A later map was drawn by him on the same scale. It shows the same two routes, but it also shows a route travelled by Malchom Ross in 1786 from Fort Prince of Wales to Cumberland House. This map is included in the present volume. Ross's route was evidently about

as follows:—He descended Churchill river to its mouth in Hudson Bay, rounded Eskimo Point, turned westward across Button's Bay to the mouth of Powkatakuskow river, which he calls "Pauqua-a-thacow a scow seepe". He ascended this river to Etawnei lake. From this lake he crossed one or more portages to the head of a stream which flows southward into Churchill river. After reaching Churchill river he ascended it through Southern Indian lake to the mouth of Kississing or Cold river, which he ascended, crossed Kississing lake, and thence continued up stream to Kisseynew or Old Man lake. From a narrow arm on the south side of this lake are a couple of portages, one three-quarters of a mile long, over which his canoes and supplies were carried over the height of land between the Churchill and the Saskatchewan watersheds. After crossing these portages he reached Wabishkok lakes, from which he descended Pineroot river to Athapapuskow lake, and thence by Goose river, over Goose lake, down lower Goose river to Sturgeon-weir river, and down it for three miles to Cumberland Lake and Cumberland House.

On July 15 Philip Turnor arrived at York Factory from his trip to Hudson House on the Saskatchewan river; and two months later, on September 17, he set out along the coast of Hudson Bay as a passenger in the Severn sloop, with his brother John as captain and a crew of eight men. Eight days were spent coasting along in shallow water near the shore, where the ebbing tide often left the muddy bottom exposed for miles at a time, and travel might have been possible only at the flood.

On September 21, having travelled two hundred and twenty-five miles, they reached the mouth of Severn river, and the little trading-post that the Hudson's Bay Com-

pany had on its western bank. Here they stopped for four days, enjoying the company of Matthew Cocking, who had been in charge of Cumberland House a few years before, and who doubtless would have had many questions to ask about his old friends and associates there, and at the same time would have had many stories to tell both of his friends and of his adversaries the "Canadians".

After this break in the journey, Turnor re-embarked in the sloop and continued to Moose Factory, a distance of five hundred miles, where they arrived on October 21, after a "very fatiguing voyage" along that bleak snow-covered sea-coast in the cold windy autumn weather. A couple of months were spent at Moose Factory, after which Philip Turnor and his brother John, along with John McNab the surgeon, and six other men, set off overland for Albany Fort, where they arrived after a tramp of eight days. Here a couple of months were spent in the company of Thomas Hutchins, the Master of this Fort, whose name is well known to naturalists as one of the earliest and best collectors of the birds and animals of northern Canada.

It was then the nineteenth of February and the days were getting longer, so that there was plenty of daylight in which to accomplish a good day's travel on snowshoes. Turnor therefore started on a tramp up the Albany river, accompanied by John Hodgson and four other white men, and on the eleventh day they arrived at the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post called Henley House, having travelled in all about a hundred and forty miles. His eyes were attacked with snow-blindness, and the tramp proved too great a strain on his strength. Gloucester House, his objective when he left Albany Factory, was a hundred and eighty miles farther up the river, much

farther than he was then able to walk. He therefore decided to rest for a while, and then, as provisions were very scarce at Henley, to return to Albany, and there await the time when the ice would have gone out of the river and he would be able to ascend it in a canoe. He therefore tramped back to Albany, and reached it on March 24, when the travelling over the snow was still good. Neither going nor returning did he make any survey of his route.

After remaining at Albany for two and a half months until summer had arrived, he started up the Albany river in a canoe, and reached Henley House on June 21 and Gloucester House on July 8, making as he went rough estimates of the distances travelled from day to day. At Gloucester House he stayed till August 2, and then started down the river in a canoe, making a careful survey as he went, taking his directions with a compass, estimating the distance travelled on each course, and checking the whole survey to make it correspond to the positions in latitude and longitude as determined by astronomical observations. Albany Fort was reached on August 11, and a month later he left for Moose Factory. The accounts of these trips are given in detail in the journals here published.

The autumn of 1780 was spent at Moose Factory, but when the winter set in, and travelling over the snow was good, he decided to take a Christmas trip to Albany, especially as there was a party of seven men returning there led by his old companion and friend, John Hodgson. On January 12, 1781, he returned to Moose, and ten days later he left there to survey the south and south-east shore of James Bay to Rupert and East Main Houses, and returned again to Moose on the first of March.

On April 2, 1781, he set out for Mesakamy lake, which lies about seventy-five miles a little east of south from Moose, but he had left the trip too late in the season, the crust on the snow broke under the snowshoes and sledges, and he was unable to travel, and was obliged to return on his beaten track.

After another month at Moose, he started on Friday, May 11, up the Moose river, with one man to assist him in a canoe, while nine men took a boat loaded with provisions and supplies for Wapiscogamy House on the Missinaibi river, about a hundred and thirty miles above Moose Fort. They arrived on May 23.

On June 7 he left Wapiscogamy House for Michipicoten on lake Superior, making a survey of the route as he went, and he arrived back on July 9. He continued his survey down the river to Moose Factory, where he arrived on Friday, July 13. Two weeks later he started from Moose to go to the Canadian settlement on lake Abitibi. Instead of ascending Abitibi river, he decided to go by French creek and Mesakamy lake, but the water was so shallow in French creek that he could not take his canoe up it, and he was obliged to return to Moose, where he arrived on August 7, thus having made a second unsuccessful attempt to reach Mesakamy lake.

The vicinity of the lake had already been visited and possibly surveyed by George Donald in 1777.

Turnor's journal for the next fourteen months is missing, but entries in other records of the Hudson's Bay Company show that on September 18, 1781, he renewed his contract of service for a further period of three years.

On March 14, 1782, he was engaged in drawing a plan for rebuilding Henley House, which had recently been destroyed by fire; and on March 25 he left Moose Factory

tor Albany, where he arrived on March 31. On April 15 he was back at Moose Fort, and on May 23 he left there to survey Lake Abitibi. He went up the Abitibi river, but on June 3, at a place said to be about ninety miles from Moose, his canoe was swamped and he lost his sextant, doubtless at the rapid which is still known as Sextant Rapids.

On June 6 two quadrants were sent to him from Moose to endeavour to replace the loss. He then proceeded up the river to the Canadian settlement on Abitibi lake, and returned by Mesakamy lake. Though we have not his notes to guide us, his route is clearly laid down on the map included in this volume. Leaving the north shore of Abitibi lake he ascended La Reine or Okikodasik river, portaged to a lake at the source of Patten river which he calls Bread river, down it to the mouth of Burntbush river, up Burntbush river, and thence northward over a number of lakes and portages in country as yet unexplored, to a lake at the head of Kattawagami river, down this river, and thence over two portages to Newnham bay of Kesagami lake, through Kesagami lake, across a portage to Agaskagon lake, and down Nettogami and French rivers to Moose, where he arrived on August 2.

This was not the first trip made by an officer of the Hudson's Bay Company to Abitibi settlement, for John Thomas, second in command at Moose Factory, had ascended Abitibi river to Abitibi lake in 1774, and on August 6 of that year had arrived at a "Pedlar's" settlement situated near the entrance of a river called "Woo pa che won", which belonged to "Pano" a Frenchman; but it was undoubtedly the first trip on which a survey was made of the route. This completed most of his surveys in the Moose and Albany districts,

and for the next five years his time was occupied almost entirely in the routine work of trading with the Indians for their furs.

On September 30, 1782, Turnor left Moose to assume charge of Wapiscogamy House, now renamed Brunswick House, and on October 14 he arrived there and took up the work of a fur-trader. He had four white men with him at the post, and two of them were kept much of the time in the sawpit sawing timber and boards for a new house, while one, a carpenter, was working at the new house itself. Pigs were kept at the post, for four of them were killed during the autumn. Cows were kept at Moose Factory, but there is no mention of any cows at Brunswick House. On November 14 the ice set fast in the river. During the winter Turnor was a martyr to rheumatism, possibly induced in large part by an inactive existence. His journal for the next year gives a brief daily description of his monotonous life as a fur-trader at Brunswick House. The following notes from it, however, are of interest:

March 8th [1783] Saturday. At 10 A.M. Mr. Geo. Donald, Ant^y. King and John Laughton arrived with the disagreeable news of Prince of Wales's and York Forts having been taken and destroyed, and with orders for me to return to the Factory and leave Mr. Geo. Donald in charge.

March 11th. Sent Sam^l Sibley and Thomas Knarston to the Fort, not being able to travel myself and detained John Laughton, Lab^r in their stead, detained Mr. Geo. Donald to take charge so soon as I can go down, likewise detained Ant^y. King in hopes I shall soon be able to undertake the journey.

During the next few weeks a number of Indians came with furs to trade.

Apl. 19th. The main body of the ice [in the river] began to move, but stopped in 10 minutes.

Apl. 24. The ice gave way again. Many geese and ducks flew to the northward.

Apl. 28th. The river clear of ice.

May 23rd. The people employed in stowing the tobacco in Kegs and burying it and two Casks of beer.

June 4th. Captain Stemma, a leading Indian at Mishippicoton came in with 4 canoes brought 75 made beaver in prime furs.

June 9th. The Indians of 4th inst. went away seemingly well pleased, I made them great presents in Brandy and Tobacco having been informed that Stemma is one of the greatest leaders at Meshippicoton Settlement.

June 10th. Philip Turnor and John Laughton departed for the Fort, leaving Mr. Geo. Donald in charge.

On June 29 the trading goods and the furs collected were sent to Moose Factory, while George Donald, with one Englishman and two Indians and their wives, left for Lake Superior, apparently abandoning Brunswick House for the time.

Turnor arrived at Moose Factory on June 13, and on July 6 sailed for Albany, where he remained from July 12 to July 19, and arrived back at Moose on July 20.

On October 9 he left Moose with a boat load of goods to take charge again of Brunswick House, where he arrived on October 20 and found everything safe. He kept four men with him at the post, namely, William Bolland, Samuel Sibley, John Leask, and Nicholas Spence, and sent eight others back to the Fort with the boat. Here he remained until March 24, 1784, and his journal is scrappy and uninteresting. Samuel Sibley, the carpenter, continued to work at the new house, but nothing else of importance is recorded. On April 3 he arrived safely at Moose Factory.

It is probable that some time during the past two years, either when he was stopping at Moose Factory, or when he was living at Brunswick House, he constructed the map of the Albany, Missinaibi, Abitibi and French rivers which is reproduced in this volume under the title "Chart of part of Hudson's Bay and Rivers and Lakes falling into it, by Philip Turnor", covering North Lati-

tudes $47\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ to $52\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and West Longitudes 78° to 88° . This map shows the surveys that he made from 1780 to 1782, but shows no surveys made at trading-posts established or visited after the latter date; while his great general map made in London about 1794 shows not only these surveys, but all the information gathered by him up to the time he left Rupert's Land in 1792, as shown on the section of that map published herein, and on the map from York Factory to Great Slave Lake.

At a somewhat earlier date he had made a map of Albany river from its mouth to Gloucester House, as surveyed by him in 1780, but as this map is duplicated on the map of the four rivers here published, it is not reproduced in this volume.

After March, 1784, we have no journal of Turnor's to guide us for the next year and a half, but his movements can be traced from other records of the Hudson's Bay Company.

When the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in London received Turnor's report of his survey and examination of the Abitibi country made in 1782, they decided to form a permanent establishment in that region as soon as possible. Turnor, accompanied by Germain Maugenest and others, was accordingly sent from Moose Factory on June 14, 1784, and on August 8 was able to report in a letter to the Governor and Committee that he had commenced to erect a temporary house, situated "at the forks of two rivers about 60 miles from the lake" (Abitibi). This was undoubtedly at the junction of the Abitibi and Frederick House rivers, though the distance from the lake would be eighty rather than sixty miles. The latter river was variously referred to as the Piscoutagamy or Pusquachagama river, these

names being perpetuated in Buskegau river for the west branch of Frederick House river, the termination *gama* simply meaning lake or body of water. This was the first regular trading-post of the Hudson's Bay Company built on the Abitibi waters. Turnor gives the latitude of Abitibi river, at the junction of the Pusquachagamy river, as the result of three meridian observations of the sun taken in the winter of 1784-5 as $49^{\circ}19'12''$. These were doubtless taken at the trading-post at which he was living. After spending the winter at this temporary trading-post, which in another place he calls a "log tent", Turnor decided that it would be better to change to a situation farther south, and in consequence he moved to a little gravel hill on the south-east shore of Lake Waratowaha, in North latitude $48^{\circ}34'35''$, where he built a house which he states is fifty-two miles south of the one at the forks of the rivers which he had just abandoned. In accordance with instructions received from the Governor and Committee, this trading-post was shortly afterwards named Frederick House in honour of Frederick, Duke of York, second son of his Majesty King George III. On July 19, 1785, Turnor left Frederick House and descended the river to Moose, where he arrived on July 25. In September he renewed his contract with the Company till 1787, and on the twenty-sixth of that month he started up the river for Frederick House, where he arrived on October 18. From that time until July 27, 1786, he remained at Frederick House. The following are some of the incidents recorded in his journal, most of which, however, is very monotonous and uninteresting:

October 23rd [1785] Engaged the two Indians of yesterday to accompany me to Pus qua cha gama Lake¹ and show me the fishing places.

¹This was undoubtedly Night Hawk lake, which is six miles up a good navigable river from Frederick House lake.

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Nov. 7. The [Frederick House] lake almost set over with ice.

Dec. 23. Self examining the Warehouse found 22 skeins of Twine which lay under the Blankets totally destroyed by mice. Likewise 2 blankets red striped, 3 blankets of 3 Point & 1 of 2 points, 2 Womens coats & 1 Mans coat, so much eaten that they never will trade, about 1 yard of white cloth, $\frac{1}{2}$ yard of Baize, one of the 3 point Blankets is more than half cut out, I never new an Instance of their damaging the blankets before, the Twine is frequently damaged. I once saw a great many Indian Coats damaged at Albany when Mr. Hutchins was chief, it is extremely hard, that we cannot procure a Cat.

Dec. 28th Wednesday the Master of the Sowe a wa me ni ca Settlement, his clerk, one man & an Indian arrived here upon a visit.

Jan^y 1, 1786. The Canadians departed. I supply'd them with provisions for their return, and while they staid with me I treated them with kindness, in the manner the Hon^{ble} Company's Servants has often been treated by them. The Master and the clerk say their Father and Mother were Scotts, that they were born at Montreal, they speak good English & seem well calculated for the trade they are in. They informed me before they went away that they intended to make a settlement near this Lake next summer.

The position of this Canadian settlement is marked on the section of Turnor's map appended to this volume. It was up the west branch of Montreal river above the Big Bend where this branch tumbles into the main river in Matachawin Falls. His map shows that there are three portages respectively three hundred and thirty, eighty, and two hundred and thirty yards long, to be crossed in ascending the West Branch to this settlement. His latitude is given as $47^{\circ}54'$, which would place it about three miles south of the upper end of Bell island in Mistinigon lake. He gives no farther information as to the identity of the Master or Clerk of this hitherto unknown trading-post.

March 14th. Matthew Tate and Robert Yorston complain much of Scorbutick complaints, it is near 3 years since they tasted any vegetables except a few turnips I took up in the fall from the log Tents.

Apl 9th. The Clerk of the a Sowe a wa me ni ca Settlement paid me another visit and brought an Indian.

13th. The Canadian went away, he requested provisions, which I supplied him with. I likewise sent George Beckwith & Will^m Johnson

with him to stay three Days, and observe what fish they caught. They are at the end of the Great Lake, were their Company intend to make a Settlement, they brought two canoes with them, the Clerk is going to return to their Settlement, & the Master who is upon the Great Lake, intends to go to Montreal by the way of Abbitibi, and proceed down the Pus quach a gama river, as far as were I wintered last year, as they find it impracticable to bring goods to these Lakes any other way, the sole purpose of his journey is to survey the road. The Clerk informed me that he had orders to trust the Natives to almost any amount, & to undersell us one third in every article.

The "Great Lake" above mentioned would appear to be Lake Timiscaming, on which a Canadian settlement is marked on Turnor's map. From that lake canoes could ascend Montreal river to Sowe a wa me ni ca settlement, but the portage route from Montreal river to Frederick House lake is impracticable for the transportation of supplies, so that the Canadian Master who was anxious to establish a trading-post on the latter lake was looking for an easier canoe route to it.

18th. George Beckwith and the other man came home, accompanied by the Master of the a Sowe a wa me ni ca Settlement who came to request some provisions which I supplied him with.

19th. The Canadian went away.

30th. The Lake mostly open at the South end.

May 5th. The late Master of the a Sowe a wa me ni ca Settlement came here in his way to Abbitibbe.

12th. Two Indians arrived with a letter for the Canadian Master, who is tenting close by.

15th. The Canadian & his man Departed with the two Indians for Abbitibbi. he Informed me that I might be assured that a Settlement would be made this summer upon this Lake or close to it.

June 23rd. George Donald arrived with seven canoes containing supplies from the [Moose] Factory.

26th. Sent George Beckwith, John Johnson and an Indian who understands English to take possession of our former residence at the junction of the Abitibi and Pusquachagama river, the Canadians having declared they would occupy that spot with a view of trading with our Factory Indians and sent with them a small assortment of goods, and instructions not to trust a debt to any Indian.

June 27th. The people stowing the goods and attending the fire, all the woods and ground near us being in a blaise.

Being in bad health, Turnor left for Moose Factory on July 27, where he arrived on August 2. On September 13, he again set off up the river for Frederick House, where he arrived with four canoes on October 18, having picked up George Beckwith and John Johnson from the "Logg Tent", which was doubtless at the forks of the rivers, to which place they had been sent the previous spring.

Feb. 6th, 1787. Sent three men with the Indian who promised to show them where to set nets in the Pusquachagamy Lake.

Turnor remained at Frederick House until July 6, 1787, but his journal merely records the efforts of the men to obtain provisions, and the arrival of a few Indians to trade. Nothing at all is said about what he himself did during these nine months. On July 6, he turned over the charge of the post to William Bolland, and on the following day, accompanied by William Sinclair and nine Indians in three canoes, he started on a journey to survey the Canadian settlements.

On July 26, twenty days later, an Indian returned, after having accompanied Turnor to the a Sowe a wa me ni ca settlement. He said that Turnor would be at the Opatch e won haw settlement the next day. This settlement is spoken of elsewhere as the Upatchawanaw or Temiscamain Canadian settlement, and is placed by Turnor in North latitude $47^{\circ}17'30''$. On Turnor's map it is shown as at the narrows of Lake Timiscaming, where there was a fur trading-post when Troyes and Iberville passed on their way to Hudson Bay in 1686, and where the Hudson's Bay Company had a post up to comparatively recent times.

On August 10, Philip Turnor returned to Frederick House from his trip to Lake Timiscaming. His notes of

this journey cannot be found; but according to his map he went up Frederick House river, through Night Hawk lake, up Whitefish and Trout rivers to Trout lake, over this lake to its south end, across seven portages and over six small lakes to a sandy bay at the north end of Matachewan lake on Montreal river. On the last of these portages, which has a length of sixteen hundred yards along a dry sandy ridge, he crossed the watershed between the streams flowing to Hudson Bay and those flowing to the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers.

Embarking in his canoe on Matachewan lake, he paddled southward for four and a half miles to the mouth of the west branch of Montreal river, where it plunges into the side of the lake in a beautiful fall forty-one feet high. Here he turned up this west branch, crossed a portage three hundred and fifty yards long past the falls, made other portages past rapids above, and paddled out into the quiet waters of Mistinikon lake to the Canadian settlement. Turnor gives the position of this settlement or trading establishment as in North latitude $47^{\circ} 54'$, which would be about three miles south of the south end of Bell island in the township of Yarrow, and about twelve miles up the west branch from Matachewan lake.

After visiting the Canadians who had previously visited him at Frederick House, he descended Montreal river to Matachewan lake, on which the Hudson's Bay Company subsequently built a trading-post called Fort Matachewan; and thence he continued down stream past Indian Chutes, where an electric power plant has since been built, and thence through Elk and Bay lakes, past the site of the present village of Latchford, where the Timiscaming and Northern Ontario railway and the Ferguson highway now cross the Montreal river, and down

the river to its north bend near Gillies Depot. Here leaving Montreal river, he crossed Sandy Portage to Mud lake, over it and across another portage to Stark lake, from the north end of which was a long portage eastward to Lake Timiskaming. Mr. A. A. Cole informs me that he and Dr. Barlow followed this same canoe route from Bay lake to lake Timiskaming in 1895 while conducting an exploratory survey for the Geological Survey of Canada, and that the only difference that had been made in the previous hundred years was that the last long portage had been cut out as a lumberman's road, for this country was for the most part covered with a magnificent forest of white pine (*Pinus Strobus*), much of which, however, at the latter date had been cut down, and had been floated through lake Timiskaming and down the Ottawa river to the giant saw mills at the city of Ottawa.

After reaching the shore of the northern expansion of lake Timiskaming, Turnor turned southward to the Canadian trading-post at the Narrows. As no other route is indicated on his map, he doubtless returned by the same way that he went. After his return to Frederick House he examined the overland trail from Frederick House lake to the Abitibi river, in the hope of finding a route that would enable the Company to avoid the difficult navigation of the Frederick House river, in which were many obstructions from timber that had fallen into the stream; but he found that it would be impossible to transport the necessary quantity of goods over it. Whether this was the trail which starts from the bottom of Barber's bay, and runs thence to Black river near its mouth in Abitibi river, or some other route across country, is not stated.

This completed Turnor's work on the Moose river and

its tributaries, and on August 20, 1787, he bade goodbye to Frederick House,¹ which he had built, and which had been his home for the past two years, embarked in his canoe and descended the river to Moose Factory, where he arrived on the twentieth. On the ninth of September he sailed for England in charge of the *Beaver* sloop, accompanying the Company's ship, *King George*. About the middle of October the ship reached the Thames, and Turnor landed in London.

During the year following Turnor's arrival in London, he was engaged in drafting the maps of the country through which he had been travelling for the previous nine years. On November 26, 1788, he was paid twenty

¹It may be interesting to add a few notes here on the subsequent history of Frederick House, which was situated in about as remote and inaccessible a part of what was afterwards Northern Ontario as it would be possible to indicate. It was built on the south-east shore of the lake on a little sandy ridge which divided the main body of the lake from a shallow bay now called Barber's bay. It was occupied for a number of years, as it seems to have been in the middle of a country where fur-bearing animals were fairly plentiful, and where enough fish could be added to the food supply to avert starvation. However, some time during the first half of the last century, according to local tradition, the Indians became hostile, attacked the post, and murdered most of the inhabitants. Before the post was destroyed, the brandy and any valuables on hand were buried in the gravel, and no one ever returned to recover them.

The site of this trading-post is just beside the Temiscaming and Northern Ontario railway, and about two miles east of the village of Connaught and the bridge on which the railway crosses the Frederick House river, and only about twenty miles from the Porcupine gold district which contains three of the world's great gold mines, namely Dome, McIntyre and Hollinger. The site of the post is not now, however, as close to the lake as it formerly was, for in the autumn of 1909 the Reverend Father Paradis had a mining claim on Frederick House river, and in order to prospect it to the greatest advantage he decided that it would be necessary to lower the water in the river and lake. Accordingly he went down to High Falls, which were about seven miles below Frederick House lake and had a drop of fifty feet over a rocky ridge. He made a small cutting in the clay bank at one side of the falls, and let the water flow around the end of the rocks. The clay proved to be fifty feet or more in thickness, and as a result High Falls wore back far enough to drain the south half of Frederick House lake, which is now a sand and clay flat covered with grass and sedge, with the river winding through it. (*Annual Reports of the Ontario Bureau of Mines*, Vols. xxviii and xxxiii.)

When the railway was being constructed in 1911, the gravel ridge on which the trading-post had stood was dug away by a steam shovel to obtain a supply of ballast for the railway track. Musket barrels, copper kettles, broken and empty barrels, etc., were dug up. A little farther south several skeletons were found in shallow graves.

guineas by the Hudson's Bay Company for his "Draught of several Inland Settlements belonging to the Company." He had been in bad health for several years before he returned to England, but his health evidently improved while he was in London, for on May 16, 1789, he renewed his contract as Inland Surveyor to the Hudson's Bay Company for three years at £80 a year. In the contract he is described as "aged 36 years, [of] the Parish of Laleham in Middlesex." It is interesting to speculate on how his time was spent in London, what influenced the Company to re-engage him, and what duties were assigned to him, or were expected of him, on his re-engagement.

About the same time that Turnor arrived in London, Samuel Hearne also arrived from Fort Churchill, where he had watched the trade with the Chipewyan Indians who lived in the country between the west shore of Hudson Bay and the Athabaska-Mackenzie waters, gradually dwindle to a small fraction of its former extent and value. He knew that the Canadian traders from Montreal, led by Frobisher, had intercepted the Chipewyan Indians on Churchill river on their way to Fort Churchill, and he also knew that the same Canadians, led by Peter Pond, had established trading-posts on lake Athabaska and its vicinity in the very centre of the Chipewyan country. They had thus, by taking supplies directly to these Indians, effectually prevented them from visiting the Hudson's Bay fort at Churchill. The only alternative, if the Chipewyan trade was to be recovered, was to follow the Canadians to lake Athabaska. But where was lake Athabaska, how could people get there, and how could they live when they reached it? Hearne no doubt had pressed on the Board of the Company the necessity of going there at once, and he showed its position on his

map, but Alexander Dalrymple, the geographer, had questioned the accuracy of that map. In any event, the route that he travelled from that lake, and the only route that he knew between it and Churchill, would be of no service for the transport of supplies. William Wales, the Mathematical Master at Christ's Hospital (Blue Coat School) in London, was probably called into consultation, and as he was a friend of both Hearne and Turnor, they may have had many consultations together. Peter Pond's rough map of 1785, showing where he had wintered on the Athabaska river south of Athabaska lake, was probably also in their possession, but beyond showing them that he had gone up Churchill river on the way to Athabaska lake, it gave them little information. If the question of whether Athabaska lake drained northward into the Arctic Ocean, or westward into the Pacific Ocean was ever discussed, there is no record or evidence of such discussion, and there is no reference to that problem in any of Turnor's subsequent journals, but Turnor's journals unfortunately tell very little of what he did or thought outside of his surveys or of his work connected with the fur-trade.

It would therefore seem probable that Turnor was on this occasion engaged to go to Athabaska lake, to determine exactly where it was, and to describe in detail the best way of getting to it, in order that others might be able to go there without loss of time and without the necessity of procuring guides, who might not be available.

Accordingly on May 30 he set sail from the Thames on board the Hudson's Bay Company's ship *King George*, doubtless taking Hearne's map with him, and arrived at York Factory on August 27. After staying there for a week, he left in the canoe brigade for Cumberland in

company with George Hudson and others. On October 7, after a month spent on the trip, he arrived at Cumberland House, where George Hudson assumed control.

During the winter of 1789-90 his time was spent giving surveying instructions to David Thompson who was one of those who had been taken under articles as an apprentice from the Grey Coat School in 1784, and had been sent to Churchill, with the following letter of instructions to Samuel Hearne, then in charge of that post:

David Thomson [*sic*] our Apprentice for seven years who has been instructed in the Mathematicks and in the method of determining the situation of places by lunar observations: We recommend him therefore to the attention of our Chief that he may be kept from the common men and employed in the writings, accounts & Warehouse Duty, and occasionally making Observations, so that he may by degrees be made capable of business & become useful in our Service.

There is no record of Thompson having made any definite surveys from the time of his arrival on Hudson Bay in 1784 until he left Cumberland in the spring of 1790, although in those six years he had travelled from Churchill and York Factories on Hudson Bay westward across the Great Plains to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. In the summer of 1788 he was writer to James Tate, in charge at Hudson House, which was temporarily occupied. On December 23 of that year he had the misfortune to break his leg, and in the following summer (1789) he was taken by William Tomison down to Cumberland House, where he was left for the winter. On October 10, three days after Philip Turnor's arrival at that trading-post, he began to keep a Meteorological journal, in which, until the end of the following May, he recorded regularly, at first three and afterwards five times a day, the readings of the thermometer, the direction and force of the wind, and remarks about the weather.

On February 1, 1790, he began to take astronomical observations with sextant, artificial mercury horizon, watch, and compass, on the sun, moon, and stars, for latitude, longitude, time and variation of the compass; and he continued these observations on favourable days and nights until May 8. In the summer of 1790, after his winter spent with Turnor, he made his first survey, namely of the route from Cumberland House down the Saskatchewan and Hayes rivers to York Factory. That he appreciated the teaching he had received from Turnor is shown by the following extract from a letter written from York Factory to the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company on August 30, 1790:

The last winter [1789-90] I passed at Cumberland House with Mr. Turnor, of whom I have learned the Theory and Practice of Practical Astronomy, my improvement in that Science, I hope my works will show. I am willing to go to make Observations for the Latitude, Longitude, Position Etc. of any part of the Sea Coast you may send and doubt not to give your Honors satisfaction.

His subsequent career amply justified this statement.

As far as is known, Peter Fidler, whose "Journal of a journey with the Chipewyans" is published in this volume, had no previous mathematical or astronomical education. He was engaged by the Hudson's Bay Company on April 19, 1788, in London, in the capacity of "Labourer." In 1789 he was at Manchester House as writer for Mitchell Oman, and in December of that year he went down to South Branch House, where he remained with William Walker for the winter. He arrived at Cumberland with the Saskatchewan brigade on June 4, 1790, and during the following summer was instructed by Turnor in making surveys and taking observations for latitude and longitude. He then accompanied him as assistant to Athabaska and Great Slave lakes, and the

surveys and maps there made by him, part of which we have here reproduced, show that he had become efficient in making rapid preliminary surveys. He is first noted in the "Lists of Servants in Hudson's Bay" as Philip Turnor's assistant in the year 1792; and when Turnor retired to England in that year, it would appear that Fidler succeeded him in the position of official "Surveyor" to the Company, as in 1794 he is entered as "Surveyor", a position which he continued to hold for the next twenty-five years or more, and which David Thompson also held until he retired from the service of the Company in 1797.

Turnor had waited all the summer of 1790 at Cumberland, apparently for men and supplies, and just as the bright autumn colouring was fading from the foliage of the trees, the brigade from York arrived. Immediately afterwards, on September 13, he, along with Malchom Ross, Peter Fidler and others, started for the Athabaska country, and arrived at Ile à la Crosse on Churchill river on October 7. Here Patrick Small of the North West Company offered to lend them two houses for the winter, and as some of the men were in bad shape physically, and as the season was too far advanced for them to expect to reach Athabaska lake before the winter set in, they accepted the offer.

Malchom Ross kept an independent journal of the daily happenings, and where it appears to add anything of interest to Turnor's journal, extracts have been made from it, and inserted in this volume in the form of notes.

After a winter spent at Ile à la Crosse, in which all the members of the party were kept busy getting enough to eat, they embarked on May 30, 1791, for Athabaska lake, with only a very few days' provisions in their canoes. For the rest of the way, till they arrived back at Cumber-

land, both Ross and Fidler kept journals, as well as Turnor.

On the night of June 1, while camped on Buffalo lake, Alexander (later Sir Alexander) Mackenzie of the North West Company camped beside them on his way from the north to Montreal and then to England. He saw that they were poorly provided for the trip, and he wrote to his cousin Roderick McKenzie, who was in charge of the North West Company's post on Athabaska lake in his absence, to look after them, and furnish them with any supplies that they needed; but Malchom Ross, who was in charge of Turnor's party, was a hard man to look after. Alexander Mackenzie told Turnor and Ross that provisions were scarce on the route ahead, which he had followed; and therefore they, on the advice of their Indian guides, turned westward through country where game was fairly abundant, but where the travelling was difficult and often dangerous.

From this time until July 17, 1792, when Turnor returned to York Factory, the journals here published give full accounts of their proceedings, and of their life at Fort Chipewyan. Fidler's journal describes his life for a winter among the Chipewyan Indians, probably the friends and relatives of those with whom Samuel Hearne had lived in the same country twenty years before.

After his return to York Factory, Turnor proposed to the Council there that he should return to Athabasca as soon as practicable at the head of an expedition organized for the purpose of forming a permanent establishment in that country on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company. His offer, however, was rejected.

After making a last trip up Nelson and Grass rivers, he embarked as a passenger on board the *Sea Horse*

(Henry Hanwell, Master), and arrived off the Isle of Wight on October 17, where he was taken off by a pilot boat.

On December 12, the Hudson's Bay Company Board passed a resolution that Turnor, who "is now engaged in drawing Maps and making Observations" be allowed one guinea per week from October 24, 1792, until further orders.

In May, 1793, surveying instruments chosen by Philip Turnor were sent out to Hudson Bay for the use of Peter Fidler and Malchom Ross. At this time Henry Hallett "of Battersea", a nephew of Turnor's, was engaged for the Hudson's Bay Company's service.

On January 14, 1795, the Board of the Hudson's Bay Company directed that the sum of £100 be paid to Philip Turnor "in consideration of his services in having surveyed the Company's several Settlements & explored several New Tracts & laid down the same in a large and accurate Map." It was also ordered that "the Company's Arms . . . be engraved on the outside case of the Watch which Mr. Turnor used in his Surveys, & that the same be given to him as a Mark of the Committee's Regard for him."

Some time after his return to London he settled in Rotherhithe south of the Thames, and adopted the career or profession of teacher of navigation. In a pamphlet published by A. Arrowsmith in 1794, entitled "Result /of/ Astronomical Observations /made in the/ Interior Parts /of/ North America," he is described as "Teacher of Navigation and the Lunar Observations, Prospect Row, Dock Head, Rotherhithe." The advertisement at the beginning of this pamphlet speaks of the excellent work done by him in the following words:

The Result of Astronomical Observations in the Interior Parts of North America, have chiefly been made at the Expense of the Honorable Governor and Company of Adventurers of England, Trading into Hudsons Bay: and printed by Permission of the Company, to which the Public stands indebted for the many positions so accurately settled by Mr. Philip Turnor and others in their service; which has laid the permanent Foundation for the Geography of that part of the Globe.

On January 1 of the following year (1795), Arrowsmith published a map entitled "A Map/ Exhibiting all the New Discoveries/ in the Interior Parts of/ North America/ Inscribed by Permission/ To the Honorable Governor and Company of Adventurers of England/ Trading with Hudson's Bay/ In Testimony of their liberal Communications/ To their most Obedient/ and very Humble Servant/ A. Arrowsmith." This map, which includes Turnor's work, is on a scale of seventy miles to the inch, extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and from North latitude 30° to 70°. It was published in a number of later editions down to 1824, and has formed the basis of most of the maps of Canada right down to the present time.

Turnor's life work was now virtually over. He had blazed the way into the interior of Canada, and his pupils, Thompson and Fidler, were to take up the work where he left it, and carry it onward gloriously.

Nearly five years later, on December 4, 1799, there is a record that the Governor and Committee acknowledge the receipt of a letter from Philip Turnor. Evidently shortly after this time he died, though still a comparatively young man; for on March 26, 1800, the Committee read "a Petition from Elizabeth Turner Wife of Philip Turnor Geographer to this Company, lately deceased, praying for some pecuniary assistance."

ADDENDUM

While this volume was going through the press, the following additional information with regard to Philip Turnor was received from the Hudson's Bay Company in London:

"We have stated that it was impossible to collect all the information regarding Philip Turnor's original employment by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1778, since the Minutes of the Committee are missing between January 14 and April 29 of that year.

"We have, however, recently discovered in a 'Rough Note-Book' apparently kept by the Secretary of the Company during the period 1777-82, the following extracts, which appear to contain brief notes of business transacted at meetings of the Governor and Committee, and may therefore be of interest:

March 25, 1778: A Resolution respecting 3 Proper persons to go In the Co's Service to H[udson] B[ay] with the Title of Land Surveyor.

April 8, 1778: Mr. Geo: Back of Coventry about 27 yrs. age recommended by Mr. Wales as a person skilled in the Mathematics to go in the Company's Service for 5 years at £50 P. Ann. to mess with the Captain on board the Ship in the Voyage and with the Governor when at the factory.

April 15, 1778: Mr. Philip Turnor of Laleham Middx. 27 yrs. age not marry'd brot up in farming business propos'd by Mr. Wales as a Land Surveyor."

See page 62.

JOURNAL I

JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY INLAND FROM YORK FORT
TOWARDS BASQUIAU COMMENCING 23D JUNE 1774 AND
ENDING 23D JUNE 1775, BY SAMUEL HEARNE

JOURNAL I

*A JOURNAL of a Journey Inland from York Fort towards
Basquiau Commencing 23^d June 1774 and Ending 23^d June 1775
by Samuel Hearne*

Remarks in June 1774

Thursday the 23rd of June 1774.—

Fine pleasant Weather, in the Morning, self, Andrew Garrett,¹ and Rob^t Longoar² sot out from the Fort³ accompany'd by Me-sin-e-kish-ac an upland leading Indian, and 3 others of his crew, also two of the home Indians,⁴ we ware in all 5 cannoes and tho deep laden we had but about 180 lbs Brazil Tobacco 130 lb's Powder 200^{wt} of Shott & Ball 6 Gall^{ns} Brandy, 6 D^o White Waters and some other trifling articals of Trading goods, and a few Necessary stores such as hatchetts, augers, &c for arecting the House, as for Provisions we only took 2 Pecks of

¹Andrew Garrat [Garrett, Gereoch, Garreoch] entered the Hudson's Bay Company's service in 1770, and was employed as house carpenter at Churchill until 1774, when he proceeded inland to "Basquiau" for the purpose of erecting the new establishment. He was subsequently employed as carpenter inland until 1779, and he returned to Europe in 1780.

²Robert Longmoor [Longoar] entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1771. He was attached to the York Factory district, and appears to have been mainly employed inland. He wintered with the Pigomew Indians in 1775, and in 1776 made a trip inland to intercept the Grass River Indians before they met the "Pedlars", but he was attacked by the "Pedlars" and robbed of all his furs. In 1776 he accompanied James Spence and Malchom Ross up the Saskatchewan river, and in 1777-8 he made a trip to the "Buffalo country" with Edward Loutit, James Spence and William Flatt. In September 1778 he accompanied Ross and others on an inland expedition up the Saskatchewan river, and in the autumn of 1779 he assisted William Tomison to establish Hudson House. In 1780-1 he was in charge at Hudson House, and again in 1783 and 1785. In 1786 he established Manchester House on the north branch of the Saskatchewan river, and was in charge there during 1787. He was next appointed "Second" to William Jefferson at Churchill Factory. In 1792 he went to Europe, but returned

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Oatmeal and 12 lb of Bisquett. At Night lay about 18 Miles from the Fort up Hay^s River—

Friday the 24th

Strong gales at S^o early in the Morning 4 Canoes of upland Indians came down the River to where we lay, it presently coming on to Rain, did not move

Saturday the 25 . .

Fine Clear weather wind at W^t. The Indians who join'd us yesterday informs me that the Rivers are very shoal; and observing our Cannoes to be very deep, say'd I had better send some of the heavey goods back, before we go farther from the Fort. accordingly I agreed to send back, by them, 2 Baggs containing 56 lb of shott and ball, and the 2 Pecks of Oatmeal, we then proceeded on our way up Hays River, and the 4 Cannoes above mention'd went down to the Fort with their

in 1793, when he was "superintendent" at York Factory until 1794, and "shipping officer" until 1796. From 1796 to 1800 he was "master" at Swan river, from 1800 to 1804 he was employed inland from York Factory; from 1804-06 he was assistant to Henry Hallett at Island House, Saskatchewan river, and from 1807-08 he was at York Factory. He was again at Island House from 1808 to his retirement in 1810, when he left for Europe on the *Prince of Wales*. He evidently returned to North America not long afterwards, for in 1812 he had a farm near Montreal. He is described in the Company's books as of the Parish of West Church, Edinburgh.

³York Fort, or Factory, Hearne's point of departure on this journey, is situated in North Latitude 57° 0' 15", West Longitude 92° 18' 00", on the west bank of Hayes river, five miles above its mouth, where the river flows into the south-west side of Hudson Bay. The surrounding land is flat and swampy with a very gradual slope northward.

The mouth of Hayes river was the principal sea port or harbour on Hudson Bay used by the Hudson's Bay Company, and York Fort was the warehouse at which ships from London unloaded men and supplies, and from which they carried away cargoes of furs to be sold in the world's markets.

For nearly a century, Indians both from the coast and the interior had brought their furs to trade for guns, knives, cooking utensils, clothing, tobacco and brandy. Now that independent traders from Montreal had reached the habitat of these tribes, York Fort was beginning to be the distributing centre from which supplies were despatched by canoes or small boats through all the inland parts of north-western America. It maintained this position as the commercial capital of the country for about a century, or until the Canadian Pacific Railway reached Winnipeg in 1884.

⁴The two home Indians were Cree Indians who lived in the vicinity of York Fort, sufficiently near to be called on if needed. The upland Indians were doubtless Crees or Assiniboines, probably the former, whose homes or hunting grounds were in the interior, possibly near the river Saskatchewan to which they were travelling.

On the day of setting out the party went up the river beyond the head of Tide Water, about as far as an island now known as Eighteen Mile Island.

Trade and took with them the Shott &c at Night we lay about 38 Miles from the Fort

Sunday the 26th:

Fine Pleasant Weather Track^d and Paddl'd tell about 8 miles up Steel River where we put up for the Night. Steel River at this Part tends nearly SSW and NNE—the Mouth of which is about 60 Miles from the Fort, and Hays River¹ from the Mouth of Steel River Tends nearly South-West

Monday the 27th:

Ditto Weather, sot out early in the Morning, but by the time we had Paddl'd about one Mile we met 4 Cannoes of Trading Indians, as on their way to the Fort with Furs, &c.

I Presented them with a little Tobacco which they seem'd thankfull for, and say'd they aprov'd of the intended inland settlement, as did those also whome we met on the 24th Instant. The Remainder of the Day the Ind^{ns} Expended in Smoking & Drinking with their Friends,—

Tuesday the 28th:

Ditto Weather Track'd and Paddl'd about 12 Miles farther up Steel River, then met 4 Cannoes of Assinney Poets going to the Fort with Trade, I presented them with a little Tobacco, and smoak'd my Calimett of Peace with them, these also seem'd well pleas'd with our intentions and Promous'd their best assistance in geting up Part of the Men and goods . . . The Remaindor of the Day ware spent as p^r yest'rday

Wednesday the 29th

Ditto W^r Track'd and Paddl'd about 20^{ms} to the SSW up Steel River,² and left Chuckatenaw River to the Southward of

¹The names of rivers used by Hearne have a somewhat different significance from what is attached to them at the present time. Hayes river as then understood meant the river southward from York Fort for a distance of fifty-six miles to "The Forks", above which it was applied to the larger South East branch of the river, while the South West branch was called Steel River, as shown on Turnor's map. The distance of sixty miles given here is an indication of the accuracy which may be expected from the distances stated throughout this journal.

²From the mouth of Shamattawa river the party paddled and tracked up Steel river (now called Hayes river) to the mouth of Chuckatenaw or Hill river which they passed on the left. Chuckatenaw river is a section of what is now called Hayes river, and as they passed the mouth of this stream without entering it, they then left the present Hayes river, which comes from the south, and proceeded westward up Steel river (now known as Fox river).

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us as p^r Draft. The River at this Part is very bad being entirely confus'd with stones and Ridges

Thursday the 30th

Ditto Weather track'd and paddl'd 18 or 20 Miles to the SW up the above River and in our way cross't several troublesome Rappids, and one Carrying Place

Remarks in July 1774

Friday the 1st of July 1774

Paddl'd about 16 miles Part of the way in the NW Q^r and part in the WSW through small Rivers, and in general very shoal. This day cross't 4 Carrying Places. The Woods here are much the same as Near the Fort . .

Saturday the 2nd

The First and Middle parts fine Moderate Weather, the latter Part strong gales at SW^t with heavy showers of Rain.

The water ware so shoal this day as not to admit of either us or the Ind^{ns} to sit in the Cannoes, but ware oblig'd to walk alongside of them and hand them Clear of Stones &c, by which means we Drag'd and carried, in all about 10 Miles, in the way Cross't 2 Carrying Places one of which ware at least a Mile long—

at Night we Put up at the Branch wher Fox River & the Pegog-a-may River Joins and Emptys themselves into Steel River—¹

The Pe-gog-a-may River I destinguish by that Name on account of the Pe-gog-a-may Indians always comeing that way, when they visit YF it is also the way M^r Cocking² went inland in the Year 1772.—and is the Westernmost Track Mention'd in Isaac Batt^s Draft

¹They passed the mouth of Deer river without mentioning it and continued to the forks of the Fox and Bigstone rivers, the latter of which Hearne called the Pegogamay river as the Pegogamay Indians came down it on their way to the Fort. Both Philip Turnor and David Thompson call the South branch of the Saskatchewan river the Pegogamew river. C. P. Schmidt, Indian Agent at Duck lake, Saskatchewan, informs me that the word Pe-ka-ke-mew means Peigan (Indian) river, which was the name given to the upper waters of what is now called the South Saskatchewan river.

²This reference to Cocking definitely identifies the route by which the latter went to the Saskatchewan river in 1772.

The Woods near this part are mostly Pine, and the Banks of the Rivers Steep, high, and Stoney.

Sunday the 3rd Strong gales at West. Paddl'd about 12 miles to the WBN and WNW up Fox River, and left the Pe-gog-a-may River to the South of us this Day Cross'd 2 Carrying places

Monday the 4th

Ditto W^r Paddl'd about 12^m to the WBN and WNW up Fox River most of the way very shoal . . .

Tuesday the 5th

Ditto and a strong gale at West. Paddl'd about 25 Miles between the W and SW 10 Miles of the way up Fox River, the Remainder of the way on a small lake and little River adjoining thereto. This Day cross't 4 Carreying places at the last of which we Put up for the Night.

Here the Woods are much smaller then near the Fort mostly Poplars and small Birch, the Banks of the little lake we Cross't ware very low cover'd with long grass and Bushes, the Bottom of the Lak very stoney. This day killd several Molting Swans which is the first thing has ben killd since we left the Fort

Wednesday the 6th

Ditto Weather with heavy showers of Rain. Paddl'd about 11 Miles to the W and SW through small Rivers, then put up by the side of a small Lake at Night heavey Rain—This day cross't 4 Carreying Places

Thursday the 7th

Ditto Wind and heavey showers of Rain at intervails. Paddl'd about 10 Miles to the W and WSW through narrow lakes and little Rivers which Join's them. The Roads very bad and Stoney and the Lakes so shoal in many Parts as to scarce admitt the Cannoes to cross them. The Banks low and stoney and the woods Poor and scrubby

This Day killd several Molting Swan's, Geese, &c——

Friday the 8th

Fine Pleasent Weather. Paddl'd 20^{ms} to the W^t & SW through narrow Lakes and small Rivers all Confused with falls and shoals. This day Cross't 5 Carreying Places

Satuerday the 9th

Ditto W^r Paddl'd 25^{ms} to the SW and W through fine Pleasent

Lakes, full of fine Woodey Islands, but in the Morning we Cross't 4 Carreying Places. Killd some swans, Geese &c
 Sunday the 10th Dark cloudy Weather. Paddl'd 17 Miles to the SW across fine Lakes as p^r Yesterday, then came to the End of this chain of Lakes (as appears by the Draft) so ware oblig'd to carrey the goods and Cannoes across a Neck of Land about 3 Miles wide, then came to a branch of the Theiscatchiwan River where we lay alnight.

This Branch of the Theiscatchiwan, by the Indians account Empty^s itself into Port Nelson, but the Currant being so strong, and a scarce part for Provisions, the Indians seldom makes it their Track to or from the Fort.¹

Monday the 11th:

Fresh gales at West went down the Theiscatchiwan about 6 Miles then struck off to the Westward through a small winding Creek, in some parts Very shoal and Stoney. after Paddleing, Draging and Carreying about 8 Miles up the Creek, we came to a Lake about 16 Miles Wide which we Cross't, then Carried the good^s and Cannoes about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile, and then came to another Lake where we Put up for the Night . . .

Tuesday the 12th:

Bad Rainey W^r Wind at SW did not move . . this Day one of the Indians left us but at Night Return'd again

Wednesday the 13th

Fine Pleasant Weather Paddl'd 25 Miles to the W and SW across fine Lakes, in the Morning we left a River to the NE of us which also Empty^s itself into Port Nelson—and is the way the Indians in Company went to York Fort this Spring.

It is the general opinion of all the Natives in Company that that will be the best way to get goods up inland in large Cannoes, there being no obstructions except Carreying Places—but the Reason of their not Returning that way ware on account of the

¹It is difficult to follow Hearne's course during the previous week. He would seem to have ascended Fox river as far as he could, and then to have struck south of west through small streams and lakes, finally carrying his canoes and goods for three miles to the bank of the Nelson river in about North Latitude 55° 40' or about nine miles above the present railway bridge across the river at Devil Rapids. Thence he descended the Nelson river to Armstrong river, ascended the latter, crossed Armstrong lake, and carried across into Natawahunan or Egg lake on Grass river.

Ice being somewhat dangerous to Pass, it being not fallen from the Banks, and tho the Channell of the River is clear yet to shun Rock's &c they were frequently oblig'd to Pass under the hollow Ice, and sometimes large flakes Broke off and fell into the River not far from their Cannoes the danger of which deter'd them from Returning that way.

Thursday the 14th

Strong gales at NW Paddl'd 24 Miles on the above lakes and a little River joining thereto, the Course Sometimes in the SW Q^r and sometimes in the NW. This day Cross't 2 small falls or Rappids and one Carreying Place

The Indians giving so Pleaseing an account of this new Track to the Fort, has made me partly Determin to come this way Next Year and go down Port Nelson, accordingly I this Day lay'd up about 12 lb^s of Brazil Tobacco to be a pipe for those Indians who may accompany me to the Fort in 1775. Most of the woods which we came by for these 2 Days Past have formaly ben set on fire, as ware also in many other Parts as we came along——

Friday the 15th

Ditto Gales at NW. Paddl'd about 12^{ms} to the SW through a Small River and Part of a long Lake¹ full of Islands, on one of which we lay alnight it ware early in the Day when we put up but it blew to hard to Proceed farther. Most of the Islands are clad with thick woods, consisting of Pine, Poplar, & birch

Saturday the 16th

Ditto Wind tho more moderate. Paddl'd about 40 Miles to the SW & WSW across the Remaindor of the above Lake and a little River Joining thereto. Cross't 5 Carreying Places at the last of which we Put up for the Night —— In some Parts which we came by this Day, the woods war fine and Tall, the shores of the lakes as well as the Rivers all stoney and in general deep water close to the Rocks

Sunday the 17th

Fine Pleasant Weather. Paddl'd about 50 Miles to the SWBS & SSW across part of Po-cut-a-ho² Lake and Part of Grass River, in the Morning cross't 2 Carreying Places

¹Paint lake.

²Setting lake.

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Monday the 18th

Ditto Weather, paddl'd about 35 Miles up grass River which tho very crooked the mean Course is W and WBS. This Day cross't 7 Carreying Places. Grass River is a very Pleasant spot being all Deep water between the Falls; it abounds with Ducks and other water fowl. There are also great Plenty of Moose but the Indians will not take time to hunt them

Tuesday the 19th

Strong gales at North Paddl'd about 28 Miles to the SBW & SSW on the above River and Put up by the side of Wee-kus-qua Lake

Wednesday the 20th

Fine Pleasant Weather Cross't the above Lake and 2 other's with the little Rivers which Joins them in all the Distance this Day is about 50^{ms}. Course about W^t. The woods mostly Poplar and small Birch

This Day Cross't 3 Carreying Places

Thursday the 21st

Fine Moderate Weather. Paddl'd 36 miles to the W and WBS in our way cross't 6 Carreying Places but the Water between them ware fine and Deep . . in the afternoon we left a small River to the south of us, which by the Indians account is a much nearer way to Basquiau then the Roade they propose to go but is all confus'd with falls and shoals in the Evening heavey Rain

Friday the 22nd

Fine Pleasant W^r. Paddl'd 35 Miles to the SW through fine Drop Creeks and small lakes, then came to 2 Tents of Strange Indians so Put up for the Night . . this Day cross't one Carreying Place which is aleast one mile and a half long¹

Saturday the 23rd

Ditto Weather. Paddl'd about 30 Miles to the S^o and SBW through gray goose Lake and River, then came to 9 Tents

¹They had continued to ascend Grass river through Reed and Cranberry lakes to Cranberry portage, which is nearly a mile and a half long, and which divides the waters flowing northeast from those flowing southwest and south.

of Indians amongst whome ware the wives and Families of those who accompany'^d me from the Fort . . .¹

From where we set out in the Morning we had the Currant in our favour and in gray goose River it Ran at the Rate of 2 miles P^r hour—at least. This Part is Call'd Ne-me-o kip-a-hagon. As soon as our Tents war Pitchd and all things put to rights, I sent for all the Prinsaple Indians and presented each of them with a bit of Tobaco and acquainted them with the desine of my coming Inland. Part of which seem'd to approve thereof, and others seem'd to doubt of our Success, saying that the Pedlors by this time has to much influence, and that I ware to late in comeing. The Pedlors genorosity is much talk'd of, and are say'd to give away great quanies of goods for nothing, and as for Knives, Steels, Worms, Flints, awls, Needles & Paint, these Indians would Persuade me that they Never Trade but are given gratice to those who ask for them. Guns, Kettles, Powder, Shott, Cloth, Gartering &c they also tel me are much cheaper then at the Company's Standard.— I cannot pretend to say anything to the Contarary at Present, but shal hereafter Endeavour to make myself better acquainted with the trooth of this very Extraordinary account.

I must needs say that it gave me no little uneasiness to see so many fine fellows of Indians and their Families not only Cloath'd with the Canadians goods finely ornimented, but ware also furnish'd with every other Necessary artical, and seem'd not to be in want of any thing. Not the least appearance of the Companys Trading goods among them, Except a few guns and Hatchetts, the latter of which the Canadians brings but Few and sell them Dear . . .

Sunday the 24th

Hott sultry Weather, did not move

Monday the 25th

Ditto Weather. several Tents of Indians came and Pitch'd by us and some of those we found here went away.

The 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th and 30th: did not move, but on Sunday the 31st myself and Men together with the 2 home Indians,

¹They had passed through Athapapuskow and Goose lakes and had reached the mouth of Goose river at Neme-o-Kip-a-hagan or Sturgeon-Weir river.

and a few others, went down a little River about 6 miles to the Southward,¹ then came to a long lake, but it blowing fresh ware oblig'd to Put up for the Night. The Captain who came from the Fort with me is to follow after in a Day or two, all the other Indians who accompany'd me from the Fort going their Respectave ways put me under the Necessaty of Purchising 2 Cannoes to Carrey the goods &c.

Remarks in August 1774

Monday the 1st of August 1774

Fine Pleasent Weather. Paddl'd about 15 or 16 Miles to the SBW and SSW on the above lake then Put up on an Island. The Men went a hunting but killd nothing . . . at Night the Captain Joind us again ———

Tuesday the 2nd and Wednesday the 3rd: strong gales at SE . . could not move each day the men went ahunting but kill'd nothing. at Present very hard times being in great want of Provisions, as have been for these 4 days Past . . .

Thursday the 4th

More Moderate Paddl'd about 10 Miles to the SBW and SW on the above lake then Put up and the Men went ahunting but Returnd without any success . . .at Night heavey Rain

Friday the 5th

Strong gales at NW with heavey showers of Rain mov'd about 6^{ms} to the westward on the above Lake then ware oblig'd to Put up on account of the badness of the Weather . . as Yet kill'd nothing

This Day we Pass'd by one of the Pedlors houses, and tho nobody is in it at Present it is where Lewis Primo and 17 others winter'd last Year and by the Indians account, as soon as the Ice Permitted them this Spring, they Embark'd with all their goods &c and Proceeded to the Northward to intercept the Arathapescow, or Athapus-cow Indians in their way to Prince of Wales Fort—which by account they did with great success, so that few of that Valuable Tribe of Indians are gone Down

¹They descended Sturgeon-Weir river, a distance, however, of only three miles, to its mouth in Sturgeon or Pine Island lake at a place since known as Sturgeon Landing.

to Churchill this Year. Primo is not master of the Gang, but being well acquainted with those Parts ware their chief Pilot and Trader. one Forbersher I am informed¹ ware Master

Saturday the 6th

The first and Middle Parts Ditto weather the latter Part more Moderate so that we cross'd the Lake, it being at this Part not more then a mile wide. we Put up by the side of a little River² which leads to the Theiscatchiwan we set our nett and Caught a few fish and the Indians kill'd several young geese

Sunday the 7th

Fine Moderate W^r. Paddl'd about 16 Miles to the SW and then by Carrying the goods and Cannoes about 400 Yards we came to the River Theiscatchiwan.³ This is the spott the Catapain whome I'm with advises me to build on, but on Examination I find it will by no means answer. The Banks of the River being so low that they frequently overflow, and the woods noway fit for our Purpose, being all Very large Poplar and so thin that by the Time we could collect as much as would Build a house there would Scarse be a stick within a mile or two Round us

¹We have here the definite statement that one at least of the Frobisher brothers, undoubtedly Joseph (see note on p. 120), wintered on Pine Island lake during the winter of 1773-4, and that in the spring of 1774, led by Louis Primeau, they went northward doubtless to Frog Portage, to intercept the Athapuscow Indians going to Churchill.

In Matthew Cocking's journal of 1774-5 it is stated that an English Pedlar (Frobisher), accompanied by Louis Primeau, wintered at Spruce Island Carrying Place (Pine Island lake). Three canoes went to the Tho-pis-kow Indian country, the other canoe went down to Cedar lake and waited for them, and then they all went away.

This was probably Frobisher's first visit to the Churchill river, though he undoubtedly went back and spent the winter of 1774-5 at or in the vicinity of Frog Portage, where he suffered from a great shortage of provisions. Whether it was Primeau's first visit to the Churchill river or not is not known.

²At that time Tearing river discharged Pine Island lake into the Saskatchewan river. Now, since the Saskatchewan river has changed its course and flows through Pine Island lake, this little river has become part of the main stream.

³Paddling westward for about fifteen miles along the south shore of Pine Island lake from its outlet in Tearing river, Hearne reached a spot where the lake and the Saskatchewan river to the south of it were only 400 yards apart. Carrying his canoes and supplies across this neck of land he reached the spot which his Indian guide had chosen as the site for the future Cumberland House. But the Indian had not realized the difference between a movable camp and a permanent habitation.

This Part is by the Indians account rather better then 2 Days Paddles before the Currant above Basquiau, which from the swiftness of the Currant cannot be much less then 100 Miles, and much the same Distance or rather farther up the River to the French Houses

Tho we have spoke with several Indians from all Quarters since our arival in these Parts I can get no intelligance of M^r Cocking Isaac Batt,¹ and others, whome I expected would have ben here before me

Monday Tuesday and Wednesday did not move, being bad Rainey Weather and tho the men went ahunting each Day they did not kill any thing. Dureing the whole time we had nothing to Eat Except Berries, which when eaten in so large a quantity as to stop hunger are of such an astringant quality (Espessually to Strangers) that me and my 2 men ware much disorder'd by them, at the same time hunger oblig'd us to have recourse to a still greater quantity let the Consiquence Prove as it may

Thursday the 11th

Fine Pleasent Weather. being still in the same Destress for want of Provisions and No appearance of anything to be got here we Embark'd and dropt down the River, after Paddling about 25^{ms} we met with 10 Cannoes of Basquiau Indians so Put up for the Night, they having Plenty of Dry Meat &c I Traded some for Present use

Friday the 12th and Saturday the 13th did not move. Traded some Dry'd Meat and Moose skinns to Make a Tent for Me and My men to live in till we can build a house

Sunday the 14th

Fine Pleasent W^r moved about 16 Miles farther down the River Theiscatchiwan to a little Creek² which is said by the Natives to abound with fish we found a Ware ready Built for ketching them but being a little out of the pave we sot the Fishing Nett, and Caught several fine Fish—Namely Pike,

¹See Introduction for an account of the journeys of Cocking and Batt, in 1774 and 1775.

²They dropped down the river to the mouth of Barrier creek, at which the Indians had a trap or weir in which to catch fish. The Pasquia Indians whom they met here and at the previous camp were evidently friendly, though they were undoubtedly part of the same tribe who, led by Chatique, so energetically plundered Alexander Henry two years later.

Carp & Tittmeg.—The Basquiau Indians all came back and Tented by us

Monday the 15th

Veariable Winds and Weather with flying showers of Rain.

Repar'd the Ware and caught several fish, as did also with the nett

Tuesday 16th & Wednesday the 17th Fine Pleasent Weather several of the Indian Men went a hunting and kill'd 4 Moose

Thursday the 18th

The first and Middle Parts fine Pleasant Weather the latter Part Strong gales at NE with heavey Rain Early in the Morning myself and one Indian man went down the River in a Cannoe towards Basquiau in search of woods and a Proper place to build in, but after Paddleing about 38 Miles were oblig'd to Put up it comeing on heavey Rain, and a strong gale from the NE which is nearly the Course of the River

The whole way we Paddl'd this Day ware fine Deep water & the shores of the River soft Midd. woods in general but thin (all Poplar) and in many Parts nothing but Tall bushes of willows for a Considerable distance together. The Banks of the River are so low that all the Land Backward is Swamps and Marshes, all overrun with willows, small Poplors, and other small underwood

Friday the 19th

Fine Pleasent Weather Paddl'd about 16 Miles farther down the River then came to Basquiau¹ which is entirely bare from all kind of woods. where the house formally stood is all over

¹He had now reached Pasquia or The Pas, the most historic place on the Saskatchewan river. The name means a narrow place between steep or high banks. For a long distance above it the banks are rather low and muddy, and for an equally long distance below it the stream flows through a vast reedy marsh, teeming with water fowl, and with hardly any well-defined banks at all. Here on both sides of the river is an extensive gravel plain which furnished beautiful dry camping grounds in the middle of the watery wilderness. From it passable trails led to the higher country to the north and south.

This was probably the "Neck of land" visited and named by Henry Kelsey in 1690 and 1691, when he, the first of white men, went inland from York Factory to visit the Saskatchewan country.

A fur-trading post was built here by some of the early French traders about 1750, and the names of Chevalier de la Vérendrye, Niverville, and La Corne are connected with it. It was doubtless originally built by one of the two first named.

In 1754 it was visited by Anthony Henday, who was on his way from York Fort to visit the Blackfeet on the Plains. He arrived here on July 22 of that

with willows &c and not the least bit of the Building standing or Remaining except Part of the Fire Place.

Finding no woods here fit for our use, I went a little farther down, where we found a Hommock of fine strait handy Pine on the same side as Basquiau and about half a mile Distant. The Banks at this Part is much higher then any I saw above Basquiau, and tho stoney is fine and levle. This part seems midliney comodious for the above articals, and the 2 little Rivers, one at Basquiau, the other about 2 Miles above are said to abound with Plenty of Fish all the Year Except the Month of January. The Lakes and Ponds ajacent are also said to be Remarkable for Plenty of Geese, Swans, &c Every Spring and Fall. The Woods near this Part on both sides of the River are but Poor and Scrubby Mostly Poplar and small Birch. Among the underwood the Berry Bushes are so interwove that it ware with diffiualty I walk'd through them. The Berrys chiefly consist of Cherreys, Rasberys, Black Currans and hipps.

I Expended the whole day in Examining the Parts near the Pine Hommock but did not Determine to build there till I had

year, and though the Master "had gone down to Montreal with the furs" he was kindly received by the two Frenchmen who were at the house, and remained two days with them. Again he visited the place from May 29 to June 2, 1755, and found it occupied by a Master and nine men, who were waiting for the furs from Fort à la Corne before they would start for the east. The building occupied by them was "26 ft. long; 12 feet wide; 9 feet high to the ridge—the walls log on log; the top covered with birch rind, fastened together with willows; and divided in three compartments." [*York Factory to the Blackfeet country*. Trans. Roy. Soc. Can. 3rd Ser. 1907-8, Vol. I, Sect. II, pp. 325-6 and 352-3].

On July 23, 1767, William Pink from York Fort saw the ruins of two old French houses on the south side of the river at Pasquia, and on June 3 of the following year he pitched his tent on the south side of the Saskatchewan river, at the ruins of the first French house.

On July 31, 1772, Matthew Cocking, on his way from York Fort to the Blackfeet country, "came to Basquia", but he says nothing of buildings of any kind. On the twenty-seventh of the following May he again visited the place on his way back to York. He says "there were six tents of Indians; also the Pedler mentioned yesterday [elsewhere named Bruce] lying in a tent with four Canadians, all French extraction: He hath only one large canoe full of furs; having sent two down to the Grand Portage; he is going down himself in a few days." [*An Adventurer from Hudson Bay*. Trans. Roy. Soc. Can. 3rd Ser. 1908-9, Vol. 2, Sect. II, pp. 99 and 119, Ottawa, 1909].

Now Hearne in 1774 finds nothing but the remains of a chimney on the south side, and the ruins of another house on the north side of the river.

Pasquia will be referred to many times in the journals here published, but in no case as a trading centre of any great importance.

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Consulted the Indian Chiefs, whether it would be as Comodious for Drawing the Natives to Trad as it seem'd to be for some other Conveniences.

In the Evening we Returned up the River to the Small Creek about 2 Miles above Basquiau¹ where we lay alnight, by the side of a Fishing ware, which abounded with fish of several kinds, many of which we Caught, namely, Pike, Sturgeon, Carp, Tittmeg, Perch, and Burbutt

Saturday the 20th

Sot out in the Morning with an entent to Return to where I left my People but by the time we had cross't to the North Shore it came on a heavy gale at SE with Thunder and Rain which oblig'd us to Put up and lay there alnight. Close by where we lay ware an old Canadian House laying in Ruins²

Sunday the 21st

Fine Pleasent W^r sot out Early in the Morning and Paddl'd up the River, in our way we met 22 Cannoes of Basquiau Indians who seem'd very Courtious, ask'd me how I lik'd their Country and said they approv'd of my settleing in their Quarter, and offer'd their assistance in Procureing Provisions &c—being as yet not determin'd, I gave them no Possative answer, but told them they undoubtably would hear for sertin long before the Seting in of the Fall, and assur'd them of kind treatment and good Payment for any thing they should bring to Trade, at the same time I Presented them with a little Tobaco, and some other Trifling articals which I took with me for that Purpose . . .

Monday the 22nd

Ditto Weather, sot out Early in the Morning, and in the Evening we arived at our Tents,³ where I found W^m Flatt⁴ and

¹Pasquia river is just above Pasquia, and the French trading houses were probably in the angle between it and the Saskatchewan river. The creek two miles above would be Carrot river.

²We have nothing to indicate who occupied this house, but it might have been almost any one of the Canadian traders trading on the Saskatchewan at the time. Such log cabins fall into decay very quickly when unoccupied and abandoned.

³His tents had been left at the mouth of Barrier river, while he went with an Indian to inspect Pasquia as a site for a trading establishment. William Flatt and Magnus Slater had evidently followed him from York by the Grass river route to Pine Island lake.

Mag^{ns} Slater who had arivd in my absense and brought with them the Following goods (Viz) Broad Cloth Blue 24 yards, Tobacco Brazil 98 lbs, Powder 166 lbs Shot Bristol 84 lbs, Ditto India 140 lbs, Kettles, 5 G^s one, D^o 3 Quart 2 Total Weight 12^{lbs} 2'. one 4 foot Gun, one 3½ foot D^o, 3 yards of Duffill, one Sean Nett, one Cross cut Saw and a Spade also 6 falling hatchetts

The Bill of Parcels sent with the Goods mentions 56 lb^s of Duck Shott, but Flatt and Slater informs me that the Indians who brought them here sent it back by some other whome they met in their way after being some Days from the Fort

Tuesday the 23rd Wednesday the 24th Thursday the 25th Friday 26th and Saturday the 27th did not move, The People Emp'd when the Weather would Permitt in catching and drying of Fish &c Sunday the 28th

Dark Cloudy Weather. about Noon 4 Cannoes of half home guard Ind^{ns} came to the Tent^s and Brought with them James Banks¹ and the following goods (Viz) 133 lb^s Powder, 140 lb^s of India Shott, 84 lb^s Bristol D^o, 16 Blanketts, Kettles—3.Q^{rt} N^o 3, 12 Yards of Flannel, and one 3.2" foot gun A line from M^r Jacobs mentions of Robert Flatt² being in com-

¹William Flatt (or Flett) was born about 1748, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as "labourer" in 1773, when he was employed at York Factory. He made several trips inland between the years 1774 and 1778, and he returned to Europe in 1780. He apparently re-entered the service in 1781 and was employed as "canoeman" inland until 1794, when he retired and returned to Europe. (N.B. It is not certain that the William Flatt who came to Hudson Bay in 1781 was the same man who had returned to Europe in 1780).

Another William Flatt (or Flett), who was a native of Firth in the Orkneys, was born in 1762, and entered the service as "labourer" in 1782. He was taken prisoner by the French at the capture of York Factory a few days after his arrival there. He returned to York Factory in 1783, and was employed inland from 1785 to 1810, when he was appointed "occasional master" in the Saskatchewan district. From 1814 to 1822 he was at Edmonton House, and in 1823 he retired to the Red River Colony, where he died on November 10, 1823.

A third William Flatt (or Flett), who was also a native of Firth in the Orkneys, entered the service in 1787, and was employed in the Albany district. He was at Red lake in 1791, at St. Anne's lake in 1792-3, at Martin Fall in 1793-4, at St. Anne's lake again in 1794-5, at Wepineban in 1796-7, and at Post Doubtful in 1797-8. He retired to Europe in 1798, on the *Prince of Wales*.

²James Banks was an Orkneyman who was born about 1748, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1773. He was employed as "labourer", "canoeman", and later "hunter", in the York Factory district. In 1793 he returned to Europe in the *Prince of Wales*.

³Robert Flatt (or Flett). There were two men of this name employed by the

pany with James Banks and those Indians, but Banks informs me that when 7 Days from the Fort, the Man with whome Flatt ware with, and one other, struck of another way, but Promis'd to be at Basquiau as soon as they.¹ By the bill of Parcels it appears that they have the Following goods with them (Viz) 66 lb^s Powder India Shott 94 lb^s Duck D^o 56 lb^s, 33½ lb^s of Brazil Tobaco 9 Blanketts, one Yard Duffill one 3 Q^{rt} Kettle one 3½ Foot gun and 2 falling hatchetts

Monday the 29th

Bad Rainey Weather, this day fitted out the half home Indians for their Returning to the Fort this Fall. also after a long Consultation with the Indian Chiefs and others in Company, I determin'd to build the house, at least for the insewing winter, at a Part Call'd Pine Island Lake— it is the general opinion of those Indians that that Part will be more comodious both for Drawing the Indians to Trade as well as for Provisions then Basquiau, it laying in the Middle between three Tribes

Tuesday the 30th

Fine Pleasent Weather in the Morning the half home Indians Returned with whome I sent the 2 Home Indians who assisted me up, they being of no service in hunting, and ware too lazey to work like the Rest of my Men, one of the 4 foot guns being out of Repare and unfit for Service I also sent it back with them to the Fort

The People Emp'd Drying what Fish they have already Caught, and Preparing to Move tomorrow . . .

Hudson's Bay Company at the same time. One entered the service as "labourer" in 1773, and made several trips inland until 1782, when he was taken prisoner by the French at the capture of York Factory. He apparently did not return to Hudson Bay.

The other Robert Flatt (or Flett) was born about 1752 and was a native of Orphir in the Orkneys. He entered the service as "labourer" in 1775, and was employed at Albany Factory and inland until 1780, when he returned to Europe. He re-entered the service in 1781, and was employed at York Factory until 1782, when he was captured by the French. He returned again to Hudson Bay in 1784, and was employed in the Albany district and inland until 1794, when he retired to Europe.

¹The Indians with whom Robert Flatt started from York evidently decided to take him inland by the Hayes river route, and as we see on p. 120 they plundered and abandoned him at the mouth of the Saskatchewan river.

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Wednesday the 31st

D^o Weather Early in the Morning one Cannoe of Indians from Basquiau came, and Traded some Dry^d meat and Moose Skinns and soon after return'd, about Noon we sot out and Proceeded up the Theiscatchiwan about 16 miles then Put up by the Mouth of a little River¹ which Proceeds from Pine Island Lake

Remarks in September 1774

Thursday the 1st of September 1774

Ditto Weather Paddl'd about 16 Miles up the above little River then Put up for the Night, in the Evening one Cannoe of Basquiau Indians came to the Tent who informd me of several more being near who had some Dry^d meat and a few Skins to Trade

Friday the 2nd

Ditto W^r did not move. in the Morning 7 Cannoes of the above Indians came, of whome I Traded a good deal of Dry^d meat and some Moose skins and a few Parchment Beaver . . . they soon after Return'd

Saturday the 3rd

Fine Pleasant Weather as above, sot out early in the Morning and Paddl'd about 10 Miles up the above little River then came into Pine Island Lake, we then went about 2 Miles to the Westward on the South side, when we came to a fine Bay, which seem'd very Comodious for building on, so we landed and I Pitch'd on the part I thought would be most convenient.² The People Emp^d the Remaindor of the Day in Clearing a spot of Ground to Build a log Fort on for the Present. The Spot I Propose to build the Proper house on is fine and Levle, and tho not very high has seldom or Ever ben known to overflow by any of the Indians in Company. The Ground is stoney intermix'd with stiff Clay, the Woods on Each side for about one forth of a mile is fine Strait Pine intermix'd with

¹Tearing river.

²The site chosen by Hearne for his new trading house, the first to be built for the Hudson's Bay Company in the interior of western Canada, was in the bay east of the present location of Cumberland House, and near the site afterwards occupied by the Anglican Mission.

Poplars and small Birch, but farther Backwards the woods are mostly Poplar, it has a Commanding view of Pine Island Lake for several miles Each way and is said to have some good fishing Places near, also plenty of grass, Spring and Fall It is about 10 miles to the Eastward of where I first came to the Theiscatchiwan and about the same Distance to the westward of the house where Lewis Primo winterd at in 1773 & Part of 74.

Sunday the 4th

Ditto W^r. Carpenter and people Emp^d helveing of Hatchetts ready for going to work tomorrow

Monday the 5th

Ditto Weather. Carpenter and People Emp^d falling of wood for the Log Tent. This day 11 Cannoes of Grass River Indians came and pitch'd by us, of whome I Traded some Moose flesh and a few Parchment Beaver

Tuesday the 6th

Fine Pleasant Weather Wind at SW. the Carpenter and one man Emp^d arrecting the logg Tent, the rest of the People Carrying in loggs &c for that use

Wednesday the 7th

Ditto W^r. Carpenter and People Emp^d as before. the 11 Canoes of Indians who came the other Day Return'd to their Families. at Night almost finish'd the outside of the Logg Tent

Thursday the 8th

Ditto W^r. People Emp^d Caulking the seams of the Tent with Moss, and in the Evening we Remov'd all our goods &c into our new habitation

Friday the 9th

Early in the Morning an Indian Man came to the Tent and inform'd me of his having kill'd a Moose not far off for which I pay'd him, and sent the People with 2 Cannoes to fetch home the Meat

Saturday the 10th

Ditto W^r in the Morning the People Returnd with the meat. Carpenter Emp^d making of doors for the Logg Tent. The People Emp^d the Remainder of the day in Drying the Meat, the weather being too warm to keep otherwise, in the

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afternoon one Canoe came and Brought 3 fine Sturgeon which
I Traded

Sunday the 11th

D^o W^r. People Emp^d Drying of meat to Prevent it from
Spoiling . . .

Monday the 12

The Carpenter and People Emp^d Building a little Store-
room on the E^t end of the Logg Tent or house.

Tuesday the 13th and Wednesday the 14th. People Emp^d as Before.
4 Canoes came with a little Deers Flesh.

Thursday the 15th

Strong gales at SE so that the Indians could not Return.
The People Employ^d Plastering the outside of the Storeroom
with Clay &c

Friday the 16th

Dark Cloudy W^r with a little Raine, tho Calm, the Indians
Returnd to their Families. The People Emp^d as P^r Yester-
day, the Carpenter laying the floar with Round loggs, and
fixing some little Conveniencies in the inside. The Captain
and some of his young men who Came from the Fort with me
are still Tenting by us. . . .

Saturday the 17

Fine Pleasant Weather Carpenter and People Emp^d as
before. This Day 8 Canoes of Grass River Indians came and
Pitch'd by us who offer their assistance in hunting geese for
us this Fall . . .

Sunday the 18th. Fine clear Weather

Monday the 19th

D^o W^r. People all Emp^d geting of Long grass and Thatch-
ing the Storehouse for the Mudd Plastering is so much Crack'd
with the heat of the Sun that am much afraid it would not be
tight in Rainey Weather. This Evening finish'd the Ware-
house and Tent which is in all 28 feet by 14

Tuesday the 20th

Ditto Weather. People Emp^d falling of Timber to build
the Proper house with the Carpenter Emp^d Squareing of
Timber P^r Ditto

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Wednesday the 21st Dark Cloudy W^r. Carpenter and People
Emp^d as P^r Yesterday

Thursday the 22nd

People Emp^d as before. 8 Cannoes of Grass River Indians came, and brought a good deal of Dry'd meat, some Blathers of fatt and a few Furrs. With the Indians that came this Day ware one Frenchman who belongs to one of the houses up the Theiscatchiwan, he could talk no English and but very little Indian

Friday the 23rd

People Employ'd falling of Timber for the House, the Carpenter assisting me in Trading with the Indians from whome I got a good deal of Dry Meat for a Winters Stock a few Wolf-skins and some Parchment Beaver

Saturday the 24th

Strong gales at SW. People Emp'd as before, Self and Carpenter Trading with the Indians as 'P^r Yesterday, in the afternoon 4 Cannoes went away and the Frenchman with them.

Sunday the 25th

Fine Pleasant Weather. This Day 3 Cannoes of Grass Indians from the Buffalow Country came with a few wolf Skins, some Dry'd meat and a little Buffalow fatt, one of them ware a Trader or Captain who endeavour'd to Preswade me to go higher up this Fall urging many difficulties that would attend us in wintering here. as each Different Tribe are desirous of having goods brought as near their own doors as Possable, it is a Piece of Polisy in them to Praise their Part for the Plentiffulness of Furrs and Provisions and at the same time condemn every other Part. I gave him to understand that the intent of my Comeing inland ware not to settle in any Part to serve a few individuals only, but with an entent to be Equally servisable to the whole Community at the same time told him that my resolutions Ware to firmly fixed to mak any more moving this Fall, for ware I still to listen to the different voices and opinions I might be kept in a State of unsertainty till the close of the winter without any Provision being mad for it

Monday the 26th

Fresh gales at NW with flying showers of Rain. People

Emp^d falling of Timber, the Carpenter Squaring D^o self Trading with the Indians who came Yesterday

This Day I smoakd the Calimet of Peace with the above Captain and tho he could not Preswade me to move nearer his Quarter this fall, has Promous'd to Build me 3 Large Cannoes, and Says he and his Crew will accompany me to the Fort in 1775. he is the man M^r Cocking went inland with in 1772

As to my Procureing Birch Rind in the Fall and Winter as mention'd in the Company^s Letter to me of May 1773 is at Present noways Possable, for my number of men are not only small but are entirely unacquainted with the nature of geting it as wel as evry other duty that is not Emediatly Preform'd at the Factory, none of them ever having ben farther from the Forts than a Wooding or hunting Tent

Tuesday the 27th

Ditto gales with constant hard Rain so that the People could not work out of Doors. 5 Tents of Indians by us

Wednesday the 28th

— D^o W^r one Man Emp^d making a fishing Nett out of some Twine which we Brough from the Fort. The rest of the People Emp^d doing some Necessary Jobbs in the house

Thursday the 29th

Moderate Weather and Clear. People falling of Timber the Carpenter squareing &c this Morning the Captain above mention'd, Returned, as did several others, and 2 Cannoes more of Basquiau Indians came with Meat &c

Friday the 30th

Fresh gales at NW with snow and sleet People and Carpenter Emp^d as before. one Tent of Indians went away to their winter's Quarters and another Tent of grass River Indians came and Pitch'd by us

Remarks in October 1774

Saturday the 1st of October 1774

Fine Clear Weather but a Cold air from the NW^t. Carpenter and People Emp^d making a New Chimney the old one being very Smoakey.

Sunday the 2nd

Ditto Weather. Traded a few geese from the Indians which for want of Brandy come's very Dear, as does all other kind of Provisions and tho the Lake we are Tenting on abounds with fish this time of the Year, yet we seldom can get any, for the Indians always steals them out of the Nett in the Night that being the Case I this day order'd the Nett to be taken up and brought home

Monday the 3rd

Thick Cloudy W^r wind at E^t the Carpenter Emp^d making a Table, one hand about the Fishing Nett and the Rest falling of Timber &c.

Tuesday the 4th

Very strong gales at E^t. People Emp^d falling of Timber the Carpenter finished the Table, and some other Necessary Jobbs

This Day I gave each of the People a Dresst Moose Skin to mak them a Toggey for the Winter

Wednesday the 5th

Fine Clear Weather Wind at SE Carpenter Emp^d squaring of Timber the People falling

Thursday the 6th

Dark Cloudy Weather with flying showers of light Rain Carpenter and People Emp^d as before this Day 21 Cannoes from different Parts Came and pitch'd by us some of which traded a little Dryd meat and a few Parchment Beaver with me but the greatest Part of them saves their good for the Pedlors whome they expect this way every Day

Friday the 7th

Fresh gales at SE and Clear W^r. Carpenter and People Emp^d as before Traded a little Dry'd Meat a few Blathers of Fatt and the Flesh of 2 Beaver

Saturday the 8th

Fine Clear Weather, Carpenter and People Emp^d as before Traded a little Meat and some Parchment Deerskins for Snow shoe Netting

Sunday the 9th

Fine Pleasent Weather wind at SW at about Noon 7

Cannoes of Canadian Pedlors came and landed about 100 Yards from our house. They brought with them Robert Flatt, whome *they found at the head of the great Lake or Wenipegg*. The Indians who brought him from the Fort after taking all the goods from him, treated him very crewilly and then went their ways, and had not the Canadians hapon'd to have came that way probably he never would have ben heard off. Tho there ware one Tent of strange Indians staying where he ware left, yet from the very unkind usage he Receiv'd from them, there ware little hopes of their taking care of him in the Winter 6 of the above Cannoes belongs to 2 Brothers, Forbersher by name.¹ Mess^{rs} Paterson² and Franceway³ came in the other Canoe out of Curiosity the 2 Forbershers with their 6 Canoes are going to the N.W of this Part to Winter with the Arathapescow, or Athapuscow Indians. But M^r Paterson and Franceway are going higher up the Theiscatchiwan with 7 More Cannoes which they have

¹Joseph and Thomas Frobisher. Joseph Frobisher was born in Halifax, Yorkshire, England, on April 15, 1740. After coming to Montreal he engaged in the fur-trade, and reached the Saskatchewan river in 1773. In the winter of 1773-4 he wintered on the south side of Cumberland lake; in 1774-5 at Frog Portage, and in 1775-6 at Beaver lake. In 1776, together with Alexander Henry, he returned to Montreal. He was a member for Montreal-East in the first legislature of Lower Canada. He died at Montreal on September 12, 1810. Thomas Frobisher was born in 1744. He spent the winter of 1774-5 at Frog Portage with his brother Joseph; the winter of 1776-7 at Sturgeon Fort on the Saskatchewan river; and left for Montreal in the summer of 1777. He died at Montreal on September 12, 1788. Benjamin, another brother who was earlier in the fur-trade, was born about 1742, and died at Montreal on April 14, 1787. There were also two other brothers, Nathaniel and William.

²Charles Paterson was trading on the Saskatchewan river in 1774-5. Together with William Holmes he accompanied Alexander Henry from Fort à la Corne to the camp of the Assiniboines in the winter of 1776. He afterwards transferred his energies to Michillimackinac, and was drowned in Lake Michigan in 1788.

³Franceway, or François, was a French fur-trader, whose surname is variously given in the journals of the Hudson's Bay Company as Shash, Saswee, Sas'wow, Sarchshrew, and Sirdaw. In 1773 he was described by Matthew Cocking as "an ignorant old Frenchman, about sixty years of age". He had undoubtedly been one of the occupants of the "upper French fort" prior to its abandonment about 1758, and it is not improbable that he was present at its building, about 1752 or 1753. In the spring of 1768 he was at a trading post at Pemmican Point on the Saskatchewan; and William Pink says that he had been at the same place ten years before, during the French régime in Canada. He was more or less continuously on the Saskatchewan river every year until 1777. In the autumn of this year he killed an Indian somewhere in the vicinity of Sturgeon river fort, and immediately left the country. In the following June he appeared at Michillimackinac, and proceeded to Detroit, which is the last we hear of him.

left about 9 Miles distant from here, in the care of one Homes¹ another of their Partners

Mess^{rs} Paterson and Franceway took care of Robert Flatt and cloath'd him very well, for the Indians had strip'd him almost Naked, the Masters ware all very kind to him but those above mention'd Particularly so. I thank'd them for the care they had Taken of my man and offered to satisfy them for the Expence they ware at in Cloathing him &c which they Declin'd accepting, saying he ware very welcom.

After the Canadians Tents ware Pitch'd, Mess^{rs} Patterson Forbersher and Franceway gave me an invitation to sup with them which as they ware so near I did not think any harm in accepting of, M^r Forbersher Ju^{nr}2 is the Person who commanded the Canadians who winterd in the little house about 10 Miles to the E^t of us in the Year 73 & Part of 74 and when he Proceeded down to the grand portage with his Trade this Spring he left Lewis Primo³ and 3 other men, to Build Part of a house in the Draft of Churchill River, against his arival this Fall to which part he is going to Proceed as fast as Possable

¹This is the first mention we have of William Holmes, an Irish trader from Montreal, amongst the Canadian traders on the Saskatchewan. He was probably near Fort à la Corne, with Charles Paterson, Peter Pangman, and François. In the following winter he was at the same place, from whence he accompanied Alexander Henry to a camp of the Assiniboines. In 1792 Peter Fidler refers to "a pretty large island [near the present site of Prince Albert] and an old Canadian House upon it built by Mr. Holmes in 1783—or thereabouts". A few days later Fidler arrived at the mouth of Battle river, when he makes the following statement "about 200 yards above the River an old Canadian House built in 1785—by Mr. Holmes, where they only remained 3 winters and then abandoned it."

²D. W. Harmon, who was at the North West Company's trading post here in September, 1805, states, "This post was established thirty three years since by Mr. Joseph Frobisher," and English (Churchill) river "is so called in honour of Mr. Joseph Frobisher, an Englishman, who was the first trader that ever went into that part of the country." (D. W. Harmon, *A journal of voyages and travels*, pp. 146-7. Andover, 1820.)

Hearne speaks of the man who wintered on Pine Island lake in 1773-4, and who therefore went to Frog Portage in the spring of 1774, as "Mr. Frobisher Jr.," and according to Harmon and also to Joseph Hansom this was Joseph Frobisher. In later Cumberland Journals the brother who stayed in the country till 1777 is spoken of as "Frobisher Sr." and this was certainly Thomas Frobisher. (See note on p. 120).

³Lewis (Louis) Primeau was probably one of those Frenchmen who went west during the French régime, and remained in the country when it came under the control of the British. Cocking in 1772 speaks of his being in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, though he has a liking for his old masters, evidently some of the Canadian traders, and in 1773 he went east with Bruce to or towards the

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Monday the 10th

Strong gales at NW so that the Canadians could not move

Tuesday the 11th

Moderate and Cloudy. Early in the Morning the Canadians all Embark^d and went their Respectave ways, the 2 Forbershers, with their 6 Cannoes went away for their New house, and Mess^{rs} Paterson and Franceway returnd to join their other 7 Cannoes. The Indian Captain who brought me from the Fort and and has ben Tenting by me Ever since, ware so affected with the smell of the Canadians New England Rum that he and his crew embark'd and follow'd after them, before they ware out of sight.

While the Canadians ware here I understood by M^r Paterson that he ware in partnership with many others all of which Except Homes & Franceway went differant ways when a little above the great Lake or Wenipegg. The Reason of their separating so wide from each other is on account of geting the furs cheaper and at the same time enables them to Provide Provision for the Men at less Expence and with greater sertinty than they Possably could Do if in greater Bodies. . . .

Their Cannoes are 24 feet Long 4 feet 8 Inches Broad and 1 foot 8 Inches deep, and are paddl'd by 4 Men,—the Pataroon or Steersman of each Cannoe has 50£ P^r annom, the foresman £40 and the rest of the Crew 20 and 25£ according to their goodness. 2 Men in Each Cannoe has 5 £ P^r An^m extraordinary for carreying And mending it on all accations. By the Masters account, when they Embark at the grand Portage 65 or 70 Packs and Caggs, called by them Pieces, are Put on board each Canoe, with Provisions for 10 weeks at least, which

Grand Portage. He was back to winter with Joseph Frobisher on Pine Island lake in 1773-4, and during the summer of 1774 he built a house for Frobisher "in the draft of Churchill river", evidently at Frog Portage, for on Peter Pond's map of 1790 opposite Frog Portage, is the annotation "*Mr. Frobisher in 1774*", where Primeau probably wintered with Frobisher. In 1775-6 while Alexander Henry and Joseph and Thomas Frobisher wintered at Beaver lake, he wintered on Primeau lake on the Churchill river. The following year he built the establishment at Ile à la Crosse, and wintered there. In the autumn of 1777 he went with Thomas Frobisher to Montreal and spent the winter there, and in the autumn of 1778 he was on his way to Ile à la Crosse, where he probably wintered. Primeau, not improbably the same man, was in charge of Cumberland House for the North West Company when it was visited by David Thompson on August 18, 1798, and he was heard of on the Saskatchewan river as late as 1800.

according to the weight of their Packs &c as also the Mens lumber, Each Cannoe Carries upwards of 2 Tons. 60 of these large Cannoes came into the internal Parts of the Country this Year and ware all in one Company when they Found Robert Flatt. The Wages gave by the Canadian Pedlors Masters to their men sound very high; but when compared with the Prices of their goods which the men are under an obligation of taking up from them it bears no Proportion to the wages gave by the Hudson Bay Comp^y.

The Prices of Several articals my men collected from those of the Pedlors which are as follows, (Viz) a Gun. 5 £ New England Rum 10 Dollars P^r Gallon. Tobacco 6 Livers P^r lb, Cloth much inferior to the Company^s both in Weadth and fineness 10 Livers P^r Yard, small knives like the Company^s Jack knives 2 a Doller and every other artical in Proportion.

Wednesday the 12th

Light airs from the SW^t with flying showers of Rain. People Emp^d falling of Timber the Carpenter squaring D^o.

Thursday the 13th

Fine Pleasent Weather wind at SW. Carpenter and People Emp^d as before. This Day several Cannoes of Indians went away some after the Pedlars and some to their Winter Quarters.

Friday the 14th

Dark Cloudy Weather wind at NE with a Cold air. Carpenter and People as before Squaring of Timber &c

Saturday the 15th

Ditto wind with Rain and sleet. People emp^d geting of a little wood for the Fire, likewise set the fishing Nett and Caught a few Fish

Sunday the 16th strong gales at NE and Cloudy Weather

Monday the 17th

Fine Moderate Weather and Cloudy, the Carpenter and People Emp^d Falling and Squaring Timber as before.

About 10 a Clock at Night 7 Cannoes of Indians came to the Tent, who have ben at York Fort since the Departure of the Ship. They Brought with them Robert Davey and the following letter with the goods &c mention'd therein.

York Fort September 11th 1774.M^r Hearne

Six Cannoes of Indians came here with a few skinns to Trade one of the Men being the Person you went with acquainted me you got safe up, and ware begun your Preparations for building the House which gave me great Pleasure. I hope M^r Cocking and the Rest of the People got safe with the goods to you also. I have now sent by the above 6 Cannoes of Indians whose leader is called Shaw-caw-pon-ness-cum, 3 Guns 4 foot, 231 lbs Powder in 7 Baggs, 196 lbs Bristol Shott in 7 Baggs, 196 lbs low East India in 7 Baggs, 238 lbs of Brazil Tobacco in 7 Parcels, 72 Bayonetts in 6 Parcels, 35 Gallons of Brandy in 7 Cag^s the Bungs seal'd with the Company's seal in wax also the Quadrant and Stand with all the Letters I Received for you and M^r Cocking & the Rest of the people with you. The Ship arivd the 18th Ult and saild the 2nd Instant all well You will Please to acquaint M^r Cocking he is appointed Master at Severn on which I Congratulate him. The things I Receiv'd for you and M^r Cocking are taken great care of till I hear from you If you should see Lewis Primo acquaint him he has forfeited all the Money I had of his by his breach of Contract in deserting the Company's Service¹ and that I have orders from the Committee to sell the New Cloaths I brought out for him and to Refund the money to the Company, and that he is not to be Employ^d any more in the Service, we may Suppose John Cole² in the Same Predicament. With the aforementioned Indians I have sent Robert Davey and 2 home Indians Call'd Nee-shue-wap-vey-a-thin, and Patte-cow-wow. I have Paid the Natives for carreying these goods up to You that they may not have any Demand upon you to lessen Your Stock. I Remain wishing you and all with you health and Success

Your^s

¹This confirms the discharge of Primeau from the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, which he had deserted.

²John Cole was a New Englander who went to the Saskatchewan with Thomas Corry in 1771. He left Corry in 1772, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1774 he had gone back to the Canadians, with whom he remained until 1779, when he was shot in a skirmish with the Indians at Eagle Hills fort on April 22. Peter Fidler wrote in 1792 "Cole had a very irriserable Temper, and frequently ill-using the Natives without any just cause."

PS

I have sent by the leader Shaw-cau-pun-ness-cum, Mek-a-thinnue and Robert Davey each a Bill of Parcels, if any thing should be Return'd or left b'hind if I know it will account for it and if any more should be sent then is mentiond in the Letter it shall be mention'd in the Bill of Parcels

Also sent by Nee-shue-wap-pay-a-thin, Patte-cow-wow and Robert Davey Each one kettle $\frac{1}{2}$ Gallon, total weight 10 lb^s

NB

15 Gallons of the Brandy ware Expended before they ariv'd, and 2 of the guns Blown—but all the other goods came Safe Tuesday the 18th

Fine Pleasent W^r. People Emp^d falling of Timber the Carpenter Squaring &c. This Day traded a few Parchment Beaver some Moose Leather and a little Dry meat and Fatt Wednesday the 19th

Dark cloudy Weather wiith a little Rain the Carpe^r and People Emp^d adding 16 feet more to the Loggtent for Part of the People to live in Thursday the 20th

Ditto Weather People emp^d as before. This Day I Trusted the Indians in all about 200 Beaver in Amanition and other Necessaries, to help to support them Dureing the Winter Friday the 21st

Fine Moderate Weather but a Cold air from the NW, this Morning upwards of 20 Cannoes of Indians went their Respective ways, several of which have Promous'd to come in with Provisions &c as soon as the Rivers and Lakes are froze over, in the Evening the Remainder of the Indians all went away Except 2 or 3 Women who Stays to Make, Mend, Knitt Snow-shoes &c for us dureing the Winter The Carpenter and People Emp^d as before building the addition to the Tent

Saturday the 22nd

Strong gales at NW with cold Frosty Weather. The Carpenter and people Emp^d as before the 2 home Indians went

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a hunting and at Night Return'd with only a few wood Partridges and one Phesent

Sunday the 23rd

Light airs from the NW and cold frosty W^r this Morning when we arose we found all the Bays of the Lake froze over for near a mile from the Shore

Monday the 24th

Ditto Weather with heavey Snow People Emp^d geting a little firewood

Tuesday the 25th

Fine Clear Weather and Calm but hard frost, People emp^d Clearing away the Snow from Round the House or Tent. Caught a few fish in ye Nett

Wednesday the 26

Fresh gales at NW^t and Cold Frosty weather, People Emp^d Clearing away the underwood from before the Front of the house, the Carpenter making of Shovels the 2 home Indn^s went ahunting, the lake almost froze over

Thursday the 27th

Strong gales at NE some of the People Emp^d building a Baracado of Brushey sticks to the NW of the house it laying very open to that Quarter, the Rest of the People Emp^d mending and seting the fishing Nett in the Evening the 2 home Indians came home but brought only 3 or 4 wood Partridges

Friday the 28th

Ditto gales with very heavy snow. 2 men look at the fishing Nett and Caught 2 Fish. People emp^d geting of Fire wood. The Carpenter not well

Saturday the 29th Fine Mild Weather wind at SE. People finish'd the Baracado and got a little Fire wood . . . the Carpenter Very ill

Sunday the 30th of October 1774

The first Part fine Pleasant Weather the Middle and Latter Parts strong gale at NW with heavey Snow . . . the Carpenter better

Monday the 31st

Fine Clear Weather this Morning I sent the 2 home Indians

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and one of our men about 12 miles of to a Remarkable Part for sturgeon and other Fish they took a Nett with them, and amantion for hunting

The Rest of the People Emp^d geting some dry wood to the House

Remarks in November 1774

Tuesday the 1st of November 1774

Ditto Weather. People Emp^d as before

Wednesday the 2nd

Strong gales at NE with snow. People Emp^d as before at Night the two home Indians and our Man came home but had no success

Thursday the 3rd

Ditto W^r, with constant snow. People emp^d as before.

Friday the 4th

Moderate with constant snow, in the Evening an Indians man came to the house, whose family are all starving, on the other side of the Lake I gave him a little Dry^d meat &c to carry home and they are to Pitch this way as soon as Possable People Emp^d as before

Saturday the 5th

Ditto Weather. People Emp^d as before, the 2 home Indians making Snow Shoes. Caught 2 fish in the Nett

Sunday the 6

More Moderate

Monday the 7th

Cloudy but fair Weather. People Emp^d making of Rabbitt hedging near the house the 2 home Indians making of Snowshoes as before, in the afternoon the Indian Man who were mentioned as starving came with all his family and Pitch'd by us. They are in all 16 in Number

Tuesday the 8th

Ditto Weather. People and the 2 home Indians Emp^d as before

Wednesday the 9th

Warm thawey Weather the Carpenter and People Squaring of Timber

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Thursday the 10th

Ditto Weather having some Snowshoes Knitt the 2 home Ind^{ns} and one of those who Came lately went a hunting. The Carpenter and People Emp^d as before

Friday the 11th

Cold clear Weather Carpenter and People Emp^d as before, look^d at the fishing Nett but Caught no fish

Saturday the 12th

Ditto Weather. 2 men sot our other fishing Nett, about 8^{ms} to the Eastward of the house, the Carpenter and the Rest of the People Emp^d squaring of Timber. The Tent of strange Indians still Tenting by us who are making their Snowshoes &c. At Night the 2 home Indians and the other who went ahunting, Returnd without any Success

Sunday the 13th

Strong gales at NW and Cold Drifty W^r. People Emp^d as before the Indians still Tenting by us but are to go away tomorrow, accordingly I fitted them out with amantion &c to Provide for themselves the Remainder of the Winter

Monday the 14th

Fine Clear Weather but a Cold air from the NW. Carpenter and People Emp^d Squaring of Timber as before This Morning the above Indians went away to Provide for themselves, and one of the home Indians with them, who is to come back as soon as they kill any Moose or Deer
2 men look at the Fishing Nett and Caught 7 Small Tittemegg

Tuesday the 15th

Cold Drifty Weather. This Morning I sent the other home Indian and one of our men aCross the Lake to hunt any thing they may meet with. The Carpenter and People Emp^d as before. Preparing of Timber for the house.

Wednesday the 16th

Cold Clear Weather People and Carpenter Emp^d as before, look^d at the fishing Nett and Caught only 2 fish

Thursday the 17th

Ditto Weather. People Emp^d as before

Friday the 18th

Ditto Weather People as Before look'd at the Fishing Nett^s
and Caught several fine Fish

Saturday the 19th

Ditto Weather People Emp^d falling of Timber the Carpenter
Squaring &c

Sunday the 20th Ditto Weather

Monday the 21st

Do W^r. 2 Men look^d at the Fishing Netts and Caught one
small Sturgeon and several other fish, the rest of the People
Emp^d stuffing the seams of the house with fresh Moss . . . in
the Evening fine warm Weather

Tuesday the 22nd

Dark cloudy weather People Emp^d geting of Firewood, in
the Evening the home Indian and our man (who went ahunting
on Tuesday Last) Return'd and Brought 4 Beaver

Wednesday the 23rd

Ditto Weather with heavy snow. 2 Men look^d at the
fishing Nett^s and Caught 4 Fish. The Remainder of the People
Emp^d geting of Firewood &c

Thursday the 24^{sh}

Cloudy Weather with a little Snow. Wind at SE People
Emp^d as before

Friday the 25th

Mild cloudy weather. This Morning sent the home
Indian and 2 other of our men ahunting they took with them
tools Proper for taking of Beaver houses. The Rest of the
People Emp^d as before. Caught 5 Fish in the Nett

Saturday the 26th

Ditto W^r. Wind at SE. People Emp^d as before—one
Man Sick

Sunday the 27th

Dark Cloudy W^r. Wind at SE with a little snow

Monday the 28 Cloudy Weather. 2 men look^d at the fishing Nett^s
and Caught sevral fish the Remainder of the People Cuting of
wood & shoveling away the Snow from Round the house . . .

Tuesday the 29th of Novemb^r 1774

Cloudy W^r wind at NW. People Emp^d as before.

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Wednesday the 30th

Fine clear Weather, 2 Men look^d at the Nett^s and Caught a few Fish, the Rest of the People Cuting of Firewood &c

Remarks in December 1774

Thursday the 1st of December 1774

Cloudy W^r wind at SE with snow. People Emp^d as before.

Friday the 2nd

Cloudy warm weather. 2 Men look^d at the Fishing Nett^s and caught several fish. People Emp^d as before in the Evening the Indian Man who ware sometime since mentiond as star-ving, came in with some of his family and brought 4 slead load of Moose Flesh. 2 other Indians came from the Northward who belongs to the Captain That brought up Rob^t Davey last fall. the 2 latter Indians brought nothing with them, they only came for a little Brandy for their Captain

Saturday the 3rd

Strong Gales at NW with thick Drifty weather and a little snow People geting of wood &c The 2 Indians from the Northward Return'd by whome I sent their Captain a little Brandy according to his desire, and a little Tobaco

Sunday the 4th

Fine clear weather but a Cold air from the NW, this Morn-ing the other Indians Returnd to their families who Promoused to bring us Provisions at all Convenient oportunities dureing the Winter

Monday the 5th

Ditto Weather. 2 Men look^d at the Fishing Nett^s and Caught 5 small Sturgeon, the Remainder of the People geting of Firewood &c

Tuesday the 6th

Ditto Weather. People Emp^d as Before

Wednesday the 7th

Ditto Weather 2 Men look^d at the Nett^s and caught 2 stur-geon and 3 small Titemegg. People Emp^d as before

Thursday the 8th

Ditto W^r. People Emp^d as before geting of Firewood &c

Friday the 9th

Ditto Weather. 2 men look^d at the Fishing Nett^s but Caught no fish in the Evening the home Indian and our 2 Men who went a hunting on the 25th of Last Month, Return'd but had only killd a few beaver all of which they ware oblig'd to Eat before they ariv^d here

Saturday the 10th

Ditto Weather. People geting firewood

Sunday the 11th

Thick Cloudy Weather wind at SE with snow

Monday the 12th

Ditto weather. this morning sent the home Indian and 2 other of our men a hunting. 2 men look^d at the Fishing Nett^s but caught no Fish the Remaindor of the People shovleing of snow away from Round the house

Tuesday the 13th

Ditto Weather. People Emp^d geting of wood

Wednesday the 14th

Cold Clear Weather wind at NW. 2 Men look^d at the Nett^s & Caught 4 small Sturgeon, the Rest of the People cutting wood &c

Thursday the 15th

Ditto W^r People Emp^d as before

Friday the 16th

Clear sharp Weather. look^d at the Fishing Nett^s but caught no fish. in the afternoon 5 Frenchmen belonging to M^r Forbersher's crew call^d at our house, as on their journey to Mess^{rs} Paterson Homes and Franceways houses which are about 8 Days walk higher up the Theiscatchiwan, they inform me of M^r Forbersher and the Rest of his men being in great distress for want of Provisions which ware the reason of their leaveing the house. Those who came here ware in a Miserable condition having ben 20 Days from the house and killd nothing by the way¹

¹These men had walked down from Frobisher's settlement at Frog Portage, a distance in a straight line across country of 120 miles, but very considerably more by the lakes and rivers which they would undoubtedly follow. They had been twenty days on their journey, and they had 110 miles to go to get to Fort à la Corne, where Paterson and Holmes were doubtless living at the time.

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Saturday the 17th

Ditto Weather the People Emp^d geting of wood the Frenchmen staying to Refresh themselves

Sunday the 18th

Ditto Weather in the Morning the Frenchmen went away, but Provisions being very scarce with us, it ware not in my Power to give them much to help them on their journey, but while they stay'd they far'd like our own People which ware none of the best being but two Scanty meals P^r Day

Monday the 19th

Ditto Weather 2 Men look^d at the Fishing Nett^s but caught no fish the Rest of the People Emp^d geting of Firewood &c

in the Evening 1 Indian, and our own 2 men that left us on the 12th of this Month came to the house with a little Moose flesh

Tuesday the 20th

Thick Cloudy Weather with a little snow People Emp^d as before

Wednesday the 21st

Ditto weather 2 Men look^d at the Fishing Nett^s but caught no fish in the Morning the Indians Return'd with whome I sent one of our men. The 2 home Indians are also tenting with them

Thursday the 22nd

Fine Pleasent weather for the Time of the Year; most of the People ahunting and killd a few Patridges at Night 3 Indian Men from the Northward came to the house with a little Moose flesh

The above 3 Indians who came to Day belongs to the Captain who came here with Robert Davey in the Fall

Friday the 23rd

Thick Clowdy Weather. 2 Men look^d at the Fishing Nett^s but caught no fish, the Remainder of the People geting of Firewood &c

Frog Portage was evidently a poor place to get enough fish and game to supply thirty men, which must have been about the size of Frobisher's party, though it is possible that Primeau had taken some of them higher up Churchill river to spend the winter.

Saturday the 24th

Ditto Weather this Morning the 3 Indians Return'd with whome I sent 2 of our Men to haw home some Meat which they say they have laying at their Tent by the above Indians account, their Tent^s are about 80 Miles Distant. The 4 People which are still Remaining at the house Emp^d shoveling away the Snow from the Doorways and Cuting a little wood for the fire

Sunday the 25th

Ditto Weather

Monday the 26th

Thick Cloudy W^r. 2 Men look^d at the Fishing Nett and caught 2 small fish. The Remainder of the Day Cuting wood &c

Tuesday the 27th

Strong gales at SE with thick drifty W^r and some Snow 2 Men hunting of Patridges, the other 2 Cuting of wood &c

Wednesday the 28th

Strong gales at NW with very thick Drift so that the People could neither hunt nor work out of Doors

Thursday the 29th

More Moderate, the People went ahunting and in the Evening Returnd with a few Patridges

Friday the 30th

Moderate and Clear 2 men look^d at the Fishing Nett^s but caught no fish. the other 2 men hunting only killd 2 Patridges

Saturday the 31st

Fine Pleasent Weather all the People ahunting but only killd 6 Patridges and one Phesent

Remarks in January 1775

Sunday the 1st of January, 1775. Fine Clear Weather

Monday and Tuesday. Ditto weather People hunting but killd only a few

Wednesday the 4th

Strong gales at SE and Mild weather 2 Men look^d at the fishing Nett^s but Caught nothing the other 2 men Emp^d clearing the Ice and Rime out of the Storehouse

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Thursday the 5th

Ditto Weather. People Emp^d falling of Firewood &c

Friday the 6th

People hunting but killd only one Patridge

Saturday the 7th

Ditto Weather. People hunting & killd 8 Patridges. as yet no newse of our 3 Men, at Present only 4 men and myself at the house

Sunday the 8th

Fine Pleasent weather being very short of Provisions the People went ahunting notwithstanding it's being Sunday

Monday the 9th

Thick Cloudy weather with a heavey flight of snow having caught nothing in the fishing nett^s for neare these 20 Days Past, I this morning sent 2 men to take them up and bring them home

Tuesday the 10th

Ditto W^r. People cuting of wood

Wednesday the 11th

Cold cloudy weather wind at NW one Man hunting and 2 angleing for fish but Caught nothing

Thursday the 12th

Fine clear Weather with a light air from the NW, 3 Men hunting who killd 8 Patridges

Friday the 13th

Ditto Weather 3 Men hunting killd 4 Patridges

Saturday the 14th

Ditto Weather 3 Men hunting killd only 2 Patridges, as yet no newse of our men nor the home Indians

Sunday the 15th

Ditto weather. People hunting but killd nothing

Monday the 16th

Ditto Weather People hunting killed 10 Patridges

Tuesday the 17th

Ditto Ditto killed 3 Patridges

Wednesday the 18th

Ditto Weather. People as before.

Thursday the 19th

fine Pleasant W^r and in the Middle of the Day a little thaw.

People killd 13 Patridges

Friday the 20th

Ditto People hunting and killd 6 Patridges

Saturday the 21st

Ditto Weather y^e men hunting killd 6 Patridges . . as Yet
no newse of our men nor the home Indians

Sunday the 22nd

Ditto W^r. People as Before killd 8 Patridges

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday & Thursday. Ditto Weather.
each Day the people went ahunting and angleing and killed 26
Patridges and one large Trout

Friday the 27th

Cold Cloudy Weather wind at NW People hunting killd
10 Patridges

Saturday the 28th

Mild Cloudy Weather. People as before, killd 8 Patridges
in the Evening one of our men (who left us on the 21st of last
month) came home and one of the home Indians with him they
brought with them a little meat &c

Sunday the 29th

Cloudy Weather with thick snow and a strong gale at NW
People went ahunting but killd nothing

Monday the 30th

Fine Mild Weather with a little thaw this Morning I sent
the home Indian and one of our men away ahunting and in the
evening our other 2 men (whome I sent away on the 24th of last
month) came home and 2 Indians with them, they only brought
a little half Dry^d meat and the flesh of 5 Beaver

Tuesday the 31st

Ditto Weather some of the People hunting the Rest Cuting
of Firewood this morning the 2 Indians Return'd

Remarks in February 1775

Wednesday the 1st of February, 1775

Dark Cloudy Weather Enclinable to Snow. People
hunting who killd 10 Patridges

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Thursday the 2nd

Cold, Blowey Weather wind at NE People hunting but
killd nothing. at Night came on heavey Snow

Friday the 3rd

Warm weather with constant heavy Snow in the Evening
our man and the home Indian came home Who had killd
nothing since their departure

Saturday the 4th

Cold W^r with constant snow and a fresh gale from the NW.
People Emp^d shovleing away the snow from Round the house &
Cuting a little Firewood

Sunday the 5th

More Modirate but very Cold. Wind as above the People
went ahunting but killd nothing

Monday the 6th

Clear Weather but very sharp the home Indian and 2 men
went ahunting but killd only 2 Patridges the rest of the People
cuting of wood and shovleing away the snow from round the
house

Tuesday the 7th

Ditto Weather the home Indian went ahunting but only
killd 4 Patridges, the People Cuting wood as P^r Yesterday

Wednesday the 8th

People Carrying in wood for the Fire.

The very scanty allowance of Provisions that we have ben put
to for some time past, has accationd many grumblings amongs
some of the men, but as from the first of the scarce times
(which ware in the middle of December) I stipolated myself to
the very same alowance in every artical. I told them they had
no right to complain, knowing it ware not in my Power to
Redress them Finding Provisions grow short we stinted our
selves to 2 scanty meals P^r Day in December and by the
middle of January we ware so short that we could not afford
more than a Small handfull of Dry'd beat meat call'd Thew-
hagon and about 4 ounces of other Meat P^r Man Each day but
for some time Past have ben redus'd to still shorter allowance.
This scanty way of living, at times, being so differant from the
sertin good allowance at the Factory is so alarming to my men

in general, that it is with the greatest difficulty I can Perswade them from thinking that Entire famine must Ensew Patridges, Rabbitts, Fishs &c have entirely faild since the scarce times which makes them much worse, however I'm not without hopes of some Reliefe before long as I daily expect some Indians in¹

Thursday the 9th

Strong gales at NW^t with thick Cloudy Weather the home Indian and some of the People went a hunting, but killd only 6 Patridges

Friday the 10th

Fine Pleasent Weather with a light air from the NE about Noon, one Indian man came to the house and inform'd me of 5 Tents of Indians being within 5 hour's walk of us. some of them killd 5 Moose Yesterday and are comeing here with most of the meat The Indian Return'd Immediately and I sent the home Indian and one of our men with him

Saturday the 11th

Fresh gales at West and Clear Weather in the afternoon our man who went away with the Indian Yesterday, Return'd with a slead load of Meat.

Sunday the 12th

Fine Clear Weather but a Cold air from the NW in the Evening the 3 Tents of Indians above Mention'd came and Pitch'd by us. Their leader is the Man who brought up Robert Davey last fall.

Monday the 13th

Ditto W^r. Emp^d Trading of Meat and a few furs from the Indians

Tuesday the 14th

Ditto W^r. Emp^d as before. People geting of a little Fire Wood in the Evening 2 Indians and one Frenchman belonging to M^r Forbersher's crew, came to the house. The

¹We have here a brief statement of the distress to which the early fur traders were often put even after they had carefully chosen the most favourable parts of the country in which to live. These men were merely employees working for a small wage, without any participation in possible profits, and it is therefore not surprising that they grumbled when their boss could only supply them with barely enough provisions to keep soul and body together, and when even that supply was uncertain.

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Indians had a few Beaverskinns, which they Traded for Tobaco
Wednesday the 15th

Ditto Weather. People geting of Firewood. in the Morn-
ing the Indian leader and most of his crew went away, with
whome I sent one of our men and the home Indian to assist
them in geting of Birch Rind; for the leader, or Captain, has
Promous'd to build me 2 large cannoes this spring
The 2 Indians and the Frenchman who came Yesterday, also
Return'd Before the Indians went away they told me to make
preparation for a Deluge, as they have great reason to Expect
one this year from the uncommon deapth of snow.

Thursday the 16th

Cold Clear Weather the Remaindor of the Indians went
away. The Carpenter and some of the people Emp^d tyeing
up the furs and puting things to Rights about the house. The
Rest of the People Cuting of wood

Friday the 17th

Ditto Weather. Carpenter hunting who killd a few Pa-
tridges the People geting of Firewood to the house

Saturday the 18th

Mild Cloudy weather. Carpenter D^o killed 2 Phesents
the People falling of Dry wood for the Fire

Sunday the 19th

Ditto W^r

Monday the 20th

Fresh gales at SW and Clear Weather with a great thaw.
in the Morning our Man whome I sent to assist the Indians in
geting Birch Rind &c Return'd and one Indian lad with him.
They having killd nothing since they left us are in want of Pro-
visions the Captain desired I would send him a little meat,
which I did by the Return of the lad, and our man remaines at
the house for the Present, but if the Indians should have any
luck in hunting while within a Moderate distance they Prom-
ouse to come in with more Meat and then one of our men is to
accompany them again
in the Afternoon one Indian Man from another Quarter with a
sleadload of Meat

Robert Longmoor having ben a hunting came home at Night
with both his big Toes much froze

Tuesday the 21st

Cloudy Weather with a cold air from the NW one Man
hunting and 2 men fishing. ketch'd 2 large Pike and kill'd a
few Patridges This Morning I lay'd Rob^t Longmoor's Toes
open which are froze to the Bone, and as the Medican box
which were fitted up at the Fort for this Place is with M^r
Cocking we have not the least thing to apply to it, except the
inner Rind of the Larch Tree Root which is generally us^d
among the Natives to stop or Prevent a Mortification

Wednesday the 22nd

Clear cold Weather. 3 Men angling but caught no Fish
the Rest of the People cuting of wood for the Fire

Thursday the 23rd

Mild Cloudy Weather with a little light Snow 3 Men
Angling and one Man hunting.

Friday the 24th

Ditto Weather one Man fishing but Caught Nothing. The
Carpenter Emp^d Making of a Levle, Plumb Ruler, &c readye
for begining upon the house as soon as the Weather will Permitt
The People Emp^d falling of Drywood for the Fire and Carrying
in same for Present use

Saturday the 25th

Cold clear Weather with a strong gale at NW People
Emp^d as before Rob^t Langmoor Lane

Sunday the 26th

Ditto W wind at NE with constant small snow

Monday the 27th

Fine Pleasent Weather but a Cool air from the NW one
Man fishing and 2 Men hunting Caught Nothing. one man
mending the Fishing Nett and the other 2 men Cuting of fire
wood . . . Robert Longmoor lame

Tuesday the 28th

Fresh gales at SW with Cold Dirty Weather most of the
People a hunting and Fishing but had poor Success./ Long-
moor Lane

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Remarks in March 1775

Wednesday the 1st of March 1775

Strong gales at SE with a little snow. the Fishing Nett being Repar'd. I sent the People to set it about 2 Miles from the Tent. at Night very heavey snow. Longmoor Lane

Thursday the 2nd

Fine Pleasant Weather. 2 Men look^d at the Fishing Nett and caught 3 Sturgeon, the rest of the People Shovleing away the Snow from round the house . . . Longmoor lane

Friday the 3rd

Ditto Weather. 2 Men look^d at the fishing Nett and Caught one Sturgeon & 2 fine Pike. The Carpenter and the rest of the People Emp^d doeing some Necessary Repares to our present Dwelinghouse
in the Evening 2 Indian men came to the house with a little half dry'd meat, they want some of our men to go back with them to fetch more, their Tens being only 3 Moderate Days walk Distant

Saturday the 4th

Ditto Weather. Early in the Morning the 2 Indians Return'd, with whome I sent 4 of our men to hall home meat. 2 Men look at the fishing Nett and caught 2 Sturgeon and one Trout. . . . at Present only 3 Men and myself Remains at the house

Sunday the 5th

Warm Thawey weather. . . . Rob^t Longmoor Lane

Monday the 6th

Ditto Weather. People look^d at the Fishing Nett and caught one sturgeon and a small Pike the Remainder of the Day Emp^d cuting of wood for the Fire. . . Rob^t Longmoor Lane

Tuesday the 7th

Ditto W^r. Look^d at the Fishing Nett but Caught no Fish

Wednesday the 8th

Fine Pleasant Weather and a very great thaw. look^d at the Fishing nett and Caught 4 very large Pike/Longmoor lane

Thursday the 9th

Ditto Weather. look^d at the Fishing Nett and caught one

small Pike, the Remaindor of the Day Emp^d clearing the Ice and Ryme out of the Storehouse . . . Longmoor Lane

Friday the 10th

Ditto Weather look^d at the Fishing nett but caught no Fish

Saturday the 11th

Ditto Weather look^d at the Fishing nett and Caught 2 Sturgeon in the Forenoon one Tent of grass River Indians came and Pitch'd by us; and in the Evening our 4 Men (who went from us on Saturday last to hall home Meat &c) came home with 4 slead load^s of Meat, also 9 Indian Men with them, who also brought a good deal of half Dry^d meat and a few Furrs

Monday the 12th

Fine Pleasent Weather and a great thaw look^d at the Fishing nett but caught no fish. Traded all the Indians Meat and their few furrs also, and about Noon they all Returnd to their Families, but the Tent of grass River Indians are still Tenting by us

Monday the 13th

Ditto Weather. 2 men look^d at the fishing nett and Caught one large Pike. The Carpenter and the Remainder of the People Emp^d building a large stage about 12 Foot from the ground to lay all the goods &c on, as also for ourselves to fly too in case there should be a great Flood as is Expected by the Indians

about Noon one Indian Man came with a little Moos Flesh and wanted some of our men to accompany him back to hall home some More, but having full Employment for the men and not being in want of Victuals I did not send any, and in the Afternoon he Returnd by himself

Tuesday the 14th

A Cold wind from the NW with little or no Thaw. the Carpenter and People Emp^d building the Stage

Wednesday the 15th

Ditto Wind and Weather. Finish'd the Stage And cut a little Fire wood. Rob^t Longmoor Lane, & y^e Carpenter ill

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Thursday the 16th

A Very heavy gale at East with Dark Cloudy cold weather
People Emp^d falling of Firewood, this Day about 20 Indians
from differant Quarters came and Pitchd by us.
at Night a very heavey Flight of Snow. . . . Langmoor Lame
the Carpenter better

Friday the 17th

Moderate and Clowdy with a little thaw in the Middle of
the Day. People Emp^d shovleing away the Snow from Round
the house, and geting a little firewood home

Saturday the 18th

Clear cold weather wind at NW. People Emp^d clearing
away the Snow and under wood from the Piece of ground where
I intend to build the Proper house on
this Day 12 Indians from different Quarters join^d and Pitch'd
by us.

Sunday the 19th

Ditto Wind and Weather

Monday the 20th

Ditto Weather Carpenter And People Emp^d falling of
large loggs for ground Pieces for the house.

This Day most of the People complain'd of the great hardship
it ware to work the whole Day, saying they ware told at the
Factory that the same hours ware to be observ'd as at York
Fort, but as I heard of no such orders, and finding it Necessary
for the good of the Expedition I commanded them to work from
6 till 6, and shall keep them at such hours tell the house is
compleat^d or Receive orders from the Board to the contrary.

Tuesday the 21st

Cold clear Weather. People falling of Timber, the Car-
penter Squaring Ditto. 6 Tent^s of Indians by us

Wednesday the 22nd

Ditto Weather. Carpenter and People Emp^d as before

Thursday the 23rd

Cold dark clowdy Weather. Carpenter and People Emp^d
squaring of Timber in the Morning 2 Men look^d at the Fishing
Nett but caught no Fish

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Robert Longmoor's feet are much better tho not able to go to work as yet.

Friday the 24th

Strong gales at NW with constant snow, so that the People could not work at the Timber, but ware Emp^d falling a little Dry wood for the Fire &c

Saturday the 25th

More Moderate, the Carpenter and People Emp^d squaring of Timber &c. 2 men look^d at the Fishing Nett but caught no fish this Morning one Tent of Indians went away

Sunday the 26th

Fine Pleasant Weather, but very little thaw, one Tent of Indians went away and most of the Men from the Rest of the Tent^s went with them to get birch Rind &c for their Cannoes which they are going to Build here

Monday the 27th

Fine Pleasant Weather and a little thaw, the Carpenter and all the People Emp^d Squaring of Timber

Tuesday the 28th

Ditto Weather. Carpenter and People Emp^d as before 2 men look^d at the Fishing Nett but caught no fish

Wednesday the 29th

Ditto Weather. Carpenter & People Emp^d as before in the Evening 2 Indian men came to the house and inform'd me of 5 Tents of Indians being within 3 Days walks of us who are all Pitching this way

Thursday the 30th

Ditto Weather Carpenter and people Emp^d as before this day 2 Indian men from another Quarter came to the house whose families are also pitching this way, in the Evening the home Indian (who went to assist Shaw-gob-a-nis-com in halling Birch Rind &c) came home with a little Deer^s flesh

Friday the 31st of March

Strong gales at NW with a thick Drift and some Snow the Carpenter and People Emp^d Squaring of Timber &c as before the 2 Indians who came on Wednesday last, Return'd by whome I sent a little Tobacco to 2 or 3 of the Principle Indians of their gang, according to their Request.

Remarks in Aprile 1775

Saturday the 1st of Aprile 1775

Fine Pleasant Weather the Carpenter and People Emp^d as before. this Morning the home Indian Returnd to Shaw-gob a-nis-com's Tent with whome I sent one of our men to assist in halling of birch Rind &c having had no success in the fishing Nett for many Days Past, I this morning sent 2 men to tak it up and bring it home to Dry. in the Evening 2 Indian Men came to the house from another Quarter

Sunday the 2nd

Ditto Weather. 2 more Indians came from the Same Q^r as the above 2 who came Yesterday

Monday the 3rd

Cloudy weather with a fresh gale at NW and a little frost the Carpenter and People Emp^d squaring of Timber as before, and in the Evening Beat some Tracks through the Snow for carreying the Timber to where the house is going to be built. This Day Robert Longmoor went to Work The 2 Indians who came on Saturday last Return'd to their families

Tuesday the 4th

Strong gales at NW with cold Weather and some Snow, the Carpenter and People Emp^d Squaring of Timber, and in the Evening beat the Track's over again to make them hard for Carreying on without snowshoes. This Day several more Indians came and Pitch'd by us

Wednesday the 5th

Fine Pleasant Weather. Carpenter and People Emp^d as before.

Thursday the 6th

Ditto Weather. this day began to lay the ground Pieces for building the Proper house on This Day 5 more Tents of Indians came and Pitch'd by us—who are also going to build their Cannoes here—at Present 10 Tents are Tenting by us

Friday the 7th

Strong gales at East and a little Thaw. Finish'd laying the ground pieces, and began to build part of the Walls

Saturday the 8th

Fine Pleasant Weather and a great thaw, y^e Carpenter and People Building the house

Sunday the 9th

Ditto Weather. this Day Shaw-gob-a-nis-com and 2 other leaders came to the house with their Crews, in all about 90 Person^s. my man and the home Indian who went to assist in halling of Birch Rind &c also came home Those Indians are also going to build there Cannoes here

Monday the 10th

Ditto Weather. Carpenter and People all Emp^d building the house, self Trading a few Furr^r &c. at Night 3 Indian men Came from the Northward and the Remaindor of their Families are come after them.

This Day several swanns flew Past us to the Northward which is the first we have seen this Season; but the Indians Informs me that they saw and killd some Swanns, about the 24th of last Month

Tuesday the 11th

Dark cloudy Weather but a great thaw the Carpenter and 4 Men Emp^d building the New house the Rest of the People geting of moss to Caulk the seams of our present dweling house it not being sufficiantly tight against Rain

at Night 2 Indian men came to the house from the Northward at Present 17 Tent^s of Indians by us

Wednesday the 12th

Fine Pleasent Weather with a very great thaw, one Man Emp^d shovleing away the snow from off the Timber that ware fell last fall, the Carpenter and the Rest of the People Emp^d building the house &c

Several more Indians came and Pitch'd by us

Thursday the 13th

Ditto Weather. Carpenter and People Emp^d as before Most of the Indian Men Emp^d geting of woodwork for their Cannoes, some of them has also Promous'd to build me 3 or 4 large one^s

Friday the 14th

Fresh gales at NE. with thick snow and Sleet, so that the

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People could not work at the New house, so Emp^d them in digging out some of the Timber from under the Snow. Many Swanns have ben seen these 2 or 3 Days past but none have ben killd here as Yet

Saturday the 15th

Ditto gales at NE with Constant Sleet, haile & Rain so that the People could not work at the house so Emp^d them in Shovleing away the Snow and Rubbidge from Round our Present Dweling house

Sunday the 16th

Strong gales veairable in the SW & NW Q^{rs}, with flying showers of heavey Rain. this Day one Tent more of Strange Indians came and Pitch'd by us.

Monday the 17th

Fine Pleasant Weather wind at NW, one man Emp^d Shovleing away the Snow from off the Timber. The Carpenter and the rest of the People Building the house. This Day the Indians kill'd several swanns

Tuesday the 18th

Ditto Weather in the Morning the People Emp^d Carreying in some Timber, and the Remainder of the Day the Carpenter and all hand^s Building

The home Indian went ahinting, and at Night Returned with 3 Swanns. several gray Gees also flew by this Day which is the first we have seen this Season

Wednesday the 19th

The First and Middle parts Clowdy W^r with heavey Snow and Rain the People Emp^d in Doors making of Trunnils, the latter Part Clear Weather Carpenter and all the People Emp^d Building the New houses

Thursday the 20th

Strong Gales at NW and Clowdy Weather the Carpenter and People Emp^d building the house which at present goes on but slowly on account of the Timber being all soak'd with Rain and Snow water which makes it bad to boar &c the home Indian went ahinting and killd 3 Geese

Friday the 21st

Cloudy Weather with snow and Rain at intervalles. as the

people could not work at the new house they ware Emp^d in
Doors making of Trunnils &c
The home Indian went ahunting and kill'd 2 or 3 Geese and
2 Ducks

Saturday the 22nd

Very heavey gales at NW with much Snow & a great Drift.

People emp^d indoors, Making of Trunnils as P^r Yesterday

Sunday the 23rd

Strong gales at NW and very cold frosty Weather but fair.

The home Indian went ahunting and killd 2 Swanns

Monday the 24th

Fine clear Weather but a Cold air from the NW The
Carpenter and People Employ'd building the New house &
carrying in Timber for that use

The home Indian and one of our men went ahunting and in the
Evening Return'd with 3 Geese . . . in the Night strong gales
from the NW with much Snow, and Drift

Tuesday the 25th

Strong gales at NW with Cold cloudy Weather. Car-
penter and people Emp'd building the house, the home Indian
ahunting who kill'd one Swan

Wednesday the 26th

Fine Pleasant Weather, Carpenter and People Emp^d
building the house and Carreying in Timber for the Same The
home Indian hunting but killd nothing

Thursday the 27th

Ditto Weather with a very great thaw Carpenter and
People Emp^d as before . . 15 Tent of Indians Tenting by us . .
the home In^{dn} killed 6 geese

Friday the 28th

Fine Pleasant W^r and a great thaw as P^r Yesterday, the
Carpenter and People Emp^d as before, and this Day got the
beames of the upper floor across and secured

The home Indⁿ a hunting and killd 5 Geese, I also Traded
several Swanns from the other Indians which comes very dear
being at the Rate of one Beaver P^r Swann

Saturday the 29th

Dark Cloudy Weather with a cold wind from the NW

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intermix't with Fogg^s and a little Rain at intervalles, the Carpenter and People emp'd Building the house, fixing of Scaffolding &c. The home Indian hunting and killd 2 geese
Sunday the 30th

Cloudy Weather . . the home Indian and several of our men went ahunting and in the Evening return'd with 7 geese and some Ducks.

This Day one Indian man Ariv'd here by himself who say^s hee's come from M^r Forbersher's house but not being able to give any Reason for his undertaking so long a Journey alone, and being so badly provided, the Indians suspects him of being guilty of Murder and by some perticular simtoms and appearance of the face they also pretend to know that hees not only ben guilty of Murder but has also eat those whome he has killd. Uppon such mear Suspision they have Promous'd to kill him¹

Remarks in May 1775

Monday the 1st of May 1775

Fine Pleasant Weather. the Carpenter Emp^d fixing the Carlings for laying the upper Floor on, and the People Emp^d carreying in Timber and assisting the Carpenter as Requir'd.

The home Indⁿ went ahunting and killd 2 Swanns & one Goose
Tuesday the 2nd May 1775

Ditto Weather the Carpenter and People Emp^d as before.

The home Indian hunting but killd nothing

Wednesday the 3rd

Ditto Weather the Carpenter Emp'd as before and at Night finish'd laying the carlings, the People Emp^d falling some wood round the house and attending the Carpent^{er} when Requir'd.

The home Indian killd 2 Geese

Thursday the 4th

Very strong gales at E^t and Dark cloudy Weather. The Carlings &c being all fixed ready for laying the Floor, the Carpenter and People began again to work on the Walls

The home Indian went ahunting and killd 7 geese

Tho the Ice of the lake is not broke up as Yet, the Water is so

¹There is no farther mention in this journal of whether the Indians carried out their threat on this suspicious countryman of theirs or not.

deep allround by the Shore that several of the Indians this Day went ahunting in Cannoes and the snow is very near being all Desolv'd there being only a spot here and there to be seen, and tho this is reckoned by the Natives to be a backward spring, yet there is a full Months Differance between here and Churchill and the Winter which has ben Reckond very seveal ware not so cold by far as it is at Churchill or York Fort in the Mildest winter // one Man Sick and one Lame

Friday the 5th

Ditto gales and Weather, the Carpenter and People Employd Building the Walls of the house &c one Man Sick and one lame as P^r Yesterday

The home Indian killd 8 Geese

Saturday the 6th

Ditto gales with Rain and Sleet so that the People could not work at building the house one Man Lame

Sunday the 7th

The first Part strong gales at NW with Clowdy W^r and Rain, the Middle and latter Parts fine Pleasant Weather the home Indⁿ and one of our People went ahunting and killd 3 geese and a few Ducks . . . 15 Tents of Ind^{ns} by us

Monday the 8th

Very hard gales at W^t and WNW with clear warm Weather. Carpenter and People emp'd building the New house &c. the home Indian went ahunting and killd 2 geese. This Day the Ice of the Lake broke up

Tuesday the 9th

Hott sultary Weather. Carpenter and People Emp'd as before. This Day Traded several geese and 2 Swanns from the Indians. the home Indian also killed a few geese and some Ducks

Wednesday the 10th

Ditto Weather. Carpenter and People Emp^d as before / the home Indian went ahunting

This Day the Indians began to build their Cannoes. at Night Thunder, lightning and heavey Rain

Thursday the 11th

Fresh gales at NE with a thick Fogg and constant Rain,

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so that the People could not work at the New house

Friday the 12th

Strong gales at W^t and NW^t with hot sultary Weather the Carpenter and People Emp^d build the new house &c. in the Evening the home Indian Returned with 14 geese and some Ducks

Saturday the 13th

The first and Middle Parts fine Pleasant Weather, the latter Part strong gales at NW with Thunder Lightning and Rain. The Carpenter and People Emp^d about the new house, and at Night finished the side Walls, and got the upper Beames across and secured

Sunday the 14th

Strong gales at E^t and ESE with fine Clear, Pleasant Weather. The Indians still Emp^d building their Cannoes &c who are also going to build 3 or 4 for me, but cannot prevail on them to make them much larger then the common Cannoes

Monday the 15th

Fresh gales at SE and hot Sultary Weather. Carpenter and People Emp^d Prepareing of Rough sticks to Lay the floors with for the Present tell we can get a Pitt saw from the Fort, to saw Plank &c

There ware a Pitt Saw sent inland last Year but it unluckaly happoned to be sent with M^r Cocking

The home Indⁿ and some others went ahunting in Cannoes

Tuesday the 16th

Fine Pleasant Weather. Emp^d Packing the Furr^s we have already Traded in small Packs Ready for carreying to the Fort. This Day a Canadian canoe and the 5 Frenchmen belonging to M^r Forbersher's crew (who call'd at our house in December last) came past us on their Return to their Master^s house¹

Wednesday the 17th

Strong gales at ENE the Carpenter Emp^d laying the

¹The five Frenchmen who took twenty days to come from Frobisher's house at Frog Portage in December last, had evidently reached Paterson and Holmes's settlement on the Saskatchewan river in safety, where doubtless they had been supported throughout the winter, and now they were going back to Frog Portage to help to carry their Master's furs down to the Grand Portage.

ground Pieces for the lower Floor, the People Emp^d falling some wood which obstructs the viewe of the lake from the East end of the house . . .

in the afternoon Rain, the home Indian Return'd with 16 geese

Thursday the 18th

Ditto gales and Clowdy Weather with Fogg and Constant Rain and Sleet so that the People could not work at building the New hous &c

Friday the 19th

Clowdy W^r but fair, the Carpenter Emp^d laying the upper Floor of the New house with round sticks, the People falling of wood for that Purpose, and tending the Carpenter when requir'd Sent the home Indian and one of our men ahunting

Saturday the 20th

Modirate and Clowdy with flying showers of Rain the Carpenter and People Emp^d as before

In the Evening the home Indian and our man Return'd with 19 Geese and 2 Swans

Sunday the 21st

Fresh gales at W^t and NW. Sent the home Indian and one of our men a hunting

The Indians who are Tenting by us are still Emp^d building their Cannoes &c

Monday the 22nd

Ditto gales at West and Clowdy Weather the Carpenter and People Emp^d laying the upper Floor of the New house and at Night finished it

Several of the Indians having finished their Cannoes who are in great want of Provision, went away with their Wives and Families

Tuesday the 23rd

Strong gales at W^t and dark Clowdy Weather The Carpenter and one man Emp^d laying the lower floor with Round sticks. 2 Men Emp^d diging a Seller which is to serve as a Magazine, and the Rest of the People falling of wood for the Carpenters use

at Night the home Indian and our Man came home with 9 geese and one Swann

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Wednesday the 24th

Fine Pleasant Weather, wind at SW^t, Carpenter and People Emp^d as before.

This day most of the Indians went away with their families Several of which Promised to build me large Canoes, & tho I have been dayly giving them every thing they ask^d for to Encourage them there to, yet, as soon as their own Canoes were finished, they all sot off to have a drink of the Pedlors Rum, some went for Basquiau, and some for the two Forbershers, whose Settlement lays at the back of Churchill, so that out of 6 large Canoes which I Expected to have had made under my own Inspection, I have but one

Thursday the 25th

Hot sultry Weather, Carpenter and People Emp^d as before sent the home Indian and one Man ahunting This day several more Indians who has built their Canoes by us went away with their Wives and Families

In the afternoon 20 Canoes of Indians from the Buffalo Country came and landed at the house Part of which are going to York Fort with their Furrs &c

Friday the 26th

Cloudy warm Weather, with a Strong gale from the NE People Emp^d Diging the Seller and falling of wood for the lower Floor Petitions, &c. Self and Carpenter Emp^d Trading with the Natives, of whome I Traded one large Canoe in the Evening the home Indian and our man Return'd and brought 7 Geese & 4 Swanns

Saturday the 27th

Ditto Gales. Self Emp^d trading with the Natives the Carpenter and People Emp^d Packing of Furs &c at Night 4 More canoes Came from the Buffalow Country two of which are going to the Fort

Sunday the 28th

Fine Modirate but Cloudy Weather. The Indians who are to accompany me to the Fort are in a great hurrey to Proceed on their Journey, so I made all Preparation for going tomorrow Morning

Monday the 29th

Fine Pleasant Weather and Fair, what Furs I've already traded being Pack'd, I this day bout Noon embark'd for the Fort in Company with 32 Cannoes of Indians, 17 of which are to accompany me to the Fort. The house and the Remaindor of the Trading goods I left in the Care of Andrew Garrett the house Carpenter & Magⁿ Slater & W^m Flatt also stays with him

Tuesday the 30th

Hott Sultary W^r. sot out in the Morning and and at Night Put up at the Mouth of Ne-may-o-kip-a-hagon River.¹

Wednesday the 31st of May 1775

Strong gales at SW^t and hot sultry Weather sot out Early in the Morning and Paddled to the Mouth of gray goose River where we Put up for the Night & the Indian men went ahunting, but Return'd Without any Success

Remarks in June 1775

Thursday the 1st of June 1775

Fine Pleasant Weather, sot out in the Morning and Padled up gray goose River and Cross't a lake of the same Name and at Night Put up close to the Cranberry Carreying Place The Indians as well as ourselves being In great want of Provisions, they make but Short days Journies for the Sake of hunting but as Yet have not killd anything Except a few Fish

Friday the 2nd

Hott sultary Weather sot out in the Morning Cross't Cranberry Carreying Place and at Night Put up not far from the Mouth of Elbow River.² this Day killd many fine Pike and Trout

¹The winter had been spent at Cumberland House, trading a few furs from Indians, and getting enough food to live on, either from fish caught in their nets set in the lake, from birds shot in the woods or over the water, or from moose meat bought from the Indians. Now that the summer had come and the ice had disappeared from the lakes and rivers, Hearne packed the furs which he had purchased and set off with a flotilla of Indian canoes towards York Factory by the only route he knew, which was by Goose and Athapapuskow lakes, across Cranberry portage, and down Grass and Nelson rivers. This day he crossed Pine Island lake and reached Sturgeon Landing at the mouth of Sturgeon-Weir river.

²Crossed Cranberry Portage and Cranberry lake, and started down Grass river.

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Saturday the 3rd

Ditto Weather Paddled through Elbow River and a small Lake Joining thereto

Sunday the 4th

Strong gales at SW. Paddled in all this Day about 20 Miles through small lakes and little Rivers which joins them, we then came to a large lake which the Weather would not Permitt us to Cross so Put up and the Indian men went ahunting but did not kill anything

Monday the 5th

Fine Pleasant Weather Cross't the above Lake which is about 18 M wide, and lay at the Mouth of a little River which Joins it to We-kus-qua-Lake

Tuesday the 6th

The first Part hot Sultary Weather, Paddled down the above little River about 10 M^s, it then Came on very bad Weather with Rain Thunder lightning &c so were oblig'd to Put up. the Indians killd one Moose

Wednesday the 7th

Strong gales NE, went to the side of We-kus-qua Lake but the wind blowing to hard to Cross them we Put up for the Night The Indians killd 2 Moose and some Beaver

Thursday the 8th

Hott sultary weather and a light air from the NE Cross't the above lake and Paddled up to the Mouth of Grass River then Put up for the Men to go a hunting but had no Success

Friday the 9th

Ditto Weather Paddl'd down Grass River Cross't 3 Carreying Places therein at the last of which we Put up for the Night

Saturday the 10th

Ditto Weather. Mov'd farther down Grass R^r the Indians killd 2 Moose so Put up for the Night

Sunday the 11th

Hott Sultary Weather. Paddled farther down grass River. Ind^{ns} killed 2 more Moose

Monday the 12th

Strong gales at NE. Paddled to the end of Grass R^r but

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the Wind blew too hard to Cross Po-cut-a-ho Lake so Put up for the Night¹

Tuesday the 13th

Fresh gales at NE. Cross't the above Lake (which is about 18 M^s long) and another small lake which joins it

Wednesday the 14th

Dark cloudy W^r in the Morning Mov'd about 5 Miles, it then came on heavy Rain with Thunder &c so were oblig'd to Put up for the Day

Thursday the 15th

Clowdy Weather with flying Showers of Rain Paddled about 20 Miles then met with one Tent of half home Indians so Put up for the Night

Friday the 16th

Hott sultary Weather Paddled about 30 M^s to the E^t and NE through small Rivers and little Lakes belonging thereto, the half home Indians also are in Company

Saturday the 17th

Strong gales at NE. Paddled about 25^{ms} to the Eastward and in our way came by the Part where I lay'd up a little Tobacco, which I took up, and ware very acceptable to the Indians their Stocks being prity well Expended

Sunday the 18th

Fine Pleasent W^r. Paddled about 30 Miles to the E^t and NE^t and came Past the Part where we first came into this track last Year

Monday the 19th

Fine Pleasent W^r. Paddled about 36 or 38 M^s to the NE and N^o through fine Pleasent lakes and a little River or two which Joins them, in our way Cross't 2 Carrying Places and Shott 3 fall^s

Tuesday the 20th

Fresh gales at E^t. Paddled about 20 Miles to the East and NE most of the way on the Lake Ta-tass-qui-awe and Put up on an Island where we found 2 Tents of half home Indians²

¹Paddled down Grass river to its discharge into Setting lake.

²They had reached Nelson river at Split lake.

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Wednesday the 21st

Strong gales Variable in the SW Q^r Paddled about 35 Miles to the E^t NE and N^o through the above Lake and the River which Joins thereto and is the Main River of Port Nelson

Thursday the 22nd

Dark cloudy Weather with flying Showers of Rain sot out in the Morning by 4 a Clock and Paddled in all this Day about 60 Miles in our way Cross't 10 Carrying Places the Currant in general Very Strong

Friday the 23rd

Hott Sultary Weather. Paddled down Port Nelson & about noon Cross't the first Carreying Place. about 10 at Night we Came to 2 Tents of half home Indians who lately came from the Fort, and having a little Brandy with them, those of my gang stop't & began to drink, but me and my People being in want of Provisions made me desirous of ariveing as soon as Possable, so I Proceeded on with 3 Cannoes and Paddled alnight and ariv'd at York Fort¹ about 6 in the Evening of the 24 —but the Indians did not Come till the next Day After the strictest enquiary and minutest Observations respecting the Company^s affairs Inland I have made the following²

The Canadians having got to such a head, and are distributed through the Country in such Numbers† with so large a quantity of goods, has enabled the Natives of late Years to supply themselves with goods at their own Doors which they

†60 of the Canadian large Cannoes came inland from the grand Portage last year

¹Having left Cumberland House on the morning of May 30, they had been twenty-six days on the trip to York Fort.

²Hearne here gives the results of his observations on Indian trade on the Saskatchewan. His conclusions may be summed up as follows:

The Indians will deal with traders who are nearest to them. The Canadians have been taking goods to the doors of their tents, and there bartering them, leaving little or nothing for the Indians to bring to York Fort. To compete with the Canadians, the Company must take its goods inland to the Indians. To do this, birch bark canoes are necessary, and men must be found to man them. The Company has no employees who can make canoes. It has been unable to buy enough of them from the natives, or to engage men to manage them. The Indians formerly engaged to take the Company's men and goods inland were inefficient and unreliable, and the expense was too great.

will do at a small Dissadvantage rather then have the trouble to frequent the Forts on Hudsons Bay. Yet by what I see from the Natives in general that if the Company could get goods up in so large a quantity as the Canadians I have great Reason to think they would in general have the Preferance

The Distance from York Fort into these Parts Is much nearer then from any Part of Canady and the greatest obstical that is likely to Prevent the Comp^y from geting goods inland is the want of Proper Cannoes, to Procure which I am Much at a loss what measures to take, as I find that no Payment or Promouses can enduce the Natives to make a Sufficient quantity; for such is the indolance of the Indians in general that any of them who has where withall, will pay an old man (who is wornout and unfit for hunting) for building their Cannoe rather than have the Trouble of it themselves; whereas all the Canadians who Trade into these Parts have Partnors or some others whome they Commisshon to get such a Number of Cannoes made in their absence and are always ready at the grand Portage against their arival Every Year, for one Cannoe if Ever so good will not Serve 2 Year. The Pedlors have also some few men of their own who are handy at that kind of work

That of Procureing Birch Rind in the fall and Winter as mention'd in the Comp^ys Letter to me of May 1773 probably might have prov'd of considerable advantague had it ben in my Power to have Put it into Practice, but for want of Isaac Batt or some other Experianc'd person to Employ therein I had no other measures to take then to bespeak a number of Ready made Cannoes from the Indians, many of which for the sake of the Premiom I gave promous'd faithfully to make them some one and others 2 according to agreement but all deceav'd me Except two—and had it not ben for some Cannoes which M^r Jacobs got made (by the half home Indians and those who have rather more dependance upon the Fort then the uplanders) I Should have ben very little Better Provided for that artical than I ware last Year M^r Cocking also got 5 Cannoes rather larger than the Common Size

Tho upwards of 60 Cannoes of Pedlors came inland from the

grand Portage last Year 30 or 40 of which at the outside are all that Interc'pt^s the Comp^{ys} Trade at the Northern Settlements, Part of which are as follows¹ (Viz.) Mess^{rs} Forbersher, (two Brothers) with 6 Cannoes, in the Grand Arathapescow or Atha-Pus-cow River, near the Draft of Churchill River who intersepts great part of the inland trade which would otherwis go to that Fort espessually that Valuable Tribe of Natives calld the Atha-pus-cow Indians, who formally us't to compose the greatest part of the Inland Trade at that Fort

Mess^{rs} Francis, Patterson, Homes, and Pangman² with 12 Cannoes are (by the best information I can get) about 150^{ms} above us on the River Thescatchawan . . and 2 other Cannoes belonging to them Winter'd about 2 Miles above Basquiau Bruse,³ Blondal,⁴ Cutes⁵ and others struck of to the Southward when a little above the great Lake or Wenipegg By the best information from the Natives I find that all Settlements below the great Lake or Wenipegg does not affect the Company^s Trade at York Fort or Churchill

The Company^s Trade of Late Years being so much decreas'd and no Probibility of geting the Natives to frequent their Forts as fermal, admitt of no other Measures then Endeavouring to Collect it inland after the Canadian manner—which cannot be Preform'd to any degree of Extent without a great Number of Cannoes and Men
For Example. Suppose only 30 of the Canadian Cannoes

¹Hearne then gives a list of the Canadian traders, as follows: Joseph and Thomas Frobisher, with six canoes, at Frog Portage; François, Paterson and Holmes (see note on p. 120) near the Buffalo country, about 150 miles up the Saskatchewan river above Cumberland; Peter Pangman, with twelve canoes, in the same vicinity, someone acting for them, with two canoes, about two miles up from Pasquia, either on the north or the south shore; Bruce, Blondeau and Tute southward from Cedar lake across Lake Winnipegosis.

²Peter Pangman was a New Englander of German extraction. He was engaged in the fur-trade on the Mississippi as early as 1767. For nearly twenty years after 1774 he made the Saskatchewan river the base of his trading operations. In 1779 he was at Eagle Hills fort, where one of his men was killed in the same skirmish with the Indians in which John Cole was killed (See note on pp. 124 and 224). In 1783 he was instrumental in inducing the firm of Gregory, McLeod and Company to engage in the fur-trade. In 1787 he became a partner in the North West Company, and in 1790 he had two shares in the twenty-share North West Company. In 1790 he ascended the North Saskatchewan river to a spot three miles above where Rocky Mountain House was afterwards built, which

intercepts the Trade at Churchill, York Fort, and Severn House, each of these Cannoes have 4 working Men, besides a Master to Every 3, 4, 5, or 6 Cannoes which together with Clarks Tradors &c is not less then 130 or 140 Men besides 3 or 4 left at Each house durement their absence

Now if the Company had that Number of Cannoes and Men Inland they must unavoidably be separated after the Canadian Manner nearly for the sake of Procureing Provisions for the men, for no Part at least no one Part contigious to the Navigable Rivers will afford a Constant maintance for a much greater Number, neither can the Natives Remain within any Moderate distance of one Part if so they would not Procure Furr enough durement the Winter to Purchase their Necessary wants in the Summer. Mess^{rs} Francis, Patterson & Homes are by the best authority the most Comodiously Situated for that artical, being within a few days Journies of the Buffalow Pound^s where many old Men and some lazey Young Fellow resort the whole winter and never trouble themselves about any kind of Furr^s Except a few wolves which are very Plenty in that Part

Notwithstanding what I've say'd in the above Remark it will by no means be advisable to Push a great Number of Men

was the highest point on that river reached by any white man up to that time. Here his men blazed a spruce tree (made a lobstick) to commemorate this achievement, and both David Thompson and Alexander Henry Jr. mention this spot in their journals. In 1792 he is recorded as having subscribed five guineas to St. Gabriel Street Church in Montreal. In 1793 he retired from the fur-trade, and in the following year he bought the seigniory of Lachenaie, where he died on August 28, 1819.

³William Bruce, an American trader who came to the Saskatchewan country in 1772. He remained there, and in what is now Manitoba to the south of it, until about 1781, when he died of small pox. In 1780 he and Charles Boyer defended Poplar Fort on the Assiniboine river from an attack by the Fall Indians.

⁴Barthélemi Blondeau, a French Canadian, who was granted a license for "Michillimackinac and La Mer de L'Ouest" in 1769. He had wintered on Red Deer river, west of Lake Winnipegosis, in 1772-3; on the Saskatchewan river at Fort à la Corne in 1773-4, and in 1774-5 he was at the mouth of Steep Rock river, Manitoba. In 1775-6 he was doubtless at Fort à la Corne, acting as interpreter and probably also trader, for Charles Paterson. In 1776-7 he spent the winter at Sturgeon Fort, with Thomas Frobisher and Peter Pond as two of his companions. He spent two subsequent winters at Sturgeon Fort, but what became of him after that I do not know.

⁵This was evidently James Tute, formerly a captain in Roger's Rangers. He died of small pox in 1781.

inland tell some proper measures can be found to Procure Cannoes fit for that service—for sending any Considerable Number of Men and goods inland as Passengers with the Natives, as last Year, will answer no Purpose at all, will only be attended with great Expences and many losses without the least hopes of making a Proper Return, for to my sertin knowlage some of the Natives who ware Emp^d to Carrey me and my men inland last year, ware pay^d more for their Trouble before they left the Fort, then the amount of the whole they Carried, besides the Brandy &c Expended on them by the way— Yet I do not wholly dissaprove Employing some few of them who after tryal may be found trusty, Espessually as our men at Present are Entirely unacquainted—

After the house which is now on foot is fairly Established it will be necessary to have one or more Settlements made in differant Parts it being noway Possable to Procure Provision for a great Number of men in one Place and will also be the readiest way to undersell the Pedlors in all Quarters.

I shall after the Strictest Enquiary together with my own observations endeavour hereafter to Point out those Places which may seem most Commodiously Situated for that Purpose, and had there ben a Person with me whome I Could have entrusted with the Care of the goods and Cannoes, too and from the Fort, I would have Expended This Summer in Such Surveys and not have visited York Fort till the Summer 1776

I have endeavourd as much as Possable to learn the Standard the Canadians trade at, but to no Purpose. those Indians who are attach'd to them inform me they trade their goods at less then half the Comp^y's Standard, and those who seem as Yet atach'd to our Fort^s Inform^s me they trade out of all Reason dearer and says that t'is nothing but the Brandy or at least the Rum, that makes them Part with their goods at such a Deer rate. For Sertin, the Canadians goods in most of the Principle articals are nowise inferior to the Company^s and all the Differance it makes to an Indian is in the Prise

NB :

As my whole Time ware taken up in the Managment of one of the Cannoes, both out and home, I had not an oppertunity of Making my Remarks with any Exactness relative to the Plan of my Track, which is the Reason I omitt sending it, but hope by the next Year to have it a little more Compleat, at least so, that some Idea might be form'd Respecting the Situation of the Lakes Rivers, &c

JOURNAL II

JOURNAL OF THE MOST REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS AND
OCCURRENCES ON A JOURNEY FROM AND TO YORK FORT
AND AT CUMBERLAND HOUSE FROM 8TH JULY 1775 TO
26TH OCTOBER 1775, KEPT BY MR. SAMUEL HEARNE

JOURNAL II

MS

A JOURNAL of the most remarkable Transactions and Occurrences on a Journey from and to York Fort and at Cumberland House from 8th July 1775 to 26th October 1775

kept by

M^r Samuel Hearne

Remarks from York Fort towards Cumberland House

Saturday the 8th of July 1775

Fresh gales at SW. in the Morning sot out from the Fort accompany^d by 4 Indian Leaders and part of their crewes, in all 16 Cannoes, besides 6 of our own, much larger then the common size. The wind blowing fresh could not get round the Point of Marsh so lay at the Batory House; but Sunday proving a fine Day, we sot out early in the Morning paddled round the Point of Marsh, and that Night lay a little above Flamborough House, on the North Side of Port Nelson R^r.¹ This day one of the Indians left us, and returned again to the Fort, but all the goods &c he had in belonging to the Comp^y were destributed amongst some of the other Cannoes for carriage

Monday the 10th

Hot sultary weather Wind at SW. Tracked about 25 Miles up Port Nelson River against a very strong currant

Wednesday we sot out again, and Tracked about 18 miles up Port Nelson, the currant in general very strong, and in some

¹Flamborough House was built in 1750 on the south shore of the estuary of the Nelson river, opposite Flamborough Head, hence the name. Its object was to anticipate an interloping expedition thought to be planned by the supporters of Arthur Dobbs, who had sought to deprive the Company of its charter, through an enquiry by a Committee of the House of Commons. It was expected that the interlopers would lodge themselves on the Nelson river.

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Places the water were a little shole but not so as to accation much hindrance or indanger the Cannoes Bottoms Strong gales at North

Thursday the 13th

Ditto gales at North, Tracked about 18 Miles to the SW up Port Nelson, cross't one carreying Place and several small falls at Night sot the Fishing netts and caught a few fish

Friday the 14th

Ditto wind and frequent showers of Rain, did not move tell towards the evening, then went about one mile up the River to another Carreying place, got all the goods across and put up for the Night. The next day proveing very bad weather with constant heavey rain could not move, Sunday proveing a very fine Day we again proceeded up Port Nelson about 18 miles then ware oblig'd to put up it coming on Night. where we lay ware nomore then our own 6 large Cannoes in company, all the others ware gone a head. Here we left off Tracking

Monday the 17th

Ditto Weather paddled about 18 miles farther up Port Nelson R and in the way cross't 11 Carreying Places, about the Middle of the Night we came up with 8 more of the Ind^{ns} Cannoes but paddleing after Dark we had the missfortune to stave one of our Cannoes but not so as to be Past repareing

Tuesday the 18th

Fine Pleasent weather got the Cannoe Repared in the Morning and then proceeded up Port Nelson about 20 m farther, cross't 7 Carreying places, and many troublesom Rappids. The currant in general very strong

Wednesday the 19th

Ditto weather Paddled about 14 Miles up Port Nelson in the way cross't 2 Carreying places. The Indians as well as our own people, being much fatagued with Paddleing against so strong a Currant and so frequently carreying the goods &c made us put up tho not above two of the Clock P.M. our own 6 Cannoes and 8 of the In^{ds} in Company

Thursday the 20th

Clowdy with flying showers of Rain so that it ware near

noon before we moved, when we Paddles about 12 Miles to the SW and at Night Put up by the side of the Gull Lake

Friday the 21st

Fresh gales at NE with flying showers of Rain. Cross't part of the Gull Lake then ware oblig'd to putt up on account of the badness of the Weather. This Day saw 2 Tents of the York Fort half home Indians, from whome I Traded a little Dried meat

Saturday the 22nd

Fine Pleasent Weather, wind veairiable from the NE to the SW^t. Cross't the Gull Lake and got to the side of Ta-tass-qui-ough Lake, where we Put up for the night

Sunday the 23rd

Ditto weather cross't the above Lake which is about 22 miles wide, and lay at a carreying place on the Sth side thereof.

Monday the 24th

Dark cloudy weather sot out in the Morning and Paddled up Port Nelson tell about Noon then struck off to the westward up a small Branch which I destinguish by the name of the Tweed (on account of the Pleasantness of its Banks &c) and left Port nelson to the Southward.¹ here we came up with 4 more of the cannoes. at Night sot our Fishing Netts and caught several fine Fish

Tuesday y^e 25th

Fresh gales at NW with constant drizly Raine sot out in the Morning and Paddled up the Tweed, crosst a Small Lake belonging thereto, called Stinking Lake² and put up by the side of a Small River on the SW side thereof . . . At night the Indians complain'd of the heaviness of the goods, and desired to have a little brandy to Drink, accordingly to encourage them in their duty I gave them about 3 Gallons which tho quite sufficcant for a much greater number of reasonables beings, ware so far from satisfying them that t'ware with great difficulty we could Prevent them from takeing more by force, and

¹On this occasion Hearne, instead of going up the Hayes, Steel, and Fox rivers as he had done before, ascended Nelson river through Gull and Split lakes to the mouth of Grass river, which he here calls "The Tweed", retracing the course which he had taken down stream a few weeks before.

²Still called Witchai or Stinking lake.

tho Wednesday ware a fine day they would not move some being a little quamish and some sulkey . . . But Thursday the 27th we began again to muster our forces, but as two or three of them got dissabled in the last drunken bout (according to custom) it accationed some alteration for the worst in the manning of our large Cannoes. For an Indian man that steer'd one of them left us to go in another Cannoe to assist in the room of one that had got wounded in the fraye by which meanes, two of my people ware left in a large Cannoe by themselves, and tho one of them could Steer a little they complained greatly of the hardships that would attend them, they being only two whereas all the other large Cannoes had 3 People in each of them, however to avoid any words, I gave them one man out of my Cannoe and Paddled one half of her myself tho it ware the largest cannoe in Company

It taking great part of the Day to ajust matters we did not Paddle above 10 Miles, then Put up and Sot the fishing Nett^s and caught several fine Fish

Friday the 28th

Fresh gales at SW with flying showers of Rain Paddled about 8 M^s to the SW on a long narrow Lake Call'd Wap-a-nake-wan Lake¹ then met with a Tent of half home Indians, from whome I Traded a little Moose flesh &c and comeing on to blowe hard we put up for the Night, but some of the Indians went ahead. early the Next morning (being fine weather) we Proceeded on, and Paddled about 22^{ms} part of the way on Wap-a-nake-wan Lake and the remainder of the way on a small River Call'd Wa-come-min-na R^r in our way this Day we Cross't 2 Carreying Places at the last of which we lay alnight² but most of the Indians went ahead to hunt, they haveing as Yet killd little or Nothing since we left the Fort, and had it not ben for a few fish that ware caught in our Netts, they would have ben very badly of for provisions.

Sunday the 30th

Ditto Weather paddled about 25 Miles to the SSW & SW then put up and all the Indians went a hunting

¹Natawahunan lake.

²He crossed the above lake and its continuation, Partridge Crop lake, and camped beside one of the rapids in Grass river.

Monday the 31st

Ditto weather Paddled about 28 Miles to the SW & WSW and cross'd 4 Carrying Places and at Night came up with all the Indians which is the first time we have seen some of them since we were in Port Nelson R^r

Tuesday the 1st of August 1775

Dark cloudy Weather, wind Vearriable from the NE to the SW^t Paddled about 25 Miles to the SW and WSW and put up on the N^o side of Po-cut-a-hoe Lake not far from the Mouth of Grass River. this Day killd several young Ducks and a Deer

Wednesday the 2nd

Hott sultry Weather, Paddled across the remainder of Po-cut-a-hoe Lake, and at Night lay about 16 M^{ls} up grass River, in our way Cross't 2 Carrying Places near the last of which we Put up. At Night came on very Heavey Rain, and continued till Friday Morning during which time we could not move. Here the Indians had another fallout amongst themselves, and when going to imbarck my Cannoemate left me without the least Provocation, So that I were then left with the largest Cannoe heavey laden, to Paddle by my self, and as several of them had got dissabled in their squabbles I could get no one to assist me except a Young female who were not of any material service. By about noon we sot out and Paddled up grass River about 8 miles then were obliged to put up it coming on very bad W^r with Thunder lightning and heavey Rain. this Day Cross't 2 Carrying places

Saturday the 5th

Cloudy with thunder and flying showers of Rain Paddled up grass River about 12 M^s then put up, in our way cross't 3 carrying places

Sunday the 6th

Ditto weather, Paddled up grass R^r and at night lay about 5 Miles from the head thereof. This Day the Indians went a hunting and killd 2 Moose Part of the Flesh I Traded for Self and People. Cross't 2 Carr^ying Places

Monday the 7th

Fine pleasant weather Paddled up the Rem^{dr} of Grass

River, cross't Wee-kuss-qua Lake and lay at a Carreying place on the SW^t side thereof, here the Indians killd 3 Black Bares, one of which I traded for self and People

Tuesday the 8th

Hot sultory weather Paddled about 12 Miles then put up to wait for the Indians who are most of them behind ahunting, in the evening they all joined and traded some meet with me for Brandy . . in the Middle of the Night, when some of them were Drunk, two of the Men that steer'd 2 of our large Cannoes went away with the Empty Cannoes, and left all the goods laying on the beach, however the next Morning we made shift to get all the goods put into the other Cannoes, but after Paddling about 6 Miles we came up with the 2 men that left us las Night, who ware again willing to take the goods &c as before saying they only left us in a drunken frolick, and ware Just going to turn back when we appear'd in sight. I gave them the same quantity of goods to Carry as before, and all Parties seemd well satissfy'd, this Day paddled about 28 Miles great part of the way on Pee-poon-nuss Lake, on an Island of which we lay alnight

Thursday the 10th

Clowdy with flying showers of Rain, Paddled aCross the Remainder of the above Lake, and through a little R^r which Joins it to another Lake, by the Side of which we lay alnight Most of the Indians ware behind a hunting but one that ware in company killd a Moose, part of the flesh he gave me for my People &c

Friday the 11th

Fine pleasent Weather wind in the SW^t quarter. Paddled across the the Remaindor of the above Lake and at Night Put up about the Middle of Elbowe River. Most of the Indians behinde ahunting, and some of them this Day struck off another way but are to Join us at a Part Call'd the Cranberry Carreying Place, at which Part we ariv'd on the 12th and all the Ind^{ns} Joind according to Promouse.¹ Here the Indians beg'd for a little Brandy as they press't very harde, I ac-

¹The party continued up Grass river as in the previous year, and after considerable trouble reached its source at Cranberry Portage.

cordingly gave them a little as before, but when it ware done they began to hall out there own small Kaggs which tho they had drank the brandy which they brought from the Fort they took the empty Kaggs with them, and when stroleing about under a pretence of hunting they had Broached our Kaggs filld their own out of them and made up the Breach with water finding that to be the way they had furnished themselves with a fresh stock, I took all our Kaggs in our own possession, and on closely examinening them I found only one Kagg that had ben carried by them that had not ben broached. The Indian that had ben so honist informed me that, from the time of our leaving the Fort, it had ben their custom to have private drinking bouts out of our Kaggs when only 2, 3 or 4 Cannoes in a place which ware frequently the case for several Nights together. He farther added, that as they drew the Brandy off they always filled up the Kaggs with water, and from the frequent adulterations ware shure that some of the Kaggs, or at least the liquer in them, ware little better then Water

Sunday the 13th

Dark cloudy weather but calm, most of the Indians Drunk however they began to Prepare for going; but to Prevent any farther frauds with the Brandy, we took it all in our own Cannoes, on which some of the Indians ware highly affronted and say'd if I would not let them carry the Brandy as usual that they would not carrey any other part of the goods, but as we ware within about 3 Day Paddle of the House, I absolutely Refused and ware determined to undergo a Thousand difficulties extroardinary (if Possable) rather then put it again in their power to make a Dupe of me after being apprised of their vilony.

Brandy being the only thing that can raise an Indian's courage and they haveing drank a good dose of it ware Just ripe for Mischief, and some of them began to toss about the goods and ware for staveing the Kaggs of Brandy &c in defence of which a scuffle insued, and tho we ware much inferiour in Number yet had greatly the advantague, being all sober and they much intoxicated. We ware carefull not to take any affensave Wea-

pons, and only gave them a little old English Play, which had so good an affect that we soon drubed them into a seeming good humour again, tho some of them ware a little sulkey. By this time it ware late in the Day however we embarked, takeing all the Brandy in our own Cannoes and the Indians carried other goods in Proportion, But they being all very Drunk and still a Small stock underhand, in their little Runletts, they all went alongside of Each other in the Middle of a pritty wide Lake and began to renewe their drafte, but as there ware great danger of their overseting, and as I valued the goods they had on board much more then their own carcasses, I went to the nearest Shore with our own Cannoes landed all the goods &c we had in and then went off and took all the goods out of the Ind^{ns} Cannoes and left them in the middle of the Lake with their light Cannoes to act as ware most agrieable to themselves. Towards the Evening the Club broke up, and some of them Reached the shore where we ware Tenting while others drove about as the wind listed and got on shore on Island^s &c however no material damage happened. At Night came on extream bad weather, with Excessave heavey Gales from the NE^t and very heavey, and Constant Rain, which continued tell the afternoon of the 15th dureing which time we could not move, and some of the Indians ware drunk the whole time, and frequently very troublesom.

- The weather groweing rather better tho at times heavey Squalls we mov'd to the mouth of the little R^r which Joins to Gray
- 16th Goose Lake where we lay alnight, the Next morning being fine Pleasent Weather we sot out early, all sober and in pritty good humour. This Day crosst Gray goose Lake, Paddled Down the little river call'd gray goose R^r, pass't the Ne-me-o-kip-a-hagon, and at Night Put up at the mouth of the little River of that Name. This Day 4 Cannoes left us and struck off to the Northward up Ne-me-o-kip-a-hagon River the goods they had in belonging to the Company ware Distributed amongst the other Cannoes
- 17th At night came on very hard gales of wind from the SE in the Morning of the 17th being a little more Moderate tho still blowing hard, we embarked, and proceeded on towards the

house which ware within one good Day^s paddle but when about 2 Miles from the Shore, the Gale increased so violent (and being a wide lake we had to Cross) ware obliged to bare away before the Wind, and our fleet ware so scatterd in the Squall, each striving for the nearest Island or shore, that we did not all join again till the evening of the 18, the weather then

August

18th being Pritty Moderate we proceeded on till within about 9 Miles of the House so put up it being then about the Middle of the Night, the next Morning being quite calm we sot out early and arived at the House about 6 aClock in the Morning, where

19th I found My 3 Men all well,¹ as also Charles Isham² who arived here 12 Day since, and all the goods sent with him came safe, but had a deal of trouble on the passage; for several of the Indians left him at the first Carreying place from York Fort, and 2 more Cannoes left him at Basquiau so that he ware under the Necessaty of hireing other Indians to bring the goods to the House and on the delivory of the goods ware pay'd for their trouble

6 Tents of Indians ware on the Plantation when I ariv'd, but had nothing to trade, however, I Presented them with a little Brandy and Tobaco to encourage them to bring us Provisions and other Necessaries

¹Arrived at Cumberland House and found Andrew Garrett the carpenter, Magnus Slater, and William Flatt.

²Charles Thomas Price Isham, a half-breed said to be the natural son of James Isham (chief at Churchill and York Factories), was born about 1755, and was apprenticed for seven years to the Hudson's Bay Company at Severn House in 1766. In 1775 he became a "labourer" in the York Factory district, and from then until 1787 he made several trips into the interior. He returned to Europe in 1789, and re-entered the service in the following year as "inland trader" and "supervisor of canoes" at Swan river. Here he was "master" from 1790 to 1793, and in 1793 he established Marlborough House on the Assiniboine. In 1794 he established Somerset House, and in 1795 Carlton House on the south bank of the Assiniboine. In 1797-9 he was in charge of Jack River House; and thereafter for nine years he was a trader inland from York Factory. In 1804-5 he was in charge of Island House, Saskatchewan river, and in 1805-6 he was assistant to Alexander Kennedy at Cumberland House. After a year in Europe he was in charge at Cross Lake from 1809-10; he was a trader at Island House from 1810-11, and in the Winnipeg Factory district from 1811-12. On the establishment of the Red River Colony in 1812 he acted as interpreter to Captain Miles Macdonell, and in 1813-14 he was an assistant trader at Swan river. He retired in 1814, and returned to Europe on the *Prince of Wales*. He died on December 25, 1814.

Dureing my absence from the house, The Carpenter and the other 2 Men had made a much greater prograce in the Building then Expected, they haveing got all the appartments done up, tho in a Rough manner, and the Coppels ready fixed fit for Roofing. Notwithstanding the want of the Roof the People were moved into the New house before I came, and Andrew Garret had Traded several Tents to Preserve the goods &c from damageing by the weather, Which at Present is very bad being constant heavey Rain, and a Strong gale from the SE 22nd which continued tell Tuesday the 22nd dureing which time the people could not do any out Door duty, so ware Employ'd 23rd fixing up their Cabbins &c but Tuesday proveing moderate and fair, the Carpenter and one Man ware Emp^d making a Sawpitt, the rest of the People carreying in Timber ready for sawing Boards for the Roof . . .

Most of the Indians that ware tenting here on my arival as also those that accompany'd me from the Fort, went their respective ways some of which are to come in with Provisions and other Necessaries in the fall, and some are going far off to Procure furs &c . . .

On examineing the goods on my arival I found a bundle of Brazil Tobacco of 43 lb^s and 56 lb^s of Ball Missing, but there ware so many shiftings and changeings on the Passage that it ware impossable to find out who had it last to Carrey also when I came to taste the Brandy, I found some of the Kaggs full of fair water and many others not stronger than good Grog, so that out of the 200 Gall^{ns} taken in at York Fort I have not Receiv'd to the value of above 100 Gall^{ns} of Neet Brandy the grog &c all included

This afternoon I fitted out the Home Indians for their Return to the Fort

Wednesday the 23rd

The first and Middle parts Moderate and Clowdy the latter Part Strong gale at NE and heavey Rain. The Carpenter and 2 Men sawing of fether edged Boards for the Roof, the remaindor of the People Carreying in Timber &c. In the morning the home Indians sot out for the Fort by whome I sent the following Letter . . .

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Cumberland House, Pine Island Lake 22nd August

Sir

1775

As the Home Indians who assisted in geting the goods up ware desirous of returning this fall, have sent by them, a few lines to acquaint you of our safe arival at the new Settlement on the 19th of this month.

The villins of Indians that accomp^d me embezzeld at least 100 gal^{ns} of the Brandy besides a Bag containing 43 lb^s of Brazil Tobacco, & 56 lb^s of Ball

On my arival, I found Charles Isham had arived here 12 days before us, and all the good which ware sent with him came safe

I am Sir Yours at Comm^d
Sam^l Hearne

PS We are removed into the new house
but the Roof is not civered in as yet.

Please to Present my Comp^{ts} to the Gentlemen of Your Mess
To M^r Jacobs, or the Chief in Comm^d
at York Fort

Thursday the 24th

Very hard gales at E^t and NE but fair weather the Carpenter and some of the People Emp^d sawing of boards, the rest of the Men seting up in Piles some firewood which has ben fell in clearing the ground bout the House

Friday the 25th

Fine Pleasent weather, the Carpenter and 2 Men sawing as before, 2 Men seting a fishing Nett, the Rest of the People falling and Squareing of Timber

Saturday the 26th

Ditto Weather, the Carpenter and People Employ as before, look'd at the fishing Nett and caught 20 small fish . . . in the Evening heavey Rain

Sunday the 27th

Fine Pleasent weather look'd at the fishing Nett and caught a few Fish, in the afternoon 6 Cannoes of Indians that went from here on Tuesday last came with some Moose Flesh, and in the Evening 2 Cannoes of strange Indians came with meate &c . . . at Night Clowdy likely for Rain

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Monday the 28th

Light airs of wind from the WBN with thick Fogg the Carpenter and 2 People Emp^d sawing of Boards for the Roof as before, the rest of the People Emp^d in falling some wood to the westward of the House in order to lay it open to that Quarter . . . in the Evening fine Pleasant Weather

Tuesday the 29th

Hott sultry weather, and calm but Cloudy, having a few Boards sawn, the Carpenter and 2 Men began to civer in part of the Roof which is over the Warehouse &c but some of the People continue sawing of boards . . one Man Emp^d making a Sturgeon Nett the rest of the People doeing some Necessary Jobbs about the House, also look'd at the Fishing nett and caught a few Fish

Some of the Indians went away and the rest of them took up a little goods on Trust and prepar'd for going tomorrow

Wednesday the 30th

Fresh gales at NW^t and clear weather. in the Morning the remainder of the Indians went away The Carpenter and People employd as before, look'd at the fishing nett but caught only 2 small fish

Thursday the 31st

Fine pleasant weather Carpenter and People Employd as before, in the Evening one Cannoe came with a little Dry'd meate &c . . one Man Sick

Remarks at Cumberland House in September 1775

Friday 1st day of September, 1775

Cloudy but fine and Modirate, the Carpenter and 2 Men civering in the Roof, the Remd^r of the People sawing of Boards &c. The Cannoe that came Yesterday return'd, and another Cannoe came with some Dry'd Meate, a few Parchment Beaver skins and some Shoe leather &c . . two Men Sick

Saturday the 2nd

Fine Pleasant weather. The Carpenter and 2 Men Emp^d as before and at night finished about one half of the Roof, that which is over the Master's Room, Warehouse &c. The Remainder of the People sawing of boards for the Rem^{dr} of the Roof.

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In the Evening a Cannoe came with Dry'd Meate &c to Trade, and the Cannoe that came yesterday went away.

Sunday the 3rd

Ditto weather. most of the People ahunting of Geese. in the afternoon one cannoe came with some green Moose flesh. at Night the People Returned with a few geese

Monday the 4th

Fresh gales at E^t and cloudy weather, the Carpenter and one Man Emp^d partitioning off the upper warehouse. 2 Men sawing Boards, 1 Man making of fishing netts, and the remd^r of the People gathering of Stones for building the fire Places with &c. 3 Men Sick

Tuesday the 5th

Calm clear weather, the Carpenter and one Man Emp^d as before, one Man making Netts the remainder of the People gathering of Stones for the fireplaces one Cannoe came with some Dry'd & Powned Meate, and return'd emediatly after trading . . . *all the People at work*

Wednesday the 6th

Fresh breeze at N^o and NBW. the Carpenter and one Man Emp^d as before, 2 Men sawing of Boards, and all the remaindor of the People carreying stones for Building the Chimneys &c one Cannoe came with a little Dry Meate Fatt &c

Thursday the 7th

Ditto weather the Carpenter and some of the People Emp^d building the fire place in the Mens house the rest of the People supplying them with Stones Clay &c. About noon one Cannoe came with some Moose flesh &c in the evening heavey showers of hail and Rain attended with thunder and Lightning

Friday the 8th

Ditto weather, Carpenter and People all Emp^d as before in the afternoon flying showers of Rain

Saturday the 9th

The first part Strong gales at NNW and Clear. the Middle and latter Parts fine Pleasent Weather. People Emp^d as before, in the afternoon 2 Cannoes of Indians from the Buffalow Country came with some Dry'd meate and a few Furs

One Man Sick and one man lame

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Sunday the 10th

Modirate and Clowdy. Traded with the above Indians who soon after Returned one of which is to Build me a large Cannoe next spring

Monday the 11th

Dark clowdy Weather with frequent showers of Rain Wind at NE^t. as the People could not work at Building the Chimney, I sent some of them to hunt geese, and the Rest ware Emp^d about some Necessary Jobbs indoors

one Man Lame

Tuesday the 12th

Ditto Clowdy but fair, the Carpenter Emp^d about some Necessary Jobbs in his own Branch the Remaindor of the People Emp^d building the fireplace in the Mens house and fetching Stones, Clay, &c

In the afternoon 7 Cannoes of grass River Indians came with Dry'd Meat, fatt, and a few Furs, and some Dresst Moose Skins . . they also brought 2 fine Sturgeon

Wednesday the 13th

Dark clowdy weather with drizley Rain could not work at building the Chimney so Emp^d the People in falling of Firewood Traded some Meate from the above Indians

In the afternoon one Cannoe came; of whome I Traded 40 Geese and some fine Fish known here by the name of Titt-a-meg

Thursday the 14th

The first part dark clowdy weather and a little drizley rain as the People could not work at the Chimneys ware Emp^d falling of wood as before, but the Middle and latter Parts proved fine pleasent weather, some of the People went to building the Chimney, the Carpenter and the rest of the men Employd falling and squareing of Timber to saw more Boards out off for the remaindor of the Roof. The reason of our not geting a sufficient quantity of Plank cut emediatly on our arival ware owing to the Meskittas being so thick that the People could not work in the woods

Traded the remainder of the goods brought by the above Indians which consisted of several hundred Pounds of Dry'd

meat & Fatt a few Parchment Beaver, and some dress't Moos Skinns. Soon after trading they all Return'd and in the Evening not one Indian ware Tenting on the Plantation, but late at Night 3 other Cannoes came with a little Green Moose flesh &c. having for some time past had no Success in the Fishing Nett this Day had it took up and brought home to be Repare'd

Friday the 15th

Dark cloudy weather with a Strong gales at SE and flying showers of Rain, the Stones being wett could not work at the Chimneys, so the Carpenter and all hands were Emp^d falling and squareing of Timber. Traded with the above Indians, but the weather would not Permit them to go away

Saturday the 16th

Ditto gales but fair, the Carpenter and 2 Men squareing of Timber, the rest of the People building the Chimney. the Indians above mentioned still Tenting on the Plantation the weather not Permitting them to go away

Sunday the 17th

Fine Pleasent weather, all the Indians that ware Tenting on the plantation went away, and soon after 6 more Cannoes came with some Dry'd meat and a few Furs

Monday the 18th

Fresh gales at NNW and Clear weather, in the Morning the People carried some Timber Pieces out of the woods to the Sawpitt. The Remainder of the Day the Carpenter and 2 Men Emp^d sawing of Boards for the Remainder of the Roof, the rest of the People geting Stones, Clay, &c and Building the Chimney in the Mens house

some of the Indians went away, and in the afternoon one more Cannoe came but had little or nothing to Trade

at Night Cold frosty weather

Tuesday the 19th

Moderate and Cloudy, 2 Men sawing of Boards the carpenter Emp^d about some Necessary Jobbs in the house and the rest of the people Building the Chimney as before. one

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Man lame, accationed by a strain in the Back in Carreying Stones Yesterday. in the Evening 2 Cannoes came with some Geese to Trade

Wednesday the 20th

Strong gales at N^o and NBE with snow and Sleet 2 Men at the Saw. the Carpenter Emp^d fixing some Conveniancies in the Tradeing Room the rest of the People Emp^d gathering of Stones, and began to Build the fireplace in the Masters Room, 2 Tents of Indians on the Plantation . .

one man lame, as P^r Yesterday

Thursday the 21st

! Fine pleasent Weather 2 Men sawing of Boards the Carpenter and 2 Men Building the fire Place in the Masters Room, and all the Remaindor of the People gathering of Stones &c In the Morning all the Indians that ware tenting on the Plantation went away, and about Noon one more cannoe came with a little Dry'd meate and a few Parchment Beaver Skinns. they traded their goods and return'd emediatly . . . one man Lame as before

Friday the 22nd

Fresh gales at NW and dark cloudy weather Early in the Morning before Day one Cannoe came with the flesh of a Deer which I Traded and they Return'd emediatly The Carpenter and one Man Emp^d about the Masters fire Place 2 men Emp^d about the Men^s Chimney and the rest of the People supplying them with Stones, Clay, &c . . one Man lame as before

Saturday the 23rd

Fine Pleasent Weather. 2 Men Sawing of Boards the Carpenter and the Remaindor of the People Emp^d as before, in the Evening 3 Cannoes came with some Moose flesh and a few Parchment Moose skins. The man that had Receiv'd a Strain in his back is so much Recover'd that this Day he went to work

Sunday the 24th

Modirate but Cloudy 11 Cannoes of Basquiau Indians

came with Dry'd meate and Some Geese. at Night cold frosty weather wind at NE with some snowe

Monday the 25th

Fresh gales at NE and cloudy cold weather. The Carpenter employ'd about some little Jobbs in his own Branch, 2 Men Building the Chimney in the Masters room the Rest of the People supplying them with Stones and Clay, all Except 2 that is sawing of Boards. Traded from the Indians that came Yesterday, 73 Geese some Blathers of Fatt, and a little Dried Meate

Tuesday the 26th

Moderate and Cloudy, 2 Men sawing of boards, the Carpenter and 2 hands Emp^d civering in the Remaindor of the Roof, the rest of the People gathering stones and building the Chimney in the Masters room

I Presented the leader of the Basquiau Indians with some Tobacco and other Articals to encourage him to get some large Cannoes built for me next Year which service he Promoused faithfully to preform and soon after imbarked as did all the Indians that ware tenting on the Plantation. In the evening 2 Cannoes of Indians came to the house and ware in great destress for Provisions, accationed by their not haveing any amanition, I gave them a little Victuals for the Present and Supply'd them with amanition &c to Provide for themselves

Wednesday the 27th

Fresh gales at N^o and NW^t with Dark cloudy weather. Carpenter and people Employ'd as before this Day the Men^s Chimney ware completed, but the Master's is not finished as yet

The Indians that came Yesterday went away ahunting . .
at Night cold Frosty Weather

Thursday the 28th

Moderate and cloudy, the carpenter Employd making a 24 feet ladder. 2 Men sawing of Boards, the remainder of the People geting of Stones and Building the Masters Chimney, in the afternoon 3 Cannoes of Grass River Ind^{ns} came and

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Pitched on the Plantation but brought little or nothing to Trade

Friday the 29th

Modirate and cloudy with a cold freezeing air from the NE. The Carpenter Emp^d making a Table for the Master^s appartment. 2 Men sawing of Boards the Rest of the People employ'd as before building the Chimney &c One Cannoe came, who traded 15 Geese and Returned emediatly The Indians that came Yesterday Went to hunt more geese for us . . towards evening the weather grew more mild

Saturday the 30th

Ditto weather. Carpenter finished the Table and in the afternoon compleated the remaindor of the Roof, 2 men Sawing of boards, the rest of the People Emp^d as before about the Masters Chimney and at Night finished it . . one Cannoe came with some geese to Trade

Sunday the 1st of October, 1775

Fine clear weather but a fresh gale NBW^t early in the Morning, the cannoe that came Yesterday with the Geese went away to kill more, with whome I sent 2 of my people With amanition &c to kill some also . . one Cannoe of Indians came with a few Geese and 2 Swans, but it comeing on to blow fresh they could not Return till late at Night

Monday the 2nd

Mild cloudy weather; the Carpenter Employd nailing on a set of new Parchment windows, the rest of the People clearing the Plantation, and burning the Rubbage
4 Cannoes of Indians came with Geese &c . . at Night heavy rain

Tuesday the 3rd

Dark cloudy weather but Moderate, Carpenter Emp^d plaining some Boards for incloseing the fire Place in the Masters Room, one man mending the fishing Netts the rest of the people Employ'd as P^r yesterday clearing the Plantation &c
Traded about 60 Geese from the Indians that came Yesterday & in the afternoon 4 more Cannoes came with a little Dry'd

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meat. my 2 Men that I sent a hunting on Sunday last at yet not Return'd

Wednesday the 4th

Fine Pleasant weather, Carpenter employd as before 2 Men sawing of Boards, the rest of the People spriging and setting up in piles some firewood that ware felld last spring Traded what meat the Indians brought Yesterday. this Day 7 Cannoes of Indians came from Differant Quarters; and in the afternoon 2 Cannoes of York Fort home Indians came to the house and brought with them M^r Cocking to succeed me in the Command here, amongst other letters I Receivd the following one from Mess^{rs} Jacobs and Marton

York Fort August the 25th 1775

M^r Samuel Hearne

Sir

The Committee of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company having appointed you chief of Prince Wales's Fort, and desired us to inform you of their ententions with the utmost dispatch and appoint a Proper person to succeed you at Your Settlement Inland, we have in obedience to these orders sent M^r Cocking to succeed you, to whome you will please to deliver the said Settlement, together with all the Trading goods, Stores, Provisions & Furs now in your possession, taking a Receipt for the same. Inclosed you will Receive their Honours Letter and all others, but in your own breast it remains either to touch here, or proceed directly to your Command. M^r Marten who succeeds M^r Jacobs at York Fort will esteem it as a perticular favour if when time will Permitt, you will point out to him your sentiments of the most prudent methods to be pursued to bring to Perfection the plan you have with such credit to yourself hetherto executed

Wishing you a happy and speedy passage down, we Remain

Sir

Your Sincear Friends
Ferdinand Jacobs
Humphrey Marten

When I came to be acquainted with my appointment to the command of Prince of Wales's Fort (notwithstanding the season ware so far advanced as to afforde no Probability of ariveing there tell the Winter setts in) I began to make all possible preparation for my departure. & tho 4 Tents of Indians ware on the Plantation, I could not prevail on any of them to under take the Journey to C.R. at such an unseasonable time of the Year, for as they observ'd, admitt our arival dureing the open weather, they unavoiadably would be obligd to winter there, and leave their wives and Familys to the care of other Indians tell nex Summer. That ware the only objection most of them had which I could by no means remove, for few Indians like to be absent from their Familys for so long together, if by any means they Possibly can avoid it. That being the case, I had had no beter measures to presue then by taking my passage to York Fort by the Return of the Indians who Brought M^r Cocking here, for they ware not acquainted with the rode to Churchill

The next day we ware Emp^d taking an exact account of the Trading Goods, Stores, Provisions and Furs remaining at the House, and got a Receipt for the same from M^r Cocking all except for about 3 Months Dried Provision for which M^r Cocking refused to give a Receipt, tho it had coste me several Hundreds of Beaver in the purchice

Friday the 6th

Fine Modirate weather but cold, early in the Morning I imbarck'd in one of our Old large cannoes, as did the 4 home Indians, and proceeded for York Fort.¹ at Night we put up at the mouth of the little River that proceeds from the Na-me-o-kip-a-hagon

Saturday the 7th

Mild clowdy weather sot out in the Morning and at Night Put up in little Gray goose River

Sunday the 8th

Fresh gales at E^t and SE sot out early in the Morning but had not Paddled many miles before we ware oblig'd to Put up

¹After an uneventful summer largely employed in building Cumberland House, he left with four Indians by the Grass river route for York Fort.

it blowing to hard to Cross the lakes, but towards evening it fell fine and Modirate we again sot out and Paddle'd best part of the Night, then put up at Elbowe River, and about Day light the next morning we imbarked and Paddled tell Sunsett, then came to some Beaver houses, so Put up and the Indians went ahunting them but only killd one

Tuesday the 10th

First part fine pleasent Weather, the Middle and latter parts fresh gales at NE^t. Paddled tell near Sunsett then had the Missfortune to stave the Cannoe in Shooting a fall so we put up for the Night and repaired the Cannoe

Wednesday the 11th

Fine pleasent weather sot out early in the Morning and about sunsett got aCross Wee-kus-qu Lake where we saw one Tent of York Fort half home Indians so Put up for the Night but it comeing on to Blow very hard at NE we Could not move the next Day, but Earley in the Morning of the 13th being fine Pleasent weather we sot out before Day and Paddled tell Sunsett down grass River then Put up and the Indians went a Beaver hunting but had no Success

Saturday the 14th

Cold frosty weather but modirate. Paddled down Grass River and cross't all the Carreying Places but the Ice ware a great hinderance to us in many Places, and notwithstanding all the care we could take the canoe got stove in several Places which detained us greatly, but early the next morning being fine pleasent wather we sot out by 3 aClock and in the evening arived at the Pellican Fall where we Put up alnight. this Day's Paddle being chiefly in wide open lakes we met with no Ice

Monday the 16th

Fine mild weather but cloudy Paddled tell near night and then put up by the Side of With-a-man Lake,¹ in the Evening Cloudy likely for Rain

Tuesday the 17th

Strong gales at NW. Paddled about 12^{ms} under the lee of the Islands then ware oblig'd to Put up, at Night cold frosty Weather

¹Known as Wanamun or Paint lake.

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Wednesday the 18th

Fine Moderate weather but colde sot out Early in the Morning and Paddled till after Dark, in our way this Day we Passt Wa-come-min-na River, Kiss-is-com-matt-away Lake and at Night Put up about the Middle of Wap-a-nake-wan Lake the Ice ware so troublesom at times this day that we ware oblige to breake a lane through it With a long Pole before we could get the cannoe through which ware not only very Teadious but ware the accation of frequently staveing the Cannoe which also delay'd much time in mending

Thursday the 19th

Very fine Pleasent weather with a light air of wind from the SW. sot out before day and crosst the Remaindor of Wap-a-nake-wan Lake, and at night put up not far from Stinking 20th Lake. in the afternoon at near Sunsett we spoke with 2 Tents of half home Indians, but being in a hurry I made no stay and did not put up tell long after Dark, it continueing fine pleasant weather, we sot out the next morning before Day and Paddled 21st tell near sunsett, it then comeing on to blow fresh ware oblig'd to Put up on an Island in Ta-tass-qui-ough Lake,¹ the Wind still continueing to blow fresh at NE would not permitt us to Paddle above 5 M^s the Next Day before we war oblig'd to put up on another Island, but Sunday the 22nd proveing more 22nd Moderate tho cold we sot out Early, and Paddled tell late at Night then Put up by the side of the gull Lake not far from the Gull Fall, at Night very hard frost so that the Edge of the Lake ware froze over for above a Stones throw from the Shore.

Monday the 23rd

Fine Clear weather and Moderate but so very cold that we could not Paddle, but towards the afternoon it grew more mild, so we cut and Broke a Track through the Ice to the clear water, and again began to fall down the Stream of Port Nelson. in our way crosst the Gull fall and several others, but the Cannoe being leakey ware oblig'd to Put up early for the sake of haveing daylight, to see to repare her

Tuesday the 24th

Fine Pleasent weather sot out Early in the Morn and

¹Split lake.

Paddled down Port Nelson till near Sunsett, then ware oblig'd to put up to repara Our Cannoe it being very leakey.

Wednesday the 25th

Ditto weather Paddled Down Port Nelson as before and in the afternoon crosst the Last carreying Place

Thursday the 26th

Cold frosty weather wind at N^o and NE^t. still Paddleing down Port Nelson as before, but in the Afternoon meeting with a great deal of heavey Ice and all the shores being cover'd with large flakes, and the Evening advanceing, we Put aShore and carried the Cannoe into the Woods and Put her by, being then about 16 Miles from York Fort. after laying the Cannoe carefully by (tho not good for any thing) we took up our small trifles and walkt along shore tell after Dark then Put up and 27th the Next Morning sot out before Day, and got to York Fort early in the fore Noon, and found M^r Marten and all under his Command in good health I did not propose to stay at York Fort above a Night or two, but the wind keeping to the North and Eastward fill'd Port Nelson with Ice, and tho I frequently sent an Indian aCross the Island to look at the River they always informed us of the impossability of Crossing, and t'ware tell the second of Jan^{ry} 1776 before we could cross on the Ice and then not lower down then about 22 Miles above the Fort. And tho I sot out on the Second it ware the 17th following before I arived at Churchill being greatly detained by bad weather. On my arival I found M^r Jefferson and all well

As soon as Possable after my arival I examined into some of the principal articals of the Trading goods, which together with the Expences and the little Subsequant Trade since the last overhall, agreed so exactly with the General Charge that I thought ther ware no necessaty for my Examining into every artical menutely

Notwithstandin my strictest enquiary into the Proceedings of the Pedlors, I have not ben able to inform myself of any thing that we can put a stop to at Present for the want of more Cannoes. M^r Forbersher who winter'd to the NE^t of Cumber-

land House in 1774¹ is now Remov'd within two day^s walk of our settlement, and tho he undoubtedly will intercept several Indians in the Passage to our house, Yet for want of a greater assortment of goods and Brandy in Proportion it is noways in the power of those inland to ingroce the trade For tho we undersell the Canadians by far in some articals while our goods last, yet when the Brandy is out, the Ind^{ns} leave off Trading, a strong proof of which I had las^t Spring before I embark'd for York Fort, for notwithstanding there ware plenty of amanition and some other usefull articals left, the Indians would not trade their Furs because I had no Brandy, and when I sot out for York Fort I left near 30 Cannoes of Indians tenting on the plantation most of which ware well gooded, who afterwards went differant way^s in quest of Brandy from y^e Pedlors.

As Cannoes is the prinsable thing wanting for the farther extending the Inland expedition, and realy in my opinion no Probability of ever geting a sufficiant N^o from the Natives, makes it necessary to have resoarce to some other methods, and the only one that remains is to try what can be done in light shells made of wood after the cannoe form; and I am apt to believe that Expert Wherrey builders could make vessels of upwards one Ton Burthen, so Portable that 2 Men may carrey them one forth of a Mile at least without resting.

Two Strakes on each side the keel should be of good clean Elm or the Best oak, wrought as thin as Possable, but the remainder of the vessell may be compleated with the lightest and best Noraway Deals, taking great care to avoid all superfluaty^s of wood and Iron

¹Frobisher wintered at Frog Portage in the winter of 1774-5, and it took twenty days for five men to walk from there to Cumberland. The direction is nearer north-west than north-east but possibly Hearne did not know that, for the first part of the journey, from Cumberland to Sturgeon Landing is considerably east of north, and Hearne, who had not been over the whole track, may have thought that the rest of the route was in the same direction.

The second portion of the clause, that he "is now removed within two days walk of our settlement", undoubtedly refers to Frobisher's and Henry's houses, which were at Beaver lake, forty miles from Cumberland. This portion of Hearne's Journal is dated June 1776, and in addition to his knowledge that Primeau and seven men had built a "fort" at Beaver lake, he had evidently learned from the Indians that Frobisher and his men had spent the winter there, but he had not learned of their success in preventing the Athabaska Indians from going to Churchill, and in securing their furs.

A Tryal of this kind may be made in England, and if found to answer (which will be easily known by its Portableness) no time should be lost, but as a number of such slight vessels would be very unhandy stowage on board of Ship and lyable to many accidents on the passage it would be more convenient to send out 2 Expert workmen with proper wood &c for their use, and as they could prepare all the Timbers and Plank in the Winter ready for seting up in the Summer they would in a Year or two have a considerable Number made fit for use and will with care last several Years, whereas the best Birch Rinde Cannoe that can be built will not last longer then one Year. notwithstanding which I would continue to incourage them to build birch Rinde cannoes provided they would make them of a Proper Sise, but all that we have ben able to get hetherto, tho much larger then the common Sort, are nothing like what I would have them being so long and narrow, noways burthensom, and are only fit to Row wagers in, so that if we had 50 of such vessels they would not carry as much as 10 of the Pedlors Cannoes, & at the same time each of them requires 3 Men, whereas the pedlors only have 4 in their large one's which carreys 2 Ton of Trading goods, besides the Men, Provisions, & other lumber¹

I am sorry the account I inserted in my last Journal respecting the Wages gave by the Pedlors Masters to their Men, should divaate so much from trooth, but such was the accounts I receiv'd at that time, but since Have had an oppertunity of hearing a more athentick account from Andrew Garrett as told to him by M^r Forbersher who Call'd at our house the last Summer (as on his way down to Canady) after I sot out for York Fort. He ashured And^w Garrett that so far from the Steersman haveing 50£ P^r Ann^m as they had Reported, that Primo who is his linguist, Trader, a Pataroon, and every thing next to himself has but 25 £ a Year and all his other Pataroons

¹Here we have one of the first, and perhaps the first, recommendation by one of its officers to the Hudson's Bay Company to build small wooden vessels or canoes to be used to transport goods inland, instead of depending on the birch bark canoes of the Indians. The necessity of such boats eventually resulted in the building of "York boats" on the Saskatchewan river.

has no more than 18 or 20 £ according to agreement and the Privilege of 80 Beaver Skins,¹ which are chiefly Traded with goods taken up from him, and are oblig'd to dispose of the Furs at the grand Portage which on an avrage generally fetches 4^s . . 6^d P^r Skin, at which Price they hardly save their own money, for the goods they take up is charged to them in the same Proportion as the Masters can make by it in Trade . . . no man but the Pataroons are allow'd to Trade a skin

The Bowmen have by Forbersher's⁸ account from 14[£] to 16[£] a Year, and the 2 Men that sets in the Middle of each Cannoe have from 10 to 12 £

At the time M^r Forbersher call'd at our house the weather oblig'd him to Stay the best part of the Day, dureing which time he conversed very freely with And^w Garrett and told him he had left Primo and 7 other Men to build a house (tho call'd by him a Fort) within 2 Days walk of ours, the reason of his moveing ware accationed by the great Destress he ware in for Provisions, which ware realy shocking, one or two of his men dyed for real want and one of them Shott by the Indians for Eating human flesh the Corps of one of their deceased friends. M^r Forbersher himself ware so destresst that he eat all the Parchment Moose &c and many of his Furs and even a few garden seeds which he proposed to have sown the following Spring he also eat to Satisfy hunger

¹The "Beaver Skin" or "Made Beaver", often designated in the accounts by the monogram MB., was an arbitrary unit of value used by the Hudson's Bay Company. As the fur of the beaver was the fur which the Company at first most wished to obtain, and that which the Indians were urged to bring to the trading posts to trade, the trading goods used by the Company came to be reckoned as of the value of so many prime beaver skins. Subsequently other furs came to be valued at a fraction or a multiple of a beaver skin. In this way a unit of trade value was established so that a poor beaver pelt might be worth only half a beaver skin (or Made Beaver or MB), while an extra good beaver pelt might be worth two or three Beaver Skins (MB). Then in making up accounts a money value had to be put on the "Made Beaver". The value here given, if in Sterling, would be \$1.09, but if in Grand Portage currency, which it probably was, it would be only \$0.45.

In my own travels through northwestern Canada I often hired Indians for so many beaver skins a day, to be paid by orders on the Hudson's Bay Company. In the accounts which I received from the Company from different places and in different years the beaver skin was charged against me from a minimum of thirty-three cents to a maximum of seventy-five cents. Doubtless similar variations in value would appear in the trade accounts of the Hudson's Bay Company in London.

Notwithstanding what I formally wrote to the Boarde concerning the unnecessaty of an advance of wages to those that go Inland, I find by Experiance that there is a very great necessaty; otherwise it is likely to be a great obstacle in the way of Prosecuteing the inland affair, for at Present the People have not got the prosperity of the Expedition at heart. And tho they may be compelled by Contract to go for a Year or two, many of them will rather be sent home then continue to go inland at their present wages and as they go with reluctance, only move in Proportion as they think they are pay^d for their trouble. No spirit of emulation is to be seen amongst them nor scarce one of them endeavours to make himself acquainted with the management of a Cannoe or any other thing that is likely to forward the Expedition, and their whole complaint is for want of encouragement.

I have interfereed so far as to ask what Encouragement they Required, to which the Orkneyemen seem'd to intermate that 12 £ P^r annum would enduce them to be actave & usefull.

Ware it a service that any labouring Men (yearly) could be equally handy and servisable, I could not see into the Necessaty of an advance of wages, but such is the critical situation of that part of the Company^s affairs, at Present, that it Never will be carried to any degree of extent but by a set of men whose repeated voyages has gained them experiance, so as to be capable of manageing Cannoes without so much assistance from the Natives; and nothing but a Reconsiliation to their wages will induce them to continue long enough in the Service to be thus quallifyd. I do not pretend to say that all need to be thus quallifyd, but one at least, to Steer each Cannoe should be such as I have mentioned. The Bowmen should also be clever Cannoemen as the Safe shooting of troublesome falls greatly depends on the dexterity of those that set forward, but as to the other Persons any strong young fellows (if willing) will do very well, and if inspired by a spirit of emulation will in their turns become Steersmen &c

All persons that may perfect themselves so far as to be capable of Steering a Cannoe up and Down, will in my opinion greatly inhance the value of their Servises, if such persons ware to meet

with some little gratuity it would not only be the Meanes of inducing them to a longer continuance in the Service, but would be a great inducement for other Young fellows to make themselves quallify^d for that Station.

One very great and savinge advantague the Canadian Masters have over their men which is, when hiring them, they make the agreement so, as not to be obliged to find them in Provisions only on the passage up and Down. If going to erect a new settlement they make it in the agreement that when the House is built and plenty of firewood got for the winter, they are to go with the Natives and provide for themselves at their own expence, only come back early enough the next Summer to assist in carrying the Masters Furs down to Canady

If they have no goods of their own necessaty obliges them to take up from the Master at a very extraordinary price, with which they trade Provisions for their Support, and it lays at the Masters opshen whether to give them one load of Powder extraordinary, that being the case it takes the bes part of their wages to find themselves in Provisions

As the Masters cannot do without some of his men about the house to do labouring duty, as well as to defend his property in case the Indians should be troublesom, he therefore keeps those about his Person that he is amind to favour or knows is most deserving, but by agreement no man can claim right to that indulgance, and even those are frequently obligd to Purchase part of their subsistance at their own expence If it ware not for this easey way of maintaining their Men, as also paying their wages with a handfull of goods, Forbersher say^s it would not be worth their while to come inland for the Expence is very great in geting their goods brought from Canady to the Grand Portage, as also that of geting their Furs remitted from thence to their Partnors at Canady

However, let the expences be ever so great and the Profit ever so little, they are yearly making greater prograce and carrey it on with still greater Spirit than ever, and no affectual methods can be taken to Prevent them without a greater Number of Cannoes It may be the opinion of some

in this service that the Pedlors will soon be cut out and oblig'd to desist frequenting those parts, but on a Strict examination of so extensave a Country, and at the same time considering the indolant state of the Natives in general, will plainly show that it must be a work of Time, for tho the Indians allow the Comp^y goods and standard the Prefrance in many articals yet for want of Resolution they can never pass a Canadian house without calling in, where they seldom fail of meeting with sufficient alurements to make them part with what they have

Where Cumberland House stands is to appearance comodiously situated between 4 Differant Tribes, yet such is their Indolance that when in want of Supply^s in Summer, or Winter, they always go to the nearest markt which is too frequently in favour of the Canadians, they laying in so many Directions. That being the case I know of no affectual method to route them then by making other Settlements near theirs and endeavouring to undersell them, by which meanes the Company^s Servants may in time possess the most advantagous posts for trade and tell then they will only get a Small Part like any private trader from Canady This as I have observ'd before must be a work of Time, and cannot as yet be Extended for want of a Sufficiant Number of Cannoes

The very great dependance we have on the Natives at Present for cannoes as well as their assistance in geting the Men and goods up, is not only attended with a very Extroordinary expence but Yearly exposes a large quanty of goods to the greatest danger of being totally lost, witness las Year, in going up The Indians embezzeld upwards of half the Brandy and other goods to a considerable ammount. These losses together with their payment not only runs away with all the Profit, but renders the Company^s Servants the make game and laughingstock of every trader from Canady

When a greater number of Cannoes can be procured then will be sufficient to supply Cumberland House with goods, I would

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Recomend another Settlement to be made up Theiscatchiwan River, near Mess^{rs} Patterson, Homes, Pangman &c also that valuable Branch of Trade so intersepted by Joseph Forbersher to the westward of Churchill River, should be taken into consideration as soon as Possable

I am Your Honours, Obediant and
faithfull humble Servant at
Command, Sam^l Hearne

Prince of Wales's Fort
28 June 1776

JOURNAL III

JOURNAL OF THE MOST REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS AND
OCCURRENCES FROM YORK FORT TO CUMBERLAND HOUSE,
AND FROM SAID HOUSE TO YORK FORT FROM 9TH SEPTR
1778 TO 15TH SEPTR 1779, BY MR. PHILIP TURNOR,
SURVEYOR

JOURNAL III

*A JOURNAL of the most remarkable Transactions and Occurrences
from York Fort to Cumberland House, and from said House to York
Fort from 9th Sept^r 1778 to 15th Sept^r 1779*

By M^r Philip Turnor, Surveyor

- 1778 7^{br} 9 from York Fort
8^{br} 11 arrived at Cumberland House
1779 March 5 proceeded to Saskashawaw Settlement
 passes and converses with several Canadians
 Gives an account of y^e Countery and Trade
April 28 back again for Cumberland House
May 26 arrived There
June 9 underway for York Fort
 10 in Basquiau River
 29 Enter'd Sea River deep water and
 many branches al leading to the Northward
July 15 in Hayes River
 arrived at York Fort

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Journal of Proceedings and Occurrences
by Philip Turnor
From September 9th, 1778 to September 15th, 1779

1778

Sept^r 9th Wednesday at 8 AM Imbarked at York Fort for Cumberland House¹ in Company with Geo. Hudson,² Rob^t Davey,³ Will^m Lutit⁴ and two Indians to steer our two Canoes, was Saluted by 3 Guns from the Factory and proceeded down Hayes's River to goe round the Point of Marsh⁵ with intent to proceed by the way of Nelsons or North River. At 11 AM put on shore at the point of

¹Cumberland House, their immediate destination, was on the south shore of Pine Island lake, and a short distance north of the Saskatchewan river. It was 450 miles in a direct line south west of York Fort. The intervening country contains a large number of lakes and streams, which by different combinations gave the Indians in their canoes a great variety of routes. Turnor chose a route up Nelson river, and then by one of its tributaries, Grass river, to Cranberry Portage, across this portage into Athapapuskow lake, and then down Goose and Sturgeon-Weir rivers to Pine Island lake.

²George Hudson, described as of the Parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, was born about 1762, and in 1775 was apprenticed to the Hudson's Bay Company from the Grey Coat Hospital for seven years, and he proceeded to York Factory. He had received instruction in drawing from Samuel Hearne in 1776 at Fort Churchill. In 1781 he was left in charge of Cumberland House, and was almost continuously in charge there until his death on April 19, 1790. In 1789 he was described as "inland trader, or inland surveyor".

³Robert Davey was an Orkneyman who entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as "labourer" in 1773, and was employed in the York Factory district. In 1774 he had accompanied Cocking on his attempt to carry supplies to Hearne at "Basquiau". In 1776, 1777, and 1781 he made trips inland. In 1782 he was captured by the French at York Factory, but he returned to the service in 1783, and made several more trips into the interior. He retired in 1788.

⁴William Lutit [Loutit, Lewtit] entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as "labourer" at York Factory in 1770. From 1776 to 1778 and again in 1781 he was employed inland. In 1782, when the French captured York Factory, he made his escape to Severn House. He retired to Europe in 1784.

There was another William Lutit, a native of Stennes in the Shetlands, who entered the service in 1787, and was employed as "labourer" at York Factory until 1791, and at Severn House until 1796. He then, at the age of fifty, retired to Europe as "unfit". It is possible that this may be same man as the above.

A third William Lutit, also of the parish of Stennes in the Shetlands, entered the service in 1798 and died inland on April 4, 1799.

⁵"The Point of Marsh" is the low point of the peninsula between the mouths of the Hayes and Nelson rivers.

During the two weeks since Turnor had landed from the ship he had made a survey of the fort and its surroundings, the plan of which is reproduced in the appendix of maps. This plan doubtless shows the fort just as it was when it was captured and destroyed by La Pérouse four years later.

Marsh, the swell being so heavy was not able to stand it, was joined by Sixteen Canoes of Indians which are going from the Factory to their Familys by the way of North River—wind variable Easterly clear weather

- 10th Thursday at 9 AM got underway; at 11 AM had passed the point of Marsh in heavy swell went about 18 Miles nearly SW in North River¹ and put up at 4½ PM on the South side the river, the River in this place about 2½ Miles wide very strong current Land Low . . . wind South light breeze and clear

1778

September 11th Friday at 7 AM got underway the Current strong against us, went 3 Miles and crossed to North side the river at 10½ AM began to track at Flamborough head,² the river in this place about 1½ Mile wide, went 4 Miles nearly SW, Latitude by Observation 56°57'N°. . then went 4 Miles nearly SW and 8 Miles WSW and passed a great number of small Islands went to N° of them all and put up at 6¾ PM on the N° side the River, the Land on both sides bold and cover'd with small Pines . . . wind SSW light breeze & Clear

- 12th Saturday at 6¾ AM got underway tracking in strong current, went 11 Miles SW b S to WNW and came to a Creek on the North side the River which is about 15 y^{ds} wide called the fishing Creek³ . . . Latitude by Observation 56°55' N° began to paddle went 3 Miles SSW and passed several Islands went to North of them at 1½ PM put up having mett with some Indians killing Deer and could not get our Indians past them, the Land this day bold Calm and Clear

- 13th Sunday at 8¼ AM got underway tracking in strong current, went 4 Miles from W to SSW, then padled 5 Miles nearly SW and passed several small Islands and went to North of them . . . Latitude by Observation 56°47'N°. then went about 6 Miles nearly SW, sometimes padling

¹A local name for Nelson river.

²Flamboro Head is a steep cliff of hard clay and boulders a hundred feet high on the north-west bank of Nelson river.

³Known as Weir or Fishing creek.

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and some times tracking and put up on the N^o side the River at 3¾ PM, the Land this day mostly bold . . . wind SW light breeze and Clear

1778

Sept 14th Monday at 7¼ AM got underway tracking in strong current the river very crooked, went 12 Miles from W to SSW the river about ½ Mile wide Land bold . . . Latitude by Observation 56°37'½N, then went 1 Mile S^o and came to a fall (by the English men called Hellgate)¹ carried our goods ½ Mile on the S^o side and led the Canoes then tracked 7 Miles nearly SW the current very strong the banks as steep as the Roof of a House and full of loose rolling stones, crossed to N^o side and put up at 6 PM . . . wind Southerly fresh breeze and clear

15th Tuesday at 6¼ AM got underway padled on N^o side 3 miles and came to y^e 2nd Carr^s place 100 y^{ds} over, then Padled round a Bay to N^o about 1½ Mile and came to y^e 3rd Carr^s place,² at 9 AM began to rain heavy staid untill 3 PM at which time it began to clear passed the carr^s place being ½ Mile through a wood and proceeded, handing³ the Canoes about ¾ Mile in very strong current and exceeding sharp stoney bottom, on which the men are obliged to walk barefooted at 5 PM began to rain again at which time we began to track again and went 3 Miles in strong current and bad banks. 6½ PM put up

¹This is the lowest fall on the Nelson river, and is generally spoken of as the head of navigation. It is the lowest of the Limestone rapids, and in ascending the river is the first of a long series of heavy rapids.

²He has now reached the rapids just below the mouth of Limestone river, which flows into Nelson river from the north. The Hudson Bay railway crosses Limestone river a short distance above its mouth, and thence turns northward and runs in an almost direct line to Churchill.

³"Handing" a canoe consists in wading in the water beside the canoe, usually in swift and irregular current, keeping hold of the gunwale, and dragging the canoe against the current. The men are almost always obliged to walk with their feet bare, in order to keep their footing on the slippery bottom of the river and often also with their legs bare so as to offer the least possible resistance to the force of the water, no matter how cold it might be. "Tracking" consists in hauling a canoe against the current with a line or light rope to which the men are hitched in some way, often by forming a loop in the rope and passing it over their shoulders and chests. While tracking one man usually remains in the canoe to steer it, while those hitched to the line walk on the shore or in the shallow water close to the shore.

. . . . calm and heavy rain, this day could not tell my course having no compass and the day being overcast

16th Wednesday at 9 AM got underway tracking in strong current and bad ground went 5 Miles nearly SW and came to y^e 4th Carr^g place being 70 y^{ds} over then went about 3 Miles some times padling and some times leeding and put up a 3 PM the river about 1 Mile wide Land bold . . . wind variable Southerly with rain

1778

Sept^r 17th Thursday this morning find we have passed all the tracking ground which is so exceeding bad that no person is able to track that cannot walk without shoes, the banks being exceeding steep in some places people will fall into the face of the bank two or three feet deep occasioned by the banks having given way at the top, being a kind of Marl & clay, which appears to waist very fast, other parts Men are often obliged to goe a great way into the River that the Canoes may have room to pass the sholes, for my own part I wore two pair of English Shoes intirely out in the tracking ground in walking a long the shore of which I could not perform above $\frac{3}{4}$ of the distance not being able to stand on the face of the bank

9 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went 1 Mile in strong current and shole water and came to y^e 5th Carr^g place 40 y^{ds} over, went $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and came to y^e 6th Carr^g place landed in a Bay on the North side river and carried $\frac{3}{4}$ Mile through a swampy wood, the fall about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile wide, the River above and below about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile wide and full of Large Rocks, crossed to S^o. side and went $\frac{3}{4}$ Mile and came to the 7th Carr^g place 40 y^{ds} over then went $\frac{3}{4}$ Mile and came to the 8th carr^g place 150 y^{ds} over and put up at 5 PM, having parted company of the other Canoe in which was Geo. Hudson, Rob^t. Davey and an Indian they having kept on y^e N^o. side Calm thick Hazy weather all this day¹

18th Friday at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went 100 y^{ds} and came

¹This day they were ascending the Long Spruce rapids, a very rocky stretch of river in which this great stream has a fall of eighty-five feet.

to y^e 9th Carr^g place 50 y^{ds} over, went 400 y^{ds} and came to y^e 10th Carr^g place 100 y^{ds} over, went 100 y^{ds} and came to y^e 11th Carr^g place 20 yards, went $\frac{1}{2}$ Miles and came to the kettle Carr^g place¹ being y^e 12th which is 350 y^{ds} over, the River then about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile wide crossed to N^o side and waited for the other Canoe which joined us in about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour found they had made one Carr^g place less than we had but much longer one being longer than all we had made while parted, when 2 Miles and came to y^e 13th Carr^g place 250 y^{ds} over, went 100 y^{ds} and came to y^e 14th Carr^g place 150 yth over. Latitude by Observation 56°24' N. went 1 Mile and came to y^e 15th Carr^g place 40 y^{ds} over, went $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and came to y^e 16th Carr^g place 30 y^{ds} over, went 2 Miles and put up at 3 PM, having come to some Indians which went forward to kill Deer whoe had been Successfull wind SE light breeze with showers of Rain

Sept^r 19th Saturday at 7 AM got underway went on S^o side of an Island about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and came to y^e 17th Carr^g place 100 y^{ds} over on the Island, went 200 y^{ds} and came y^e 18th Carr^g place 50 y^{ds} over (a Bay opens to S^o about 2 Miles wide and 1 Mile Long) parted with the other Canoe and went to S^o side, went 9 Miles in a small branch of the River about 200 y^{ds} wide and easy current and came to y^e 19th Carr^g place 40 y^{ds} over, went $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and came to the main river being about 1 Mile wide crossed to N^o side the River and put up at $\frac{3}{4}$ PM, raining heavy, at 3 PM the other Canoe joined us, the other Canoe had made 3 Carr^g places of y^e 19th and one of them upwards of $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile and the current much stronger, the Land this day in some places very bold wind SE light breeze fore part of the day overcast, latter part heavy rain

20th Sunday at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway went 1 Mile SE, 1 Mile SW, 1 Mile SE & 1 Mile SW and came into a Bay about 3 Mile wide with several Islands in It, went N^o of them on a Course nearly W . . . about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile SW and put up at

¹These are at the Kettle rapids, where the Hudson Bay Railway now crosses the Nelson river.

10¾ AM having shipped much water and not being able to stand the swell, continued blowing hard untill 1½ PM at which time we again got underway went 1 Mile SSW and came into a Bay about 2 Mile wide, went 3 Miles W leaving the Bay to S° (in which is several small Islands) and came to the Gull Fall and Carr^g place ¾ Mile over, carried over and put up at 5½ PM the River about ¼ Mile wide Land not very bold . . . wind variable Westerly blows hard with showers of Rain

Sept^r 21th Monday at 8½ AM got underway went 1 Mile SW and came to y^e 21th Carr^g place on the N° side of a small Island 100 y^{ds} over, then crossed to N° side again being about 300 y^{ds} and came to the 22nd Carr^g place 80 y^{ds} over, then crossed back to the Island and went about ½ Mile and came to y^e 23rd Carr^g place 400 y^{ds} on the N° side of y^e Island, then went on S° side of a small Island about ¼ Mile then crossed to N° side the River being about Noon, and mett two Canoes with four Bundles of Furrs ea which they had brought from Cumberland House to carry to York Fort, went 1 Mile and came to y^e Gull Lake went 14 Miles nearly W and leaving the Lake to S° being about 5 Mile wide with several small Islands in it (in this Lake a easey current Land Low) put up at 5½ PM at the end of the lake wind Westerly light breeze with showers of Rain

22nd Tuesday at 7¾ AM got underway in river went 8 Miles nearly SW, the River about 2 Mile wide with many Islands left them to S° and came to y^e 24th Carr^g place 130 y^{ds} over, the fall about ¾ Mile wide, . . . Latitude by Observation 56°07'½ N°. then went 3 Miles in River nearly WSW, at which place Will^m Lutit in attempting to Lead the Canoe up a fall was taken of his Legs by the Current and carried into the stream, by trying to save himself by keeping his holt upon the Canoe she over sett bottom upwards and drove about 300 y^{ds} before any assistance could be given him when the other Canoe with Geo. Hudson &^c in came up and got him and the Canoe on shore and found the following things saved

Viz^t the Sextant, two Thermometers One bottle of Quick Silver (it being parted into two Bottles) the Parrellel Glasses, a Box containing the Books &^c 3 Bags of Cloaths &^c 1 Bag of shott all our Blankets, 1 Keg with Brandy, a piece of Cheese and a Trunk with its Contents. The following things Lost Viz.^t 1 Gun, 1 Hatchet, 2 Loves of Sugar, 8'' of Gun Powder, 1 Bottle of Quick Silver, 1 Quart Pot, 1 Pair of trowsers, 10 lb of Biscuit, 1 Cake of Ginger Bread, 1 Shott Pouch & 4 lb of Shott, 18 Deers Tongs, and some other Deers flesh &^c. It being 2 PM when the things were brought on shore, employed our selves the remainder of the day in drying the Books &^c my distress of mind on seeing the Canoe oversett may be much easier imagined then discribed as the Loss of the Instruments and Books would have been erretrivable for two Years at Least, it may be necessary to observe that it is not an unpresidented thing to Lead up the falls as it is what must be done almost every hour in the Rivers which we passed in this track¹

Sept 23rd Wednesday at 5 AM missing our two Indians sent Robert Davey in search of them whoe found them about 2 Miles up the River with a Gallon Keg with some Brandy in it which they had stolen the night before, and had drank or waisted about 2 Quarts,² he returned with them at 8 AM and at 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway went about 3 Miles and came to Tesqueau Lake,³ which in places appears about 8 Miles wide with a great number of Islands in it, went nearly WSW along the middle of it about 22 Miles

¹This is an example of the danger of ascending rapids in these rivers. Lutit was evidently "handing" the canoe up the rapid, walking in the water in front of it, and dragging it up after him. The current took him off his feet, and man and canoe were washed down to the foot of the rapid.

The quicksilver was to be used with the sextant in taking astronomical observations, and the loss of half of it was to prove a serious inconvenience to Turnor, as we shall see later.

²The accident of the day before had evidently given these two Indians an opportunity to run off with a small keg of brandy, and in the night they had made away with half of it, but evidently they were still able to paddle their canoe.

³After paddling three miles the party came to Tesqueau lake, which is now known as Split lake.

and put up on an Island at 5 PM wind Westerly with mistey Rain, the Canoe which Geo. Hudson was in being Leakey and bad exchanged her with 1 Gallon of Brandy for an other

1778

Sept 24th Thursday at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went 9 Miles nearly WSW at which place 6 Canoes of Indians left us and went to the Northward¹, went 4 Miles more and came to the end of the Lake, the Lake opens to SE farther than I could see at which place the Indians informed me there is a Carr^g place out of Foxes River² into this track (Foxes river is in what is called the middle trackway) the Lake opens NNW about 7 Miles the uper part of the Lake being clear of Islands, left the Lake³ and entered a River about 2 Miles wide went about 3 Miles W and came to y^e 25th Carr^g place 200 y^{ds} over, the river about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile wide went 2 Miles SW and joined an other branch of the River runs into Tesqueau Lake to N^o went 2 Miles SSW and came to the mouth of a River to ESE and called by the Indians the Saskashawan River, went 3 Miles WSW and came to a part of the River about 30 y^{ds} wide, the Land on ea side an intire Rock, went 3 Miles WSW and came to a piece of shole raped water 300 y^{ds} Long, then went 1 Mile WSW and came to y^e 28th Carr^g place 40 y^{ds} over a Rock between two falls, then went 1 Mile and put up at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM wind SSW with showers of rain.

¹These Indians may have been going up Burntwood river, which flows into Split lake north-west or west-north-west of the place where they left Turnor's party, or possibly they may have been intending to hunt in the country north and north-west of Split lake.

²Fox river rises not far south-east of Split lake, and flows eastward to join the Steel or Hayes river about North Latitude 56° 4'. This route was used by some of the Indians travelling in their small canoes from Split lake to York Fort in order to avoid the heavy rapids on the Nelson river. The route crosses the Hudson Bay Railway near Split Lake station.

³Turnor now left Split lake and continued up Nelson river for seven miles to the mouth of Grass river, which is a relatively small tributary flowing into the main stream from the west. Here he left Nelson river, which he calls the Saskatchewan, and began the ascent of Grass river. When he followed the same route in 1792, fourteen years later, he makes the statement that "No European has been up the Saskatchewan between this [mouth of Grass River] and the south track to Cumberland House" at the mouth of the Echimamish river just below Sea Falls.

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25th Friday at 8¼ AM got underway in river about 200 y^{ds} wide the Land on both sides low went about 2 Miles SW, and came into a Lake about 4 Miles wide,¹ went 7 Miles SW b W nearly along the middle of the Lake (was informed we left an other river to N^o) then entered a River about 200 y^{ds} wide and went 12 Miles nearly SW and put up at 2 PM Calm Latter part of the day heavy Rain

1778

Sept 26th Saturday at 7¼ AM got underway in River about 1 Mile wide went 4 Miles and came to a bad leeding place about 100 y^{ds} long, fall about 20 y^{ds} wide, river above the Leeding place about ½ Mile wide, went about 2 Mile and came into a Lake 4 Miles wide with two small Islands at entrance, went about 2 Miles over the middle of the Lake and came to a River went 3 Miles and came to y^e 27th Carr^g place 50 y^{ds} over on N^o side, (the fall about 30 y^{ds} wide between two Rocks on the S^o side the fall a cliff stands nearly perpendicular about 20 f^t high 3 feet thick and 10 feet broad at the distance of about 5 f^t from the Rock) the River above and below the fall about 200 y^{ds} wide, went 3 Miles in River and came to a Lake² Latitude by Observation . . . 55°43' N^o went 17 Miles nearly WSW, the Lake about 7 Miles wide Land Low and full of small Islands put up on an Island at 5¼ PM wind Westerly blows hard with showers of Rain

27th Sunday at 7½ AM got underway in Lake went 4 Miles W and came to y^e 28th Carr^g place ¼ Mile over through a wood into an other Lake (the River which joins the Lake about 2 Miles to N^o) went 9 Miles W leaving the Lake to S^o of us which is about 3 Miles wide & entered a River, went 5 Miles very crooked and came to a very bad Leeding place, went 2 Miles more and came to y^e 29th Carr^g place 500 y^{ds} over, went 1½ Mile and came to a bad leeding place, then went 1 Mile and put up as 5¼ PM,

¹Witchai or Stinking lake.

²Natawahunan or Egg-gathering lake.

the Land Low and Rockey which we passed this day . . .
wind Northerly with snow and Rain most of the day

1778

Sept 28th Monday at 6½ AM got underway in the begining of a Lake about 4 Mile wide with many small Islands in it, went 9 Miles W and came to y^e 30th Carr^g place out of a Bay 150 yards through a wood over an Island into an other part of the Lake, then went 12 Miles WSW and left the Lake to S° and enterd a small River, and went nearly WSW about 5 Miles and came into an other part of the Lake ½ Mile wide, crossed it and enterd a small River and went nearly WSW about 2 Miles and put up at 6¼ PM the Land passed this day Low and Rockey . . . wind NW with showers of Rain & Snow

29th Tuesday at 7 AM got underway went ½ Mile and came to the 31st Carr^g place 20 y^{ds} over a Rock, went ¼ Mile and came to y^e 32nd Carr^g place 700 y^{ds} over through a Wood into a Lake, and went 3 Miles on N° side of y^e Lake, the Lake about 1 Mile wide and came to y^e 33rd Carr^g place 60 y^{ds} through a wood into an other Lake, went 6 Miles in Lake nearly along the middle of it and came to y^e 34th Carr^g place (the Lake about 3 Miles wide when half over the Lake a fall appears on N° side from an other Lake) 34th Carr^g place out of a Sandy Bay ½ Mile through a wood into a Lake, went 3 Miles in Lake about 2 Mile wide and came to y^e 35th Carr^g place 700 y^{ds} through a wood into an other Lake about 3 Miles wide, went 8 Miles nearly SSW and came to y^e 36th Carr^g place 200 y^{ds} through a wood into a Lake¹ 7 or 8 Miles wide with many Islands in it, went 12 Miles nearly SW, and came to, and came unto the Indians Familys being two tents upon an Island where we put up at 7 PM, Land

¹They had continued the ascent of Grass river through Partridge Crop and Paint lakes and had now reached Setting lake, in Cree "Pukatawagan Sakahigan," so called because it was a favourable place for fishing with (or setting) nets. It is a long and comparatively narrow body of light brownish water near the east shore of which now runs the Hudson Bay Railway to Churchill. He remained in camp here for two days till October 1.

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passed this day Low and Rockey, Calm with showers of Rain, in the night the Indians began to be very troublesom often tumbling into our Tent and throughing it down, and very troublesom for Brandy of which a gave them the Last of 8 Gallons which I expend'd upon them in the passage

1778

Sept 30th Wednesday the Indians very troublesom the fore part of this day thretning to take our things from us but by our exerting our selves they desisted more from their timidity than goodness of Hart, at 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM an Indian Boy came to y^e Tent and put the Gun against it and shott into it, but being luckeyly loaded only with Powder did no other damage than Burning a hole in the Tent, at 2 PM the Indians began to disperce at 3 PM was very quiet, was not troubled with them again this day wind W light breeze and clear.

Oct 1st Thursday the Indians being again Sober are quiet and well behaved. The Honourable Hudsons Bay Company may think it imprudent to give the Indians Liquor but without it, it is impossible to get them to doe any thing. . . 10 AM got underway with our two Canoes and an other with two Indian Women, went 5 Miles SW in Lake about 2 Miles wide. . . . Latitude by Observation 54°57' N° entered a River on N° side of the Lake about 150 y^{ds} wide went 4 Miles from WSW to SW and came into the Lake again,¹ the Lake then opens to SW beyond sight, went 1 Mile on N° side of y^e Lake and enterd Grass River, which is about 150 yards wide with little current, the Land Low on both sides, went about 3 Miles from WSW to SSW and put up for the night at 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM wind Southerly with showers of Rain

2nd Friday at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway with our two Canoes leaving the other to return, went 5 Miles and came to a

¹They left Setting lake and ascended the river, which is wide and almost without current, to Packwahigan or Chip lake, not to another part of Setting lake as here stated.

Bay which opens ENE on N^o side the river, went about 2 Miles and the River parts into two Branches¹ of which we followed the N^o branch about 2 Miles and came to y^e 37th Carr^g place² 70 y^{ds} over, the fall about 10 y^{ds} wide, went 2½ Miles and came to y^e 38th Carr^g place 150 y^{ds} over, remained 1 hour on the Carr^g place blowing hard with snow and rain, then went 1½ Mile and came to y^e 39th Carr^g place³ 20 y^{ds} over, went 5 Miles and came to y^e 40th Carr^g place 100 y^{ds} over, went 11 Miles and put up at 6½ PM, the Land passed this day bold and Rocky, the Course this day from SSW to NNW seldom 1 Mile on a Course . . . wind Northerly fresh gale with snow and Rain

Oct 3rd Saturday at 7 AM got underway in River went 1 Mile and came to y^e 41st Carr^g place⁴ 120 y^{ds} over, went 200 y^{ds} and came to y^e 42nd Carr^g place 90 y^{ds} over, went ½ Mile and came to y^e 43rd Carr^g place 150 y^{ds} over, went 14 Miles and came to y^e 44th Carr^g place 50 y^{ds} over, went 1½ Mile and came to y^e 45th Carr^g place 100 y^{ds} over, went 4 Miles and came to the other Branch⁵ then went 5 Miles and put up at 6 PM, wind NW fresh breeze with showers of rain the Land passed this day bold and Rocky . . . at 8 PM began to snow and freeze hard

¹The south branch is the Metishto or Sweat-tent river, which runs north-west of the Hudson Bay Railway for fifty miles or more, while the north branch is the Grass river which the party has been ascending. It is about three miles up stream from the mouth of Metishto river to Wapichigow or Whitewood Falls, where the water drops about thirty feet over a ridge of dark gray granite. The carrying place used by Turnor was only seventy yards long, while the one which I used began from a beach of fine soft sand on the north side of the fall and went through woods of small spruce and poplar for 140 yards to the smooth water above the fall.

²Sigago or Skunk rapid.

³Wapákwachew or White Frost rapid with a drop of ten feet over a ridge of gray granite.

⁴The forty-first and forty-second carrying places are at what are known as the Kanisota or Two falls. The fall at the forty-third carrying place has one almost vertical drop of twelve feet over granite. Between falls the river is a beautiful one to ascend, as it winds between clay banks with plenty of water for canoes, very few rocks, and but slight current.

⁵The other branch is Wuskatasko or Carrot creek, which here flows in from the north.

4th Sunday at 7½ AM got underway went 10 Miles nearly SW in River, then entered a Lake¹ about 2 Miles wide with small Islands in it, went 1½ Mile nearly WSW and came to a Point in the Lake, the Lake then opens West and South. Latitude by Observation 54°52'N., followed the South part of the Lake 1 Mile and came into a River about ¼ Mile wide little Current, went 2 Miles in River nearly SSW and came into the Conjuring or Sweet Herb Lake,² went nearly SW 4 Miles and keeping close on N°. side which is very high and Rocky nearly perpendicular, put up at 2¾ PM wind NW blows hard and very heavy swell in Lake, being few Islands the Land this day bold and Rocky

1778

Oct^r 5th Monday The fore part of this day continuing to blow as yesterday at 2¼ PM began to moderate at which time we got underway, went on NE side to gain the windward shore then crossed and left several small Islands to N° of us, the last of which there was 5 Canoes of Indians upon, at 4½ PM had crossed the Lake and went into a bay about ¼ Mile wide & ½ Mile Long at the end of which appears a fall³ about 10 feet wide by the S°. side of which is a Carr^s place being the 46th (the Course over the Lake nearly WSW when entered upwards an opening appears about SSW and when about 2 Miles within the Lake it opens ENE both openings farther than I could see, the Lake about 8 Miles over the way we goe with few Islands and those small), 46th Carr^s place 600 y^{ds} over into a small River very crooked, went about 3 Miles and came to a Bay about 1 Mile wide to N°, went ¾ Mile the River then ½ Mile wide with severall small Islands, went 7 Miles and came to Gun Lake,⁴ went 7 Miles in Lake and came to the 47th Carr^s place 40 y^{ds} over (the Lake in some

¹This small lake is known as Crow Duck (Cormorant) Bay.

²They now enter Wekusko or Sweet-herb lake, with bright clear water and bold and rocky shores.

³Wekusko Fall, a triple fall with a total drop of about forty-five feet. The portage is 575 yards long through spruce and windfall on the east side of the river to a clay plain beside the quiet stream at the head of the falls.

⁴The long narrow lake here called Gun lake is now known as Tramping lake.

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places about 3 Miles wide with several large Islands in it) being 9½ PM put up on the Carr^g place. . . . Calm and sharp frost

6th Tuesday at 7¼ AM got underway in a shole river about 20 y^{ds} wide went 4 Miles from NW to SE and came to a fall which the Canoes where Led up, went about 1 Mile more and came to a fall and led about 300 y^{ds} and came to y^e 48th Carr^g place 540 y^{ds} over, went ¼ Mile and came to y^e 49th Carr^g place 50 y^{ds} over, went 3 Miles more course nearly as at enterance and left the River on a course nearly W b N, and enterd a Lake¹ nearly about the middle, the Lake then opens North and South being about 8 Miles wide with many Large Islands in it, went nearly in middle of the Lake 13 Miles WSW and enterd a River about 15 y^{ds} wide, went about 2 Miles and came to the 50th Carr^g place 160 y^{ds} over and put up at 5 PM, the Indians refusing to goe farther on account of y^e coldness of the weather, wind NW fresh gales with showers of Rain.² In puting up found the bottle of Quick Silver was left on the uper side of the 49th Carr^g place by Will^m Lutit taking out of the Canoe without my knowledge after I had lashed it in, he thinking the Canoe was Leakey, I could not get the Indians to return for it they being fearfull of being weather sett, or should have sent Rob^r Davey and Will^m Lutit with them, the Land passed this day Low and Rocky

Oct^r 7th Wednesday at 7¼ AM got underway went 2 Miles NW

¹Pipekwanusko Sakahigan or Reed lake, on which both the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company subsequently built fur-trading posts, for the lake abounds in trout and whitefish, and there are groves of fine large spruce on its shores suitable for building.

²They had already made a good day's travel, had crossed a lake on which they were very liable to be delayed by storms at this season of the year, and the winter was approaching fast, but when they camped that night Turnor found that his second and last bottle of quicksilver had been left on the portage on the other side of the lake, the first bottle having been lost in a rapid on the Nelson river. Without it he would not be able to take observations for latitude or longitude except on rare occasions, such as on the shore of a large lake where he would be able to get a water horizon, or by using quiet water itself as a reflector. Whether he subsequently recovered this quicksilver or not is nowhere stated.

with much difficulty being obliged to break our way through the Ice with a pole and came to y^e 51st Carr^g place 150 y^{ds} over, went 4 Miles from NW to SW and came to the 52nd Carr^g place 180 y^{ds} over, went 1 Mile and came to a Lake about 5 Miles wide, went 4 Miles WSW leaving the Lake to N^o of us and entered a River very narrow, when in the middle about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile wide, went 5 Miles nearly WSW then $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile NNE and entered a Lake about 5 or 6 Miles wide, went 2 Miles N^o keeping close on the W side then 5 Miles WNW keeping close on South side (a few Islands in the Lake on N^o side) entered a small river, went 7 Miles nearly NW and came to y^e 53rd Carr^g place 180 y^{ds} over, went 1 Mile and came to y^e 54th Carr^g place 250 y^{ds} over, went 300 yards and came to y^e 55th Carr^g place 200 y^{ds} over, and put up at 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ PM, wind variable Westerly blows hard with much snow most of the day, the Land passed this day Low and Rocky

1778

Oct^r 8th Thursday at 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway in River 30 y^{ds} wide (light wind Westerly with snow) went 3 Miles NE (bein obliged to break the Ice with a Pole most part of the way) entered a Lake¹ about 3 Miles wide, went 1 Mile N^o keeping close on the W side then turned a point and went 2 Miles SSW (being obliged to break the Ice with a pole) entered Elbow River being about 6 or 7 yards wide went about 16 Miles not making above 5 Miles SSW going seldom 100 y^{ds} on a Course, the Land at the distance of 400 y^{ds} bold and Rocky the River then opens about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile wide, went 1 Mile SSW (being obliged to cut the Ice with a hatchet) then entered a Lake² about 9 or 10 Miles wide with few Islands in it, went 14 Miles nearly SW b W and put up on the N^o side the Lake at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM . . . wind variable Westerly with showers of snow all the day, the Land passed in this Lake Low and Rocky

¹Elbow lake, which is situated at a sharp bend in the river, has the appearance, to one ascending the river, of a very irregular set of long lanes of water, stretching northward between rocky ridges.

²Cranberry lake is about eighteen miles long in a general N.E.-S.W. direction,

9th Friday at 7 AM got underway in Lake went SW about 7 Miles and came to the Cranbury Carr^g place (being the hight of the Land in this track to Cumberland House the Current afterwards going with us) was obliged to cut our way through the Ice with a Hatchet 60 yards to the Carr^g, the Carr^g place 1½ Mile over through a wood into Lake nearly SW, then went 4 Miles SSW in Lake (the Lake about 3 Mile wide) entered a small river,¹ went 2 Miles nearly SW (small current with us) and came to y^e 57th Carr^g place 280 y^{ds} over, went ¼ Mile and came to y^e 58th Carr^g place 60 y^{ds} over, went 1 Mile in very shole water and came to y^e 59th Carr^g place 270 y^{ds} over, Went ¼ Mile and came to y^e 60th Carr^g place 130 y^{ds} over, went 1 Mile and entered the Goose Lake² went 4 Miles in Lake SW b W and put up on a small Island at 7 PM, not being able to stand the swell (the Lake 6 or 7 Miles wide with several small Islands in it Wind SW blows hard clear weather

Oct^r 10th Saturday at 6½ AM got underway in Lake went about 7 Miles nearly SW b W (Lake about 9 or 10 Mile wide with a few large Islands, in this part was obliged to break the Ice with a pole the greatest part of the way and some-

with two constrictions dividing it into three parts. The shores are generally well wooded. It is the source of the Grass river, and at a little marsh in a narrow bay at its south west end is the Cranberry Portage which crosses the watershed dividing the waters which flow north-eastward into Nelson river, from those which flow southward into Saskatchewan river. Cranberry Portage is a mile and a third in length over an almost level plain of clay and sand wooded with poplar and Banksian pine, beneath which the ground is covered with bear berries, blue berries and cranberries. Since I saw it last the railway from The Pas to Flin Flon and Sheritt-Gordon mines has been built across it, and the town of Cranberry Portage is located on it, so that it probably has not improved in appearance.

¹Embarking on a sandy beach at the east end of Athapapuskow lake, they crossed the east bay of that lake, on the south side of which they entered Goose river. The lake itself extends about nineteen miles farther west.

²They descended Goose river, which is about a hundred yards wide and three and a half miles long, to Goose lake. Its water is clear, and its bottom is mostly of sand or boulders, while the low clay banks are wooded to the waters edge. The lake is roughly rectangular in shape, about four miles wide and ten long, while its shore in many places consists of a ridge of boulders, behind which is level country wooded with poplar. At the bottom of a funnel-shaped bay at the south-west end of this lake, Goose river leaves it, being here wide, with marshy banks that extend back to low woods.

times to cut it with a hatchet the Canoe I was in received so much damage with the Ice that we was obliged to keep throughing the water out with a Pott for about 1 hour before we could get on shore to repair the damage) and came to a River about 400 yards wide (and was obliged to cut our way with a hatchet about 1 Mile) went 12 Miles in River nearly SW the current strong with us and came to y^e 61st Carr^g place was obliged to cut our way through Ice with a hatchet to come to the Carr^g place being commonly 1200 y^{ds} through a wood but was obliged to Carry 1500 y^{ds}, being so much Ice went about 4 Miles and passed a small river to North of us¹ (which Leeds to the Northward and round upon the back of Churchill which track the Canadians goe in the spring and remain all the winter) went 2 Miles and came to *Pine Island Lake*,² at which place we found a Canoe belonging to Blondeaux³ a Canadian Trader, six men belongs to the Canoe which were building a House to Winter, there was one Tent of Indians with them, Wind Westerly fresh breeze and cloudy

1778

Oct^r 11th Sunday at 5¼ AM got underway in Pine Island Lake went about 12 Miles the Lake then opens on both sides about 6 or 7 Miles then went 2 Miles SSW keeping the S^o side, then went 3 Miles S^o and left a Large part of the Lake to North, the part we went about 3 Miles wide, the Lake then opens E^t about 6 or 7 Miles and about 5 or 6 Miles wide, went 5 Miles SSW the Lake all this last Course drawing narrower to about ¼ Mile wide then went 2 Miles S^o, the Lake then about 2 Mile wide went 2 Miles S b E in narrow part not more than ¼ Mile wide,

¹He had now reached the confluence of the Goose and Sturgeon-Weir rivers, the latter of which is however at least twice as wide as the former so that his designation of it as a "small river" is hardly correct. The Sturgeon-Weir river was the stream ascended by Turnor in 1790, when he went north to survey Athabaska lake.

²He reached Pine Island, or rather Namew or Sturgeon lake at Sturgeon Landing, where Blondeau's men were building a house, probably the first house that was built at this place, which has been more or less continuously inhabited ever since.

³See note on p. 159.

the Lake then about 2 Miles wide went SW about 6 Miles the Lake drawing to about 1 Mile wide came to a point & saw Cumberland House bearing SSW about $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile, arrived at Cumberland House at 4 PM

1778

Oct^r 15th Thursday this day the Lake apparently sett over with Ice

Dec^r 5th Saturday from the time of my arrival at Cumberland House have imployed my self in making all the Obervations in my Power for Longitude, as likewise necessary Observations for Latitude, by making use of Water instead of Quick Silver, but the frost being now so sharp am not able to gett an Observation for time, water freezing so exceeding fast and if warmed it steamed the Glass immediately

1779

Feb^y 23rd Tuesday the weather being turned warmer began again to take Observations for Longitude

March 4th Thursday no Packet having been received from Robert Longmore, this day began to get my things in readiness to proceed up the Saskashawan River, being fearfull of waiting any longer for the Packet men, the thaw now coming on a pace¹

March 5th Friday Proceeded for the Settlement up the Saskashawan River in Company with Geo. Hudson,² Will^m Walker³ and Robert Davey⁴ being provided with 11 days

¹On September 27, 1778, Robert Longmoor, with ten "Englishmen" and six Indians, had left Cumberland to go up the Saskatchewan river as far as the upper Canadian settlement at the Eagle Hills, but no word had been received from him. It was uncertain how far he had been able to go, and what success he had had in competing with the Canadians for the furs caught by the Indians. A packet was evidently due to arrive from Longmoor, and Turnor intended to go back with the Indians or men who would bring it, in order that he might determine the position of the trading post, if one had been established, and also to learn the general conditions of the trade in that quarter. Since the packet had not come, and since the ice on the river was being thawed by the bright sun of the lengthening days, so that it would soon be difficult to travel on the ice except at night, when it would be impossible to see the course of the river and the character of the adjoining country, Turnor set off up the river on his first long snowshoe tramp, leaving his relatively comfortable quarters at Cumberland House behind him.

²See note on p. 198.

³William Walker was born about 1753, and was in 1768 apprenticed to the

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provisions which was all M Tomison could with propriety spare being little provision in the House, was provided with three good dogs which drew my Instruments and our provisions left the House at 8 AM

1779

March 7th Sunday at 11 AM mett Charles Isham¹ and James Lisk² going with a Packet from Robert Longmore to Cumberland House, in company with two Canadians going with a Packet to the people of the Canoe which Wintered in Pine Island Lake, they informed us they had been twelve days in coming down having their track to proceed in Will^m Walker returned to Cumberland House³

8th Monday mett 5 Indians going to Cumberland House with Furrs and Provisions of whom I traded a small quantity of Provisions

11th Thursday having snowed and blowd hard was not able to keep the track, the Ice being rough and the snow deep was obliged to haul our sleds the dogs not being able, at night lay at the ruins of an old House formerly occupied by Finlay a Canadian Trader⁴

Hudson's Bay Company at York Factory for seven years. In 1775 he became a "writer", proceeded to Cumberland House, whence he was sent inland up the Saskatchewan river in 1775, 1776, 1777 and 1778, before accompanying Turnor on this present trip. He afterwards took charge at various times of Cumberland House, Hudson House, South Branch House, and Manchester House, and he had been appointed to succeed Tomison at York Factory when he died, at South Branch House, on October 13, 1792.

⁴See note on p. 198.

¹See note on p. 173.

²James Lisk [Leask, Leesk] entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1773, and was employed as "labourer" at York Factory and inland until 1782, when he retired and left York Fort on the *King George*, just before its capture by the French. In 1774 he had gone with Cocking on his attempt to carry supplies to Hearne at "Basquiau".

³They had been travelling up the river on the snow-covered ice for a little more than two days, when they met the packet men coming to Cumberland House in company with two "Canadians" who were going to the house that had been built in the previous October by Blondeau's men at Sturgeon Landing. From this time on the travel would be easier, as they would be able to walk in the snow-shoe and sled track made by the packet men.

⁴James Finlay, a native of Scotland, was the first Montreal fur trader of whom we have any definite record to reach the Saskatchewan river after the cession of Canada to the British in 1763. In 1768 he ascended the Saskatchewan river for 350 miles above its mouth to a point on its south bank a little below Nipowin rapids, which would be about 135 miles by the course of the stream

- 12th Friday hauld our sleds the first part of the day the Ice then not so rough, made our dogs take the sleds again¹
 13th Saturday at 10 AM passed the Ruins of a trading house formerly Occupied by Will^m Holmes in trust for Forbisher & C^o.²
 15th Monday arrived at a House built by John Cole for Grave³ but never inhabited, remained there all night
 17th Wednesday arrived at two Houses on the North side the River,⁴ the one inhabited by Blondeaux the other by

above the location where Cumberland House was built six years afterwards, where he occupied a trading house which had been built by "Franceway", and remained for the winter of 1768-9. During the following summer he took the cargo of rich furs which he had collected down to Montreal. Here he became a commissioner of the peace and inspector of chimneys. He was one of the twelve leading citizens who signed the capitulation of Montreal to Montgomery on November 12, 1775. In 1785 he was one of the charter members of the Beaver Club. He died in Montreal in 1797.

Mathew Cocking passed on August 9, 1772, an "old Pedler's House", twenty-two miles above another "old Pedler's House" which he had passed the previous day at Pemmican Point, and states that "One Mr. Finley from Montreal resided in it five years ago". ("An adventurer from Hudson Bay." Trans. Roy. Soc. Can., 1908. Ser. III, Volume II, Sect. II, p. 101). Also manuscript log in Hudson's Bay House.

About the end of January 1776, Alexander Henry Sr., who doubtless knew Finlay personally, passed the house and stated "We saw the old wintering ground of Mr. Finlay, who had left it some years before." (Alexander Henry, *Travels and adventures in Canada*. New York, 1809, p. 268).

In May 1779 Turnor "came to the ruins of a house on the south side which was inhabited by one Finley, where he is said to have cleared upwards of Three thousand pounds in one winter".

On one of the maps in Sir John Franklin's *Narrative* (London, 1823), "Finlay's House" is marked at the "Lower Nippewien", where Thompson places "Finlay's Fall."

The position of Finlay's Fall, doubtless in the vicinity of Finlay's old trading store, was definitely located by David Thompson when he descended and surveyed the river in 1794, the following being an extract from his notes for four miles above and below the Falls, which he places 1° 34' 23" of longitude West of Cumberland House. The bearings refer to the true meridian. N 73 E $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, N 33 E $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S 67 E $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N 68 E $\frac{1}{2}$ m, S 77 E 1 m, S 2 E $\frac{1}{4}$ m. The Neepoin by Mr. Ross. Middle of Co. the Canadian Houses, of Messrs. Mccloud & Porter 93 and 94. S 13 W $\frac{1}{4}$ m, S 62 E $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N 73 E $\frac{1}{4}$ m, N 43 E $\frac{1}{2}$ m, Finlays Fall. N 22 W $\frac{1}{4}$, S 77 E $\frac{1}{4}$, N 7 W $\frac{3}{4}$, N 3 E 1, N 53 E $\frac{1}{2}$, N 13 E $\frac{1}{2}$, N 33 E $\frac{1}{4}$, N 73 E $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹About twenty miles or so below Finlay's house, at or near Pemmican Point, Turnor had passed the site or ruins of an old French house without noticing it. It is mentioned by Cocking as "an Old Trading House belonging to the French Pedlers, before the conquest of Quebec." (*Loc. Cit.*, pp. 101).

²For a fuller account of this trading post see p. 17 *et seq.*

³This house was situated on the north bank of the North Saskatchewan about three miles above the mouth of the south branch. See p. 230.

⁴They had now arrived at the Canadian trading settlement on the north

Robert Grant by their intreatment I staid all night with
M^r Blondeaux whoe treated me with the greatest respect

1779

March 18th Thursday I intended to have proceeded this morning but M^r Blondeaux's men had taken our dogs to fetch meat therefore was obliged to stay this day, M^r Blondeaux talks no English M^r Robert Grant being of North Britain acted as our linguist, they seemed very desirous to know my Business as they had been informed by some Indians which was at Cumberland House in the fall that there was such a person coming, I informed them I was going to help Rob^t Longmore, with respect to the Instruments, I had them some years since with intent to goe to the South Seas but being disappointed had always

bank of the North Saskatchewan river situated on a level alluvial plain just below the mouth of Setting or Sturgeon river, in a forest of small poplar. The site is in North Latitude 53° 12' 30" in Sect. 10, Tp. 49, Range 27, west of the 2nd Meridian, opposite and a little above the city of Prince Albert. No signs of the settlement now remain except a clearing in the edge of the woods, any vestiges of chimneys, cellars, etc., having doubtless been washed away by the Saskatchewan, which has there been wearing away its north bank.

Peter Pond, an old experienced Indian trader in western America, and afterwards one of the partners of the North West Company, had ascended the Saskatchewan river with Alexander Henry and Joseph and Thomas Frobisher in 1775, but had separated from them and turned south to spend the winter at Lake Dauphin. He came to this place in the autumn of 1776, and remained here trading with the Indians for two winters, but he did not come alone. On his map of 1790 is the following inscription above this place on the river, "Ft. Prairie Capt. Pond wintered 2 yrs with 160 men". As all these men were not in his employ it is evident that the inhabitants of Fort à la Corne, the Fort des Prairies of 1775-6 visited by Alexander Henry, abandoned that place in the summer of 1776, and moved farther up the river, settling at the mouth of Setting river. Now two years later, Blondeau and Robert Grant were the only two traders remaining here, while the others had ascended the river still farther, and the total force on the river had increased from 160 to about 300 men. Blondeau was a partner of Peter Pangman. (See note on p. 159).

Robert Grant was born in Scotland in 1752. He was at Pine Fort on the Assiniboine river in 1787, and was for a time in charge of the Red River department of the North West Company. In 1790 he subscribed five guineas to the St. Gabriel Street Church in Montreal. He returned to Scotland in 1794, and he died on August 16, 1801.

On September 23, 1792, Peter Fidler was here, and wrote of it as follows:—"An old Canadian House, or Houses burnt down, that no less than 6 different companies remained here, in separate Houses, but all within the same stockades. Mr. Blondeau wintered here in 1779 and is commonly called Blondeaus House—all the Houses are now burnt down, and nobody has been here these several years past, about 1/8 of a mile higher up the Sturgeon or Setting river falls in here. This is the same river that we intended coming thro' from the Isle à la Crosse last June [1792] if the Indian had met us there at the time previously appointed."

chose to carry my Instruments with me for my own amusement do not think they believe it, they seemed to wish to turn the Conversation upon the Hon^{ble} Hudsons Bay Companys Charter, I informed them I knew nothing of it or did it concern me, they seemed consious they were infringing upon it as they said it gave the Honourable Company a right to all waters falling into the Bay of which they them selves are convinced the Saskashawan River does, upon the whole their treatment was exceeding Genteel, as I have been informed M^r Blondeaux's ever was to the Honourable Companys Servants

19th Friday at 6 PM arrived at the House in which Robert Longmore had Wintered,¹ which House belongs to M^r

¹He had now reached his destination at the trading settlement to which Robert Longmoor had come in the previous autumn.

The exact position of this early trading post has not been definitely determined, but it is probably the place indicated on David Thompson's survey of the Saskatchewan river in 1794 as Hudson House by Turnor, for it is the only place on the river above Prince Albert at which Turnor lived. It would appear to have been situated on the west bank of the river not far from Silver Grove, somewhere between Sections 18 and 32, Tp. 46, Range 3, West of the 3rd Meridian. We have seen on page 59 that Humphrey Marten, Chief at York Fort, instructed Tomison in a letter dated September 9, 1778, that "The New Settlement, for distinction sake, you may call Hudson House." There is no evidence here that the buildings had a stockade around them, rather they seem to have been merely a scattered group of huts.

This was probably as far up the Saskatchewan river as the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company had occupied any sort of permanent establishment at that time, for in giving his authorities for his great map of the world, Henry Roberts says "The discoveries from York to Cumberland and Hudson House (this last is the most western settlement belonging to the [Hudson's Bay] Company) extending to Lake Winnipeg, from the draft of Mr. Philip Turnor made in 1778 and 1779, corrected by astronomical observations. (Cook's *Third voyage*. London, 1784. Introduction, p. lxxx. On p. 50 of this introduction the latitude of Hudson House is given as 53° 0' 32" which, if correct, would place it in Section 32 of the above township, but we wonder if he had recovered that bottle of quicksilver to form a good artificial horizon for his sextant observations. However, this latitude is taken as correct by David Thompson). Peter Fidler ascended and surveyed this portion of the river in 1792, after his return from lake Athabaska. On September 24 he "arrived at [Lower] Hudson House on the north side, a small creek just below the House & a small Island of willows with a few small pines opposite the House & close to the North shore. It was built in 1779 abandoned for the South Branch being so near—in 1787 & burnt to ashes by the Canadians last year—several islands below the House, a little way below 2 of pine, and the rest of poplar, birch &c."

Eleven miles farther up the river he came to Upper Hudson house. His distance is three or four miles too short, but the shape of the river according to his survey, both below and above the house, corresponds very accurately with its true shape. From this survey, the position of these old houses is indicated as being in the north half of Section 19 Township 46 Range 3 West of the Third

Blondeaux he informed me when he came to Blondeaux's Settlement, that he wanted them to stay at the same place & at the same time offer'd him a house and Provisions which he did not think prudent to accept being resolved to get as high as possible, when he reached this place the River was so full of Ice that he could not proceed any farther, Blondeaux having two Houses upon this spot offerd one of them to Longmore¹ which he thought most prudent to accept, there being then three trading Houses within 200 yards exclusive of Longmore, one in possession of Gibosh² in trust for Wadding,³ one in possession of Holmes⁴ & Graves⁵ & an other in possession of Nicholas⁶ in trust for Blondeaux likewise about ten small Houses inhabited by their men, which in fact are trading Houses every one of their men being a trader, being so many houses built upon the spot they had used all the timber which is proper for building being nothing but very large Poplar left

March 20th
to 31st Mett with nothing remarkable

Meridian, about three miles below Wingards Ferry. Fidler refers to it as follows: "An old Canadian House on the North side where Mr. Philip Turner remained the spring of 1779 and made all his astronomical observations here. No part of the House is now standing."

¹Robert Grant and the other Canadian traders evidently welcomed Longmoor, Turnor and the other employees of the Hudson's Bay Company, as additions to the strength of the European population among the Indians. They believed that there were furs enough for all if the Indians could only be induced to hunt for them, and the chief evil result of competition would be that the Indians would be paid too much for their furs, and thus that their wants would be satisfied with too little exertion on their part and too little profit to the traders.

²Gibosh is probably a vernacular corruption for Gibeau, or some similar French name. I have not found any information about him except what is stated here.

³This was Jean-Etienne Waden, a Swiss protestant who was engaged in the fur-trade in the West for a number of years. In 1772 he was granted a license to take a canoe and eight men to Grand Portage. In the winter of 1780-1, when at Lac la Ronge, he was killed in an altercation with Peter Pond.

⁴When David Thompson made a survey of the Saskatchewan river in 1794 he mentions Holmes's island as being five and a half (it is actually six and a half) miles below the mouth of Sturgeon river; and Alexander Henry Jr. in 1808 speaks of "old fort Providence" on this island. It is a tradition that some traders lived in the fort on Holmes's island during the small pox epidemic of 1781, and by keeping away from the Indians managed to escape infection. Holmes and Grant

April 1st Thursday this morning received an invitation from Will^m Holmes to take a breakfast with him which Robert Longmore and I accepted thinking it prudent to learn every thing in my power from them but at the same time conceal as much as possible my business, in course of our conversation he informed me the Canadian traders in that River except Blondeaux had then entered into a General Partnership,¹ and they expected he would likewise join them, and that they intend Building one large House at the place where Blondeaux is now settled, and to keep only that one House in this River, should that take place I think the Honourable Companys Servants will stand a much better chance of trade then at present, there now being in this River about Six days paddle above Robert Longmore,² a *Settlement* which belongs to M^cCormack,³ Greaves, Pangman, Blondeaux, Holmes, Grant & Gebosh, it was first settled by Pangman, M^cCormack, & Gebosh, Greaves having a great number of men hauled his goods up as soon as the River set fast, they found they should have ruined each other had they

had two shares in the sixteen-share compnay of 1779, and Holmes had one share in the North West Company in 1784, which he in 1790 sold to John Gregory.

⁵Booty Graves, an Englishman, was a partner of Peter Pond in the fur-trade in 1775. They were on the Saskatchewan river together in the winter of 1777-8, but when Pond went to the Athabaska river in the spring of 1778, Graves remained on the Saskatchewan.

⁶Nicholas Montour was a French Canadian clerk for Frobisher and Company. He is here serving as clerk and trader for Blondeau at Hudson House. He was afterwards a member of the North West Company, having two shares in the sixteen-share company of 1784, and later two shares in the twenty-share company of 1790. He retired from the Company about 1792, and acquired the seigniority of Pointe du Lac, Lower Canada, to which he retired. In 1792 he subscribed five guineas to the St. Gabriel Street Church in Montreal. He was a member of the Legislature of Lower Canada from 1796 to 1800. He died on August 6, 1808.

¹This was one of the early agreements which finally led up to the formation of the North West Company. This latter company was divided into sixteen shares. The agreement was signed at Quebec in April 1780, and the signatures were:—"Todd and McGill; Ben and Jos. Frobisher; McGill and Paterson; Mc-Tavish & Co.; Holmes and Grant; Wadden & Co.; McBeath & Co.; Ross & Co.; Oakes & Co."

²At Montagne d'Aigle fort, nine miles below the mouth of Battle river.

³Charles McCormick, a native of Ireland, was on the Saskatchewan river at Sturgeon River Fort with Peter Pond in 1777-8, and up the river at Eagle Hill Fort in 1778-9, when Turnor was at Hudson House.

not enterd into a General Partnership, when they came into the River in the fall of y^e year Blondeaux & Pangman where in Partnership as likewise was Greaves, Holmes & Grant

April 4th Sunday a gang of stone Indians came in which had been with Robert Longmore for Tobacco on March 31st but finding he had no Liquor they went to W^m Holmes a Canadian trader who took them within his stockadoes and Locked them up and would not let them out untill they had traded every skin with him, which I find he has made a practice of doing all the winter, and upon Magnus Twatt one of the Honourable Companys Servants finding fault with his taking a gang from them, the said William Holmes beat and ill used him without any farther provocation, if such things is allowed the Honourable Company need not expect much trade from any other than the Southern Indians, which Indians they dare not treat in that manner, had the Honourable Company about 50 or 60 Men in this River they would be able to trade all the Goods they could get up, as with a less a number no settlement in this River can be carried on with spirit, as they will be always imposed upon by the Canadians being about 300 of them in this River, but should their Scheme of a general partnership take place, I do not apprehend they would have above half the number was there of the Honourable Companys Servants full one third of the number of the Canadians they always would be able to defend them selves against any insult from the Canadians, the Canadians have greatly the advantage of the Honourable Company in getting goods in Land as five of their men with one Canoe will carry as much goods as ten of the Honourable Companys Servants can with 5 Canoes, the Canadians Canoes being from 24 feet Long 4 f^t 8 In^s wide & 21 In^s deep to 27 feet Long 5 feet wide & 2 feet deep, but according to the best accounts I can learn the track they go is much better then the track near York fort, and an other advantage which they have is they

come before the current into Sea Lake¹ which is when they have the heaviest cargo but they seldom come in with the Loss of less than one tenth of their Canoes, and often loose goods and all, *I am of opinion that the Honourable Company have not lost less then 500 made beaver in Wolves Beaver & Foxes by this one gang of Indians for want of goods*

April 20th Tuesday at 7 AM 4 Southern Indians came for tobacco but finding the Honourable Companys Servants had no Liquor went to Will^m Holmes and got tobacco, and where made drunk before they went away, and had a man sent on Horse back with them and carried a quantity of Liquor with him to give the Indians before they came to the House which has been his practice all the Winter, at 2 PM the Indians arrived being a Large gang and had with them upwards of Thirty Horses well Loaded and a great number of Dogs, the Indians when they arrived where most of them drunk, it was with great difficulty they perswaded the Indians to Tent by them, they said they did not come to trade with them but with Robert Longmore, and said the Englishmen where their Country men, they seemed very much dissatisfied and very hard to convince that the Honourable Company's Servants could want goods, they traded every thing which Longmore had which they where in want of, the men traded every thing they had and every man seemed much concerned at seeing so many good Furrs going to the Canadians only for the want of Goods, the Loss upon this gang of Indians would amount to 1500 Made Beaver at least, mostly in Beaver with a few Wolves, Foxes & Martins, so that the Loss upon the two Gangs may be supposed to amount to Two Thousand made Beaver, exclusive of others that would have come had not the news spread amongst the Indians, this same gang hard that the Liquor was gone but would not believe it, a thing of this kind is soon known all over this part of the Country as they have constantly young men going from one party to the other

¹Lake Winnipeg.

April 25th Sunday at 9 AM two Canoes belonging to Geboch came down the River and informed us that they had been obliged to fly and leave above half their Furs and all their goods and provisions (to the amount of 25 Tents, of Indians supposed to amount to 120 Men or upwards) had fallen upon them and killed John Cole¹ *formerly a servant to Honourable Hudsons Bay Company* and one man belonging to Peter Pangman, that in return they had killed 2 Indians and wounded 2 More, this ingagement hapned on Thursday the 22nd April, that they then got a sessation of arms by giving them 5 kegs of Rum containing about 40 gallons, and great quantity of other goods, on Friday morning they gave them an other keg of Rum containing about 8 Gallons and offered them all their goods if they would lett them goe with their Furs

¹Peter Fidler was at this place on October 1, 1792, and gives the following account of the hostile attack by the Indians:—

“An Old Canadian Settlement on the North side, called Coles House—that those went too that left the Pidgeons House [11½ miles] below—In the Spring of the Year 17 [sic] the Indian shot Mr. Cole one of the Canadian masters here within the Stockades, on acct. of some very bad usage the Indian had previously received from him—this Cole had a very irriscrable Temper, & frequently ill using the Natives without any just cause—the Indians to the numbers of near 200 entered the Houses (as there was 2 or 3 different companies within the same stockades) & pillaged everything to the amount of 2 or 3 Large canoe Cargoes of Goods—which they distributed amongst them—they never offered any violence to any of the rest of the People, but only insisted on their immediately leaving the place with only the necessaries they had on—They went away in canoes & only One Man a Mr. Louis Chestellain a Canadian Clerk remained behind as the Indians had a great liking for him & they returned him 2 Canoes load of Furs, for himself—as they had taken all of them along with the Goods. & in a few days after, some of them, that was the best beloved by the Indians returned & brought Mr. Chestellain & the 2 Canoe Loads of furs they had from him—all the rest or nearly all was Traded from the Indians, the enseuing fall.”

David Thompson, when descending and making a survey of the river in 1794, notes a place “Where Mr. Cole was killed” nine miles below the mouth of Battle river, which would place it in Section 21, Tp. 42, Range 15, west of the 3rd Meridian.

Alexander Henry Jr., who passed here on September 9, 1808, while ascending the river, speaks of the place as follows:—“Passed Fort Montagne d’Aigle, now a heap of ruins, in a low bottom on the north side. This is the place where the traders who wintered in 1779-80 [should be 1778-9] had a battle with the Crees in the spring of 1780 [1779] when one of the traders was killed by a Canadian [sic] and one Cree. The traders were obliged to abandon their property to the mercy of the Indians, who pillaged and destroyed most of it.” (Elliott Coues, *New light on the early history of the Greater North West*. New York 1897, p. 498.)

Other accounts of this unfortunate occurrence are given by David Thompson in his *Narrative* (Champlain Society Publications, Volume XII), and by Alexander Mackenzie in his *Voyages* (London, 1801), p. xiii.

which they refused, and said they would have all their goods and kill them afterwards, this day I was preparing to go up the River with intent to settle the Latitude and Longitude of the place where the Canadians Wintered, but as this disturbance has hapned I think it most prudent to decline it untill we have a farther account

April 26th Monday this morning was informed the Indians had said to the Canadians they where sett on by the Honourable Companys Servants which I believe to be an intire falshood but I suppose it would be hard to convince them to the contrary, as I have been well informed the french Canadians have often tried to sett them upon the Honourable Companys Servants without success, therefore think it most prudent to decline any expedition up the River, as had I gone up with Charles Isham as intended, they would have been convinced in their oppinions that the Indian information was right, as Charles Isham is well beloved by the Indians and taulks the Language exceeding well, the Canadians have an exceeding peak against Charles Isham but had better hurt any other Englishman as his death would be revenged both by the English and Indians. I this morning was likewise informed the Indians was in full possession of the Canadians Houses that Gebosh had brought 15 Packs of Furrs with him and had left 17 Packs of the best Furrs, at 5 PM Rob^t Longmore and my self was sent for by Will^m Holmes who informed us that his men was much sett against us and likewise against every Englishman upon that spot and insisted they had sett the Indians against the Canadians and said if the People which was at the uper settlement was killed they would not let one Englishman pass the setting River (the setting river is about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile above Blondeaux's House), Holmes was setting with a brace of Pistols & a Cutlass and Powder and Ball before him to defend himself against his own men, we where informed by a French Canadian that Geboch had set the French Canadians on, at 6 PM 6 Canoes arrived from the Canadians uper settlement with

most of their Furrs and all their Men except the two before mentioned, they informed us they had not killed any Indian but has wounded three that the Indians had taken from them exclusive of what they first gave them as follows, 30 Kegs of Rum containing about 240 Gallons, 5 CW^t of black Tobacco (which is made in imitation of the Honourable Companys but is much smaller) 9 CW^t of Gun Powder 7 CW^t of Ball 3 Guns and bale Goods such as Blankets Cloth &^c and Ironwork to a great amount much more than the proportion of Liquor, they informed them that they intended serving the Honourable Company Servants in the same maner, but we where not inclined to believe the Indians greatly set against us, one great reason of the Indians falling upon the Canadians at that settlement was, between M^cCormac and Geboch they are said to have Poised an Indian called Ke-pouche it is said this Indian with the gang belonged to went to them in the fall, and that this Indian was very troublesom, therefore they gave him a Glass of Laudanum which put him into a lasting sleep, at an other time M^cCormack is said to have cut their Tents in peices, and the Indians do not like any traders should be so high in their Country as it keeps them very poor, they often go four or five with one skin and drink it so that the time they should be hunting they are runing backwards and forwards to the traders and when they leave the traders they have no one single necessary, which made them determin to fall upon them in the spring partly to revenge the death of the Indian and partly for the goods they should get from them, the Indians did not behave as they ever have in other cases of the like nature come upon them In the night, but it was a publick taulk all the Winter and at last Twenty Five Tents came and encamped upon a Hill close above their settlement, and are said to have stolen a Horse belonging to Cole, and that Cole thretned to shoot the Indians Horses if they did not fetch him back, one of the young men said he knowed he was bold but to provide him self for he would shoot him

the next day in his own house or at his own door and he might go and hunt for his horse in safety for he would not take that advantage of him, accordingly the next morning an old Indian man came and made a speech desiring the Frenchmen to get up and not lay to be killed in their beds, to arm themselves for the Indians was coming to kill them, M^cCormack's Linguist asked the man to come in and smoke a Pipe but M^cCormack refused letting him smoke, but desired his Linguist to tell him to put on Petticoats that he was only an old Woman and that he would cut his tongue out which his Linguist refused, M^cCormack then sent for Cole who was fond of such an office and fully executed his orders, the Indian said it was well and went and striped their Tents and packed up their things and about 10 AM the Indians came down the hill in small parties and stood a time and looked at the Canadians as they were dividing and packing their furs, after they had looked on some time one of them shot —
 → Cole in the Breast and killed him on the spot, one of —
 Peter Pangmans men ran after him but he got his gun loaded again and shot him in the Belly of which he died in about 12 hours, there was only this one Indian armed at this time but another was in M^cCormacks House waiting to kill him as soon as he should hear the report of the Gun but M^cCormacks Linguist expecting a scheme of the kind always kept the Indian in conversation while M^cCormack went out of the way, but immediately after Cole was killed both sides armed and the engagement became general the Indians firing from the Bushes and off the Hill and the Canadians from the corners of their Houses, the Canadians side was soon reduced to two men all the others having taken shelter in their houses, the two that stood their ground was Jacobs¹ an Englishman and Fisher a Highlander, when they came to a cessation of arms, they hoisted a flag on each side as their signal, and accordingly made a kind of Peace

¹Jacobs was an Englishman who had entered the service of the Montreal traders about 1778.

which lasted as long as the Liquor they gave them, and afterwards they gave the Indians all the Goods they had and was glad to accept any terms the Indians might propose with the security of their Lives.

On the Canadians arrival the Masters was informed of Holmes men's behaviour who seemed much surprized and taulked to their men and informed them that if they should hurt any English Man they might depend upon all the English upon the plantation joining and standing by each other, all the men that came from the uper settlement declared they never had any such thought or intention but had they joined bodily against the English the English must have had the worst of it, as their was about Twenty Seven Englishmen including the Honourable Companys Fifteen Servants and of the French Canadians about Three Hundred, and the Honourable Companys Servants had but four old Guns the others some a Pistol & Cutlass and others a hatchet and had not a Load of Powder and Ball for each peice untill assisted by Greaves, who sent us a Keg of Powder of about 50^{lb} and a Bag of Ball of 80^{lb} being then provided with amunition about half remained under Arms all night, the French Canadians being such a sett of villains did not chuse to trust them

April 27th Tuesday have been informed the Canadians expect the Indians to come upon them at this place, they having had intelligence of many more Indians that was pitching towards them with intent to have assisted in the affray, and Thirty Tents of Indians was on the opposite side the River and building rafts to cross with when they came away, the Canadians are of opinion that had an Indian called Ou-ta-skis been there that there would not one man have escaped as he is their great Warr Chief, the Hon^{ble} Companys Servants having traded all their goods thought it more prudent to return to Cumberland House then risk any disturbance with the natives while they are in the heat of blood or to stand any chance of a dispute with the Canadians therefore all hands imployed in getting ready for Cumberland House

1779

April 28th Wednesday 11½ AM got underway for Cumberland House with 3 Large Canoes, 3 of a smaller size and 1 Indian Canoe and sent 6 Horses down by land with provisions with orders to meet us at the setting River,¹ and was then obliged to leave a great quantity of provisions behind for want of Canoes, just as we got into the Canoes 3 Stone Indians came for Tobacco and informed us there was a large gang with them and well loaded with Furs suppose by their account to be about 1000 made Beavers as we where coming away and having nothing to trade they went to Will^m Holmes, we dropped easily down the Saskasawan River being about ½ Mile wide the Land on both sides barren of Timber but covered with good Grass went about 20 Miles nearly ENE and put up on an Island at 6 PM Wind SSW fresh breeze and cloudy

29th Thursday at 6 AM got underway and continued dropping down the current went about 30 Miles from ESE to NE and put up at the mouth of the setting River at 11½ AM, it being the place appointed to meet the Horses where they arrived in about 10 Minutes, there being a House Built by the Canadians but deserted we put our things into it, M^r Blondeaux & M^r Grant's Houses being with a ¼ Mile.² Rob^t Longmore went to try to gett an Indian Canoe but the Indians had none, M^r Blondeaux offered him a large Indian Canoe which he accepted

Latitude by Observation 53.10 N° ³

Wind E^t light breeze with showers of Rain

¹They were now leaving their winter quarters at Hudson House with seven loaded canoes on the river, and six loaded horses accompanying them for a short distance along the bank. This was the final abandonment of this trading post by the employees of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the autumn of that year [1779] however, another trading settlement, also called Hudson House, was erected by William Tomison thirteen or fourteen miles farther down the river. This latter site was occupied until 1787, when it was abandoned. The site of this trading post, or the adjoining one occupied by Canadian traders, was visited by Professor H. A. Innis and a party of gentlemen from Prince Albert in August, 1933. They found evidence of a stockade enclosing a quadrangle ninety-one feet long and sixty-seven feet wide. In it were several pits where cellars had been, and piles of stones where fireplaces and chimneys had stood. The location was in poplar woods about 250 yards west of the Saskatchewan river and about 150 feet above it. A little brook flowed eastward a short distance

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1779

April 30th Friday this day imployed in repairing our Canoes . . .
Calm and overcast

May 1st Saturday at 2 PM four Canoes belonging to M^cCormack and one belonging Gebosh passed down the River, from whom we learned all was quiet at the place we came from, but that they were all coming down as fast as possible being then only Holmes and Greaves left, and at the same time learned that they had made 15 Packs of Furrs ea 90^{lb} W^t from the Indians that came when we came away, and that *their Furrs consisted mostly of Wolves therefore think they will amount to about 1200 made Beaver which the Honourable Companys Servants would have had the greatest share of had they goods*, this day imployed in repairing our Canoes, Wind SSW light breeze and Clear

May 2nd Sunday at 7 AM got underway went about 40 Miles from SE to NE and put up at 5 PM the River from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile wide strong current land low and mostly coverd with small Poplar . . . Wind E^t Clowdy weather

3rd Monday at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went 6 Miles and came to a House on the N^o side the River Built by Cole for Greaves¹ but never was inhabited, went 3 Miles and came to the other Branch which comes from the South being a bold River but no traders ever go up that branch being out of the Leed of Indians,² then went 25 [15?] Miles and put up at 4 PM the River this day very crooked leeding from SSE to NNE current strong, the Land on both sides

to the north. Its position is in the N.W. quarter of Sections 16, Township 48, Range 2, West of the Third Meridian.

²Arrived with canoes and horses at the mouth of Setting river where they again received kindly assistance from Blondeau.

³His observation for latitude taken here puts his position 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ minutes too far south.

¹This is the house in which they stopped on the night of March 15, on the way up the river.

²This is an interesting statement as it shows that up to that time, while the fur-traders were going in great numbers up the North Branch, none were going up the South Branch. Writing in August, 1800, Peter Fidler says that until that time, when he went up the South Saskatchewan to establish Chesterfield House, no European had penetrated "higher than 40 miles above the Old South Branch House that was destroyed by the Fall Indians in the Summer of 1794."

bold in some places covered with Pine, but mostly with small Poplar . . . wind Easterly cloudy weather

1779

May 4th Tuesday at 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM went 5 Miles and came to a place where the French had a House on the S^o side at the time they where in possession of Canada,¹ went 5 Miles and came to a place on the S^o side (where is the Ruins of a House which was Inhabited by Will^m Holmes about 2 Years since and at that time was the highest up this River) then went 30 Miles (and came to the Ruins of a House on the S^o side which was inhabitted by one Finley,² where he is said to have cleared upwards of Three Thousand Pounds in one Winter) then went 12 Miles and put up at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM, the River this day not so crooked as the part passed yesterday & about from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile wide the land bold mostly coverd with small Poplar wind Easterly blows hard with Rain

5th Wednesday at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went 12 Miles from NE to SE and put up on S^o side at 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM, the River this day nearly as the part passed yesterday . . . wind Southerly with heavy Rain

6th Thursday at 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway went about 40 Miles from NE to SSE and put up at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ PM, the river from $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 Mile wide Land bold and mostly coverd with small Pine and Poplar wind Southerly and cloudy

1779

May 7th Friday at 5 AM got underway and went about 76 Miles course nearly as before and put up at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM the River from a $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile wide land bold and lightly coverd with small Poplar & Pine . . . Wind northerly with cloudy weather

¹The actual distance by the river from the mouth of the South Branch down to the site of the old French fort is seventeen miles. Five miles below it, at what has since been known as Fort à la Corne, were the ruins of a post occupied by William Holmes and his associates about two years before, which had been observed by Turnor.

This vicinity was a favourite resort for the Indians, as here for the first time in ascending the river, the plains or prairies could easily be reached where buffalo and elk could be killed in abundance.

²See note on p. 216.

- 8th Saturday at 7½ AM got underway went about 20 Miles from NE to SE and put up at ½ PM, with intent to stay to hunt Geese the Land passed this day low and well covered with Large Pine and Poplar, the river as before . . Wind Northerly clear weather
- 9th Sunday having been about 30 Geese killed we at 11 AM got underway went 7 Miles and came to mouth of small River to N^o which comes out of Pine Island Lake in which Cumberland House stands, went 1 Mile up the River and a small Canoe was sent to see if the Lake was clear of Ice along the shore so as Canoes could pass but found the Lake not broke up. Robert Longmore and my self walked a long the side of the Lake being about 5 Miles to Cumberland House where we arrived at 6 PM, where we found all in good health and good order. Wind Northerly with cloudy weather
- 17th Monday at 4 PM 7 Canoes belonging to the Canadian traders in which was Graves & Jacobs natives of Great Briton, Robert Grant a North Briton, M^cCormack & Will^m Holmes natives of Ireland & Blondeaux & Nicholas his Clerk both French Canadians they incamped about a ¼ Mile from the House, and in about an hour came to the House to inquire of our health during their stay the conversation turned upon what had passed between them and the natives, they informed us that on May 1st several Indians came to the Settlement where Rob^t Longmore wintered, and being then no other House inhabited but Holmes's they was obliged to go to that, they got Tobacco from Holmes & Graves to carry to a large gang of Indians which was coming to trade with them, as soon as the Indians was gone Holmes and Greaves left the place in confusion, not thinking themselves safe with upwards of Sixty Men, they came down to Blondeaux's house that they might be all together, the Indians came to them and traded their goods in Peace which according to the Canadians account was about 17 or 18 of their Packs of 85^{lb} or 90^{lb} ea, and that they had intelligence of about Sixty Canoes of Indians which where

coming down the setting River, and had not traded any of their goods in the Winter and that they the Canadians was fearfull of staying to trade with them but had left Tute a Clerk to Blondeaux with 12 Men in care of Blondeauxs House, no Liquor with him, and Indians will not trade without Liquor, therefore it is very reasonable to expect they will be at Cumberland House and in that case think it will be necessary to leave more men at Cumberland House than formerly has been in the Summer Graves has brought two Canoes of Goods to go to the Northward, which are to proceed as soon as the Ice will permit and go all the Summer and remain all the winter to trade, I have been informed they will gett more Furs with two Canoes to Northward than they can with Four in the Saskashawon River, one Pond¹ went up in the same manner last year and has not been heard of since, some think he has Starved for want of Provisions others think he is gone to far into the Country for them to receive any inteligence of him, they have not been able to get any account by the Indians though they correspond with each other for a Considerable distance, Ponds partners have great expectations of an exceeding advantageous trade if he should return but they have no knowledge of any other kind of Provision that is to be got but Fish, Pond is the first that ever has attempted to go far into that part of the Country; I am informed Pond has three Canoes with him² and about Ten Canoes went to the Northward and round upon the Back of Churchill in

¹Peter Pond had wintered at the mouth of Setting river on the Saskatchewan in 1777-8. In the spring of 1778 some or all of the Saskatchewan traders combined in providing an outfit, and sent Pond north-west to the Athabaska country. On May 26 he arrived at Cumberland House with five large canoes loaded with goods, saying that he was going to penetrate into the "Athapuscow" country as far as he could possibly go. It is not known who went with him, but Primeau was not one of them, for he had been in Montreal the previous winter, and on September 3, 1778, he and St. Germain passed Cumberland House with six canoes on their way to winter at Ile à la Crosse, in the interest of Frobisher and Company. It is evident from Turnor's remarks here that Pond's partners were very doubtful of the outcome of his and their venture, but afterwards they must have been delighted at his ultimate success.

²As we have seen Pond had five canoes with him.

the fall of the year¹ which never could go near the part to which Pond is supposed to have wintered, some of them which went up in the fall according to the account I have received have wintered in 57° North Latitude and 104° West Longitude, others of them are supposed to be near Churchill,² and I am likewise informed that Blondeaux has told the Indians he intends wintering next winter about four days Journey from Cumberland House in the North River track, and to Leave Tute to act for him in the Saskasawan River, should that take place I do not think that either York Fort or Churchill will get a skin from the North River Indians, the Canoe which wintered in Pine Island Lake³ has got Eleven Packs of Furs of 85^{lb} or 90^{lb} W^t ea consisting of Catts Beaver & Martins which the Honourable Companys Servants would have got all them Skins had there been men at Cumberland House to have sent to Tent by them as most of the Indians which they got the Furrs from was in debt to the Honourable Company and would not have had the impudence to have traded with the Canadians

May 24th Monday at 3 PM set of to go round Pine Island Lake with intent to take a Survey of the same was assisted by Rob^t Davey & Will^m Omen⁴ proceeded Westward and put up at 8½ PM wind WSW fresh Gale

25th Tuesday at 5½ AM got underway and proceeded round the N^o side of the Lake and put up at 8 PM wind SE fesh breeze & Clear

¹Two of the traders were Primeau and St. Germain, who were going with six canoes to Ile à la Crosse.

²Probably wintering on some of the streams or lakes tributary to the Burntwood or Grass river.

³The men with this canoe are the ones previously mentioned as wintering at Sturgeon Landing, at the north end of the lake. The Canadian traders do not appear to have had a house at Cumberland at this time.

⁴William Oman entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as "labourer" in 1773, and was employed for the next twelve years inland from York Factory. He retired to Europe in 1785.

There was another William Oman who was a native of Sandwick in the Orkneys, and who entered the service in 1783 and was employed as "labourer" at Churchill Factory. He went to Europe in the *Queen Charlotte* in 1798, and returned to Churchill the following year. Here he remained until 1805, when he retired, and went to Europe on the *King George*. His age is given as forty-eight in 1799 and as fifty-two in 1805.

26th Wednesday at 5 AM got underway and at 12 AM arrived at Cumberland House found the Lake about 10 feet deep with a few small Islands covered with Pine the Land round the Lake low and Covered with Pine & Poplar except small spots of Willows but do not find any part that would have been more convenient for Building then the spot which the House stands upon it is well Situated for Wood and upon as dry a spot as any I found round the Lake but the worst water of any part of the Lake the Bay in which it stands having a white muddy bottom, the water is very thick every little breeze stirring the mud up, the Bay being shole, all other parts of the Lake having fine Water

Being in company with Holmes, Grant &^c was informed by Holmes that on Monday y^e 26th of April three of his men came into his room and brought a Bible with them and swore they would not let one English man pass the setting River, and said he him self belives that had the people of the uper settlement staid a few days Longer before they came down that they would have fell upon us knowing their superiority of number, they Holmes and Grant seemed to wish to turn the conversation upon the Hon^{ble} Companys Charter and hinted that they knew them selves to be trespassors but, hinted that was not their Business as while the Hon^{ble} Hudsons Bay Company was quiet it was not their places to concern them selves, but seem jealous of my being imployed on some design against them

I have been informed by Malcolm Ross¹ (who is a Young Man of great Veracity) that when James Spence Sen^r² and himself was Tenting in the Winter, that a French Canadian Servant to M^cCormack was at the same Tent and that he and James Spence left the Tent to go in

¹For further information see Appendix C.

²James Spence was born about 1754, and was a native of Birsay in the Orkneys. He entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as "labourer" in 1773, and was employed at York Factory and inland until 1795. He died at Buckingham House on November 27, 1795.

There was another James Spence who was born about 1760, and who was a

search of Indians to trade with, and that as soon as they where gone the Indians killed the Canadian with their hatchets for no other reason than being a Frenchman and a Servant to M^cCormack, & that they returned to the Tent in a few days and found the Man killed and would have buried him but the Indians did not seem to agree to it and said they would kill all the French in the Spring of the Year but treated them (James Spence and Malcolm Ross) with respect, that it seems very evident that the Indians well know the Canadians to be very detrimental to them yet will not pass them

Having found a Compass at Cumberland House which was left by M^r Herron [Hearne] it appears by that Compass, that the Variation of the Compass is about 12 Degrees Easterly

June 9th Wednesday at 10 AM got underway for York Fort went about 2 Miles in Lake and entered a small River, went about 18 Miles from S^o to NE, the River narrow and full of Islands easy current with us, and entered the Saskatchewan River¹ and went about 14 Miles from E^t to N^o the River about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile wide fresh current with us and put up at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM at a small Creek called the Fishing Creek, where all the Canoes going from Cumberland House to York Fort joined Company being 34 in Number,² of which Canoes M^r Will^m Tomison, Rob^t Longmore,

native of St. Andrews in the Orkneys. He entered the service in 1775 and was employed as servant to Humphrey Marten at York Factory. He was later employed as "labourer", "canoeman", and "steersman" inland from York Factory until 1789, when he sailed for Europe. He returned to York Factory in 1790 and was employed as "steersman" in the Nelson river until 1795, when he retired and went to Europe.

A third James Spence entered the service in 1777 and was employed until 1780 as servant to Matthew Cocking at Severn House.

¹They left Cumberland House, and paddled eastward to the head of Tearing river, which they descended to the main Saskatchewan which then flowed in a well defined channel south of Cumberland lake. In recent years the river has abandoned its old channel, and now flows down Big Stone river into Cumberland lake, through Cumberland lake, and down Tearing river to re-join its old channel.

²From the mouth of Tearing river they continued down the Saskatchewan for fourteen miles to the mouth of a small tributary, where all the Saskatchewan canoes, thirty-four in all, camped together.

Charles Isham, Mitchell Omen,¹ James Spence, Magnus Twatt² & Malchom Ross steered their own Canoes, M^r Will^m Tomison having given me my choice of my Canoe mates I chose Malchom Ross he bearing an exceeding good Character as a good Canoe man and an Obliging man, and Robert Davey which I had seen proved a good man in the head of a Canoe³. . . . Wind NE fresh breeze with Showers of Rain

- June 10th Thursday at 4³/₄ AM got underway went 19 Miles from N to E then 26 Miles from E^t to SW and put up at Bas-qui-au River at 2 PM the River this day about ¹/₄ Mile wide land low and covered with Poplars and Willows, Bas-qui-au River is a bold River falling into the Saskatchewan from the South, the mouth of this River was formerly a great resort for Indians but now entirely deserted by them⁴. . . Wind NE light breeze and overcast
- 11th Friday at 4¹/₂ AM got underway went nearly NE 5 Miles and came to two large Islands and went to S^o of them on Course from SW to ENE about 6 Miles and came to the

¹Mitchell Oman was born about 1753 and was a native of Stromness in the Orkneys. He entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1771, and was employed as "labourer" at York Factory when it was captured by the French in 1782, but he made his escape to Severn House. From 1784-91 he was employed as "canoe-man" inland from York Factory. In 1786 he established South Branch House and was in charge there until 1787, and again from 1789-90. He was in charge at Cumberland House from 1790-1. He left for Europe on the *Sea Horse* in the autumn of 1791. In 1793 he is referred to as "Master at Buskacogan House". From 1794 to 1799, when he retired and went to Europe, he was "inland trader" and "pilot of canoes" inland from York Factory.

²Magnus Twatt was born about 1751 and was a native of Orphir in the Orkneys. He entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1771, as a "labourer", and was subsequently a "carpenter and canoe builder" inland from York Factory until 1791. From 1791 to 1795 he was almost continuously in charge at Cumberland House. In 1795 he went to Europe on the *King George*, and returned the following year. In 1798 he was in charge at Carlton House, Saskatchewan river, and later he established a house at Setting river. From 1799 to 1801 he was at Cumberland House, and he died on October 23, 1801, while on a trip to Carrot river. It appears that he left two sons.

³Here they appear to have re-arranged the canoe-men, and Turnor chose to travel in a canoe with Malchom Ross and Robert Davey as Steersman and Bowsman respectively.

⁴Four years before this time, Joseph and Thomas Frobisher and Alexander Henry, when ascending the Saskatchewan, had found a large camp of Indians at this place, who took heavy tribute from them as they passed. It is probable that these Indians were now scattered through the country hunting and fishing.

main River, then SW & S° about 4 Miles and came to a branch of the River which is called the Middle Track¹ and opens E^t, the Course we followed leading S & SE about 2 Miles and came to an other branch leading SSE, that we followed SW to ESE about 17 Miles and passed several openings which go round large Islands, then went E & NE about 6 Miles then SSE about 5 Miles and put up at 2½ PM, the river this day very irregular the Land Low and swampey Wind NE fresh breez . . . at 10 AM began to rain and continued raining all this day but could not get on shore before we came to this place, the Land being so swampey

1779

June 12th Saturday remained this day weather bound. Wind North fresh gale and rain, having continued raining from 10 AM yesterday to 6 PM this day

13th Sunday at 5¼ AM got underway went from SW to S° about 12 Miles and left two branches to N° then SE & S about 15 Miles amongst Islands and entered a small shole Lake called by the Indians Kis-ke-pe-te-sheak Sheak-quan-ish went E^t to NE 3 Miles leaving the Lake to S°. . . . Latitude by Observation 53°21'N° then went 3 Miles NE the Lake then opens NW & SE, put up at 1 PM on an Island, the River passed this day easey current the Land Low and marshy & mostly covered with Willows . . . Wind NE fresh breeze & Clear

14th Monday this day remained on the Island the Indians not chus^g to go on this day, one of them being sick . . . Wind Variable fair and Clear . . . Latitude by Observation 53°23'N°

15th Tuesday at 4 AM got underway in Lake and went 4 Miles SE then 1 Mile NE and left the Lake which is very shole being from 1½ f^t to 4 f^t water the Land low and covered

¹The Middle Track is a canoe route which passes down Summerberry river, through Moose lake, thence down the Minago river to Cross lake, and over Cross lake. From Cross lake the route branches, one branch going north over Deer lake and into the head waters of Steel river, and down it and Hayes river to York Factory. This route had been used by Anthony Henday in 1754, and Mathew Cocking in 1772. The other branch leaves the east end of Cross lake, crosses to Carrot river, and down it to Oxford lake.

with small Poplars and Willows, entered a River and went about 4 Miles from E^t to SE & E then S^o and entered the Cedar Lake and went 2 Miles SE and came to a place where the Canadians had a trading house,¹ then went 4 Miles E^t between two Islands then 16 Miles E b S then 6 Miles SE b E then 1 Mile E^t and NE 10 Miles and put up on an Island at 6 PM, left the Lake mostly to the S^o being 10 or 12 Miles wide and about 27 f^t Water regularly deep Land low and covered with small Poplars . . . Wind SE light breeze & Clear

1779

June 16th Wednesday at 4½ AM got underway and went NE 8 Miles and came to a river about ¼ Mile wide at entrance and very strong current went 1 Mile E^t then 3 Miles SE in a part about 3 Mile wide and came to a fall about ¼ Mile long which was shot by all the Canoes, then entered the Cross Lake and went 5 Miles E^t leaving the Lake about 4 Mile S^o and an opening N^o, then entered a Large river near ½ Mile wide and exceeding strong current, went 1 Mile SE, 4 Miles E^t and 1 Mile S^o and came to the top of the Great Fall and carrying place . . . Latitude by Observation 53°12'N^o. . . Carried on the North side the fall ¼ Mile through a wood and put up on the lower side of the Carr^g place at 3 PM, Wind NE fresh breeze & clear, it is supposed by the Indians that all the Water of the Saskashawan River comes down this River

17th Thursday at 5¼ AM got underway being a small Pond at the bottom of the Carr^g place formed by nature and creek of about 10 y^{ds} long which leads into the fall the Canoes are loaded in it and go on to the fall through this creek, some of the Indians thinking the S^o side of the Fall the best to Shoot crossed about ½ Mile below the carry-place, M^r Joseph Hansom² in attempting to follow them was

¹The country through which the river passes is very low and wet, with shallow lakes lying beside the river and often connecting with it. The party evidently passed through one of these lakes before reaching Cedar lake. The Canadian trading house mentioned as being near the mouth of the river on this lake is perhaps the one occupied by Thomas Corry in 1772.

²Joseph Hansom entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1769, and was employed as servant to Moses Norton at Churchill river. He made a

drove upon a Stone in the middle of the fall the Canoe oversett and he drowned, his Canoemate an Indian saved him self by regaining the Canoe and drove about 3 Miles before he was taken up, an Indian likewise in attempting to cross was overset by the swell and drowned likewise, M^r Hansom was taken up about 3 Miles below where he was overset having never sunk, we tried to bring him too again but without success, the Canoes was taken up about 5 Miles below the place where they were overset with little Loss of goods, at 1½ PM we Intered M^r Hansom upon a Point on the N^o side the River in the most Christian like maner we could, the Indian not found, I am of opinion the reason M^r Hansom did not sink may probably be ascribed to the Bruises he must have received . . . against

trip inland from fort Prince of Wales in 1773-4, to observe the country and to secure trade with the Indians. His route was up Churchill river, and then by one of the transverse streams to Pine Island lake. On his return in the following summer he went up Sturgeon-weir river to Frog portage, where he saw Frobisher's house on the bank of Great (Missinipi or Churchill) river. This stream he descended to Fort Prince of Wales, which he reached on July 5, 1774 to find that his old chief, Moses Norton, had died during his absence. He was afterwards employed as "trader and accountant" at Churchill river until 1776, when he was transferred to the York Factory district. In 1777 he was appointed "second" at Cumberland House, and he was in charge there in 1777-8. In 1778-9 he made another trip into the interior.

His journal for the year 1773-4, when he spent the winter with Joseph Frobisher at Pine Island lake, is not extant; but the following is a letter addressed by him to the Governor and Committee of the Company, detailing the information which he obtained:

Prince of Wales's Fort August 23, 1774

Honble, Sirs.

I arrived among the Indian Familys August 20th 1773 in which place were Twelve tents of Indians and found that they had been amongst the Canada Traders last spring before they set off to come to your Honours Fort; they being all clothed with their Goods &c. and greatly to my disappointment found I was not conducted by the proper Indians that resorts at Bus-que-oh or higher up, but found them to be a kind of Half-home Gaurd Indians that goes down in the Fall of the Year with Deers flesh &c.

The Rivers &c to and from Churchill are excessive bad and particularly this River occasioned by the Number of Falls which is in it; which greatly obstructs the passage for Canoes: and are obliged to carry their Canoes over Twenty carrying places and track them past the edges of several other Falls in this river it is surprising to think that any of the upland Indians comes down through such Troubles when they are supplied in their own hunting Grounds by the Canada Traders: It being usual at your Honours Factorys to make the Leaders &c some trifling presents is the only Motive which invites them down with what few furs they keep after Trading with the Canada Traders and the Ungrateful People will promise to Come down with all and not have any dealings with those People yet it is all found to no Purpose: and am sorry to say it worse this Year then before

stones in the fall having broken some Vessel within him, as several Bruises appeared on his sides, *in my opinion the whole misfortune may be imputed to their not listning to Cut-a-bo-lin-wan an old leader who forbid them attempting to cross, it not being customary*, but to shoot intirely on the N^o side, only four Canoes in which was any of the Hon^{ble} Company's Servants inn crossed, the others all followed the Leader without damage he being very careful this day went 3 Miles from E to NE and put up at the bottom of the Fall, the whole length of the Fall about 5 Miles exceeding rapid from top to bottom, the Land on both sides very bold mostly Rockey and coverd with Pine¹ . . . Wind E^t light breeze & Clear

as the Account I learnt from Indians in Coming down that the Major part of the Indians that used to Come down Annually to Your Honours Factorys have Traded their Goods and do really believe they will Increase Yearly as long as they Continue so numerous amongst them.

At the Arrival of the Canada Traders which was in the beginning of October was very much Surprised to find such a Number of Canoes and Canadians that worked them going up amongst the Prime Indians which Canoes was Twenty in Number and five Canadians in each Canoe, Nine of Which Canoes belongs to the following Persons. Messrs. Benjamin Frobisher; Isaac Todd; John Mack-gill; who resides in Montreal or Quebec; Joseph Frobisher and Monsieur Fransway present with the Canoes and ——— Bruce who is more towards Your Honours Easternmost Settlements at a place called the Bloody River with Six more which persons are in one General Concern Five more belongs to Mr. George Mackbeth in Montreal; Mr. George Graham and Captain James Tuit formerly in Major Roger's Regiment; present with the Canoes Three more belongs to Monsieur Blundow present with his Canoes &c and the other three belongs to ——— Solomon a Jew in Montreal; has employed an old Canadian to go in with the Canoes who has been upwards of these thirty years amongst the Indians; The above I learnt by staying at Frobishers House great part of the Winter as being obliged so to do on account of the Natives having Agreed agreed [sic] to hunt and be home Indians to them: tho' perswaded them as possible to the Company. On my Passage home saw a House in the Great River where Indians passes from all parts of the Country; was greatly surprised to find it to be the Aforesaid Frobisher's He having come this Spring fourteen days Journey nigher hand then where he Wintered, which is about ten days Journey to York Fort, at my Arrival at the House found fifty Canoes of Indians all Drunk had Traded their Goods and were going to return to their Relations; also heard that they Expected One Hundred more Canoes in a short time; At my Departure with Mr. Frobisher he gave me a letter for Mr. Norton; which Letter I delivered to Mr. Graham.

As by desire have signed another Contract for five Years at 15£ pr. Annum and am willing to proceed on any Business that may prove Advantageous to your Honours Interest: and hope to Remain.

Your Honours most Obedient
and much Obliged Humble Servant
[signed] JOSEPH HANSOM

¹At the Grand Rapids the Saskatchewan river rushes to its mouth in Lake

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June 18th Friday this day remained at the bottom of the Fall, the People imployed in drying the Furrs

Latitude by Observation 53°14'N^o¹

Wind SE fresh breeze & Cloudy

19th Saturday this day remained weatherbound not being able to Paddle in the great Lake unless almost Calm, Wind SE fresh breeze and overcast

20th Sunday this day remained weather bound . . . Wind variable first part of the day overcast, latter part heavy rain

1779

June 21st Monday at 9 AM got underway went 2 Miles NE and entered Sea Lake, went NE b E 7 Miles, N° 6 Miles, NNE 8 Miles, N b E 3 Miles and NW 2 Miles keeping close from Point to Point, leaving the Land close on N° side no land to be seen on the S° side except two small Islands, put up at 4 PM having come to three Tents of Indians . . . Wind SE light breeze with showers of Rain, at the enterance of this Lake the Canadians keep the South side close on Board, and we the North side from what I can learn of the Canadians they go between two and three Hundred Miles in this Lake

22nd Tuesday at 10 AM got underway (having again our number of 34 Canoes by an Indian joining us from the Familys we came to yesterday), went NNE 2 Miles, NbE 2 Miles, NNE 4 Miles and NW 1 Mile and put up at ½ PM being a heavy swell in Lake² . . Wind SE light breeze with much Thunder and Showers of Rain

Winnipeg through a deep gorge between vertical walls of white limestone. In a distance of five miles it has a total drop of seventy-one feet. We ran it in our canoes, but it was one of the most exciting canoe rides that I ever experienced.

¹The latitude of the bottom of the falls is 53° 10' north, so that his observations give his position four minutes too far north. Possibly a similar correction should be allowed for the observations taken in the river west of Cedar lake.

²Turnor has been travelling along the north-west shore of Lake Winnipeg, which he calls Sea Lake, as Winnipeg is the Algonkian Indian word meaning "The Ocean" or Hudson Bay. He now crossed the mouth of Limestone bay to the end of a long sandy bar or spit which extends westward for about twelve miles, cutting off Limestone bay from the main body of the lake. The Indians often travel in the bay north of the bar and portage across the bar into the lake at its eastern end.

23rd Wednesday at 3¼ AM got underway (being again reduced to 33 Canoes the Indian which was the first that proposed crossing the great fall refusing to go any farther I suppose being fearfull of the family of the Indian that was drowned) went N° 3 Miles, NNE 5 Miles and N° 2 Miles and crossed to a point leaving a large Bay to N°, in crossing to the Point went NNE 5 Miles, then went NE 8 Miles at which place the point is not above 40 yards across, then went ENE 2 Miles and put up at 10 AM being a heavey swell in Lake, . . . Wind Variable West-erly forepart of the day clear, latter part overcast, with showers of Rain

Latitude by Observation 53°51N°¹

1779

June 24th Thursday this day remained Weatherbound being to much swell, Wind SW fresh breeze and Cloudy with Showers of Rain

25th Friday at 1¼ AM got underway went ENE 16 Miles, E° 5 Miles E b S 3 Miles, ESE 3 Miles, E b S 1 Mile & ESE 2 Miles always keeping close along shore and put up at 9¾ AM the swell being to heavey, Wind SW fresh breeze and Clear

at 9 PM got underway again went SE 12 Miles and came to the mossey Point² which is a high bold Land coverd with small Pine, then went 2 Miles S° round the Point it being then midnight

26th Saturday continued underway from yesterday went ENE 5 Miles and left the Lake which in many parts is very bold Rocky Land and some parts a very fine easey shore and well coverd with pine, entered an inlet to Bus-kes-cag-nes Lake³ which inlet is about 3 Miles wide with

¹The latitude of his camp that night was 53° 50', his observation needing a correction of -1'.

²From Limestone bay to Mossy Point the north shore of Lake Winnipeg is a cliff of clay fifteen to twenty feet high, overlain by a few feet of mossy peat. The eastern extremity of this cliff of clay and peat is known as Mossy Point, and on it one of the early inland trading posts of the Hudson's Bay Company was afterwards built.

³He now entered the head of Nelson river where it discharges from Lake Winnipeg. It is here a wide channel four miles long connecting Winnipeg and Buscuscagnis (Treeless Island) or Playgreen lakes.

several Islands in it, went N° 3 Miles & NNW 1 Mile and came to Bus-kes-cag-nes Lake and went NNW 6 Miles & WNW 2 Miles keeping on E^t side the Lake which is about 6 or 7 Miles wide Land low and Rocky & covered mostly with Willows and small Poplars, put up at 9½ AM, ' . . . Wind NE fresh breeze and Clear

Latitude by Observation 53°53'N .²

27th Sunday this day remained Weatherbound . . . Wind NE blows hard & Cloudy

28th Monday this day remained Weatherbound . . . Wind NE blows hard with Showers of Rain

1779

June 29th Tuesday at 4 AM got underway went 5 Miles N b E & left the Lake which has from 4 f^t to 12 f^t Water very full of small Rocky Islands land low and covered with small Pine Poplars & Willows & entered a River about 200 y^{ds} wide with small current went 8 Miles from NNE to ENE (in a Branch to South of this River the Canadians have a house which they traded at in Winter of 1777, & the branch is called the Jack River it falls out of Bus-kes-cag-nes Lake and joins this River in a wide part near this place)³ entered a wide part of the River or kind of Lake & went NNE 6 Miles and left the kind of Lake being full of

¹They continued down the east side of Playgreen lake to the rocky promontory known as Playgreen Point where they were weatherbound for two days.

²The latitude of Playgreen Point is 53° 51' 30'', so that Turnor's latitude should have a correction of -1' 30''.

³From Playgreen Point the party crossed a bay of Playgreen lake and entered a comparatively narrow branch of Nelson river which flows north-eastward for eight miles between Playgreen and Little Playgreen lakes. It was called by David Thompson "Jack River", and is still locally known by that name. In recent times it was used as the steamboat channel by steamboats plying from Red River northward through Winnipeg and Playgreen lakes to Norway House, which is situated on a picturesque site on its eastern bank just where it discharges into Little Playgreen lake.

There is another parallel channel a short distance southeast of this one, also called Jack river, at the mouth of which the Canadian traders had a trading post, possibly not far from where Rossville Mission is now situated. It was built at least as early as 1773, for when Mathew Cocking passed on July 23, 1774, he says "On it two canoes of pedlars wintered last winter, and left it this summer. One of their men was drowned afishing." A little later he says that these canoes were left there by Blondeau.

Here again we have a statement by Turnor that the Canadians were there in the winter of 1777-8.

small rocky Islands and about 12 f^t water *and entered Sea River* went NNE 8 Miles, N^o 1½ Mile, NNE 2 Miles and N^o 1 Mile and came to a fall¹ & Carr^g place 50 yards over, then went N^o 1 Mile NE to N 5 Miles and from N^o to S^o 8 Miles and put up at 6½ PM, the Sea River is very full of Branches and deep water, which Branches all lead to the Northward and are supposed to fall into the Bay by the way of Port Nelson, . . . Wind Variable Northerly weather overcast

30th Wednesday at 4 AM got underway leaving the Saskashawan Water all to Northward and went up a small River light current and black water,² that of the Saskashawan being a white thick water, went from NE to E about 4 Miles and came to a Lake about 3 Miles wide and about 5 feet water Land bold & Rocky, went NE b E 4 Miles and put up at 7½ AM to wait for the Indians to hunt . . . Wind NW fresh breeze & Cloudy

1779

July 1st Thursday at 2 AM got underway in a narrow river and very black water easy current against us, went about 30 Miles mostly from E to NE (the River in some places not above 4 yards wide but good depth of water) came to the end of the River which is a small Bay the sides bold Rocks

¹Turnor crossed Little Playgreen lake, and entered the east branch of Nelson river, the west branch being twenty miles farther west on the other side of Ross Island.

They descended the river for eleven miles to Winnipeg Powestik or Sea Falls, where the river has a drop of five feet over a ridge of gray foliated granite which extends all the way across the stream. The portage is a short one on the east side, but there is a nasty whirlpool just below it, in which Horace Belanger, a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Mr. Campbell, were drowned in 1892.

²After descending the Nelson river for ten miles they came to the mouth of a small river joining it from the east, which they could see flowed through swampy country as its water was of a dark brown colour. It is called Etowimami, or Echimamish river, meaning "the water that flows both way".

Here they left the Nelson river, which was unknown to them below that place, and turned into the little river on their way to the headwaters of Hayes river. Thus, as far as we know, they were the first Europeans to survey this route to York Factory, which was afterwards to become the great water route for men and supplies between York Factory and the whole interior country from Red River north-west to the mouth of the Mackenzie river. They ascended the Echimamish river to a small lake known to the Indians as Wenisko (or Groundhog) lake but now designated on the map as Hairy lake.

which the water is supposed to spring out of, Carried over a low Rock at the end of the Bay 50 yards into an other bay of the same kind on the other side the Rock.¹ Latitude by Observation $54^{\circ}26'N^{\circ 2}$ went 8 Miles E b N, in the Bay which in some places is $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile wide land on both sides bold and Rockey, a branch of a large River³ joined us falling from the South went down this River E^t 1 Mile & NE 1 Mile and came to a Lake⁴ about 2 or 3 Miles wide 7 or 8 f^t deep Land bold and Rockey, went E^t 4 Miles & NE 5 Miles and entered a River and went $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and came to the white Fall & Carrying place⁵ and put up at 7 PM, Wind W^t light breeze & Clear

2nd Friday this morning carried over the Carrying place being 1400 yards the Indians being behind did not get underway untill $11\frac{1}{2}$ PM went 2 Miles from E to NE and entered a Lake and put up at $2\frac{1}{2}$ PM the Indians being hunting . . . Wind Easterly Cloudy weather

3rd Saturday this day remained the Indians being behind. . . Wind Easterly fresh gale with much Thunder and Showers of Rain

4th Sunday at $7\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went in Lake⁶ about 12 Miles from E^t round to NE leaving a River to N^o the Lake about 2 Miles wide and drawing to $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile wide with about 10 f^t Water Land bold and Rockey and came to a Carrying place out of a Bay 700 yards through a

¹The portage at the head of the Etowimami river is over a rock which at its highest point, in June 1912, was two feet above the water to the west of it and five feet above the water to the east of it, and the length of the portage at that time was ninety-one feet. The water may have been a little lower in 1779 when Turnor passed, which would account for its length of fifty yards at that time. David Thompson in 1793 speaks of it as the Painted Stone Portage which is the name by which it is still known. It is said that a picture was once painted there on the smooth rock.

²Turnor's latitude for this place is more than two minutes too far north.

³Molson river.

⁴Windy or Robinson lake.

⁵White or Robinson falls, a cataract more than half a mile long, in which the water drops in all sixty-three feet. Past it is a portage 4050 ft. long through poplar woods.

⁶Logan lake. The Hayes river leaves the north side of this lake about two miles from its western end, but Turnor kept on eastward in the lake for nine miles to a portage 700 yards long to a stream which flows into Max lake, from which he descended a stream into an arm of Opiminagoka or Narrow Spruce lake, where he was again back into an expansion of Hayes river.

Wood into a River falling from the South, went down the River NE 3 Miles (a small fall falling into this River on South side) entered a Lake and went NE 6 Miles and NW 1 Mile and left the Lake to S° entered a river went 2 Miles SW and came to a small Lake went NNE 3 Miles and entered a River and went NE 2 Miles and put up at 2 PM the Indians being behind . . . Wind SW fresh gale and cloudy

July 5th Monday at 6½ AM got underway in river and went 4 Miles from N to SE and entered a Lake, went NE b N 3 Miles and turned a point and went NNE 4 Miles and entered a River (left the Lake to S° which is about 3 Mile wide about 12 f^t water land bold and Rockey, went in River N 2 Miles and shot two falls and came to a Carrying place 30 yards over, then went N to NE 2 Miles and came to a Carr^g place 100 yards over, then went N to W 3 Miles and put up at the end of the River at 2 PM, . . . Wind SW fresh breeze & Cloudy

6th Tuesday at 7½ AM got underway in Pa-the-pow Nip-pe Lake,¹ went 8 Miles NE Lake about 1 Mile wide Large Islands, then opens East & West beyond sight, went NE 22 Miles and put up at the end of the Lake at 4½ PM, Lake about 40 f^t water full of large Islands Land bold & Rockey . . . Wind SW light breeze & Cloudy

7th Wednesday at 9 AM got underway entered trout River and went NE 1 Mile and came to a large Bay & went NE 1½ Mile & S° 4 Miles and came to a fall which we shot and then went from South to East about 3 Miles and shot two falls which were very bad and came to a Carrying place 40 yards over and shot a fall at the bottom of the Carrying place then went from NE to S° about 3 Miles and came to the Trout fall and Carrying place 300 yards over then went NE to E 2 Miles and came to the Knee

¹Entered Pathepow nippi lake (Bottomless lake). The name given me for this lake was Pa nipāwa nipi which was said to mean "hole through the earth." David Thompson calls it Holy lake. Oxford House was built by the Hudson's Bay Company at its eastern end, and the lake is now called Oxford lake.

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Lake¹ and put up at 6 PM . . . Wind North fresh breeze and overcast with showers of Rain

1779

July 8th Thursday at 4 AM got underway in Knee Lake and went 11 Miles ENE, 3 Miles NE b E, 6 Miles NNE *at which place the Compass would not traverse*, then went N b W 8 Miles and NNE 2 Miles all the Lake now passed very full of small Islands. Latitude by Observation 55°22'N° the Lake then very open being about 6 or 7 Miles wide went NE 5 Miles, ENE 12 Miles & NE 3 Miles and left the Lake being in some places 24 f^t water. Land low and Rocky, in the latter part of Lake two small Islands, entered a River and went about 3 Miles nearly ENE and put up at 7 PM, at a place called the Jack Tent,² the River about $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile wide and shole . . . Wind NE light breeze and clear

9th Friday this day remained waiting for the Indians which are behind hunting . . . Wind N° light breeze & Cloudy

10th Saturday at 2 PM the Indians arrived . . . Wind NE light breeze forepart of the day overcast, latter part heavy rain

11th Sunday at 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway went 2 Miles nearly NE and came to a fall and Carrying place 400 yards over then went 1 Mile and came to a fall and Carrying place 250 yards over then went 1 Mile and came to a fall & Carrying place 600 yards over then went $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and came to a fall and Carrying place 150 yards over then went 1 Mile and left the River being almost an intire fall and full of Islands, course in River nearly from NE to SE, entered the swampey Lake and went 7 Miles NE and put up on S° side at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM the Lake about 2 Miles wide and 7 or 8 f^t water Land Low . . . Calm fore part of the day rain, latter part clear

¹In Indian "Maskistigwan Sakahigan." It has a length of more than fifty miles. In travelling across it Turnor notes the well-known place in the lake where there is strong local magnetic attraction, and where he says "the compass would not traverse".

²Evidently a place where people were accustomed to come to catch Jacks or pike. This part of the river is locally known as Jack river. It is rapid, and spreads to a very considerable width over a bed of boulders and broken rocks.

1779

July 12th Monday at 9 AM got underway went NE 4 Miles and entered Hill River went 7 Miles very crooked round Islands and shot several bad falls and came to a fall & Carrying place 100 yards over went 3 Miles as before and came to a fall & Carrying place 100 yards over went 1 Mile as before and came to a fall & Carrying place called the swampey carrying place 450 yards over went 300 yards and came to a fall and carrying place 130 yards over went 3 Miles round Islands and shooting many falls and came to a fall and Carrying place 140 yards over, went 300 yards and came to a fall and carrying place 20 yards over then went 5 Miles round Islands and shooting falls and put up at 8¼ PM, the part of the River passed this day very full of Islands and almost an intire fall, the Course very crooked making about half the length NE, first of the River land low, latter part passed very bold like small hills, Wind Northerly fresh breeze & Cloudy

13th Tuesday at 5½ AM got underway went from N to NE 15 Miles shooting many falls, this part of the River¹ few Islands, and came to a fall and carrying place 80 yards over then went 4 Miles and shot several falls and came to a fall and Carrying place 40 yards over (being the last in the River which above this Carrying place is almost an intire fall many of which the Canoes are Led part of the way by two or three Men not being room to shoot for want of a Scope to turn off the stones which if touched is sure to break the Canoe in pieces or upset her, in shooting the falls the Englishmen required little or no assistance from the Indians only an Indian to Lead the way as

¹Hill or Chacutinow river, so called because it passes the foot of a prominent isolated hill known as "The Hill" or "Brassy Hill", which rises to a height of 460 feet above the level of the river opposite to it. It is the local name for that part of the stream between Swampy lake and the mouth of Steel (or Fox) river. Down to the last portage it has no defined channel, but simply flows in the lowest parts of a surface which slopes continuously towards Hudson Bay. The current is so swift that it has swept out most of the finer clay, sand and gravel from among the large rock fragments. As all the islands and most of the adjoining country has at some time been overflowed and washed by the river, the bed of the stream and all the surface of the adjoining land therefore consists of large angular rock fragments.

where the Indians would shoot I did not see the English refuse, and went down as safe as the Indians if this set of men is parted with in my opinion it will be a work of great time to replace them if ever possible as the Indians will not take fresh hands into their Canoes on any terms or do I think their will many Indians carry goods inland in the course of three or four years as all that could be got is now with us which only amounts to Twenty one small Canoes and three Indian Men which are in with Englishmen and those Englishmen which are in with them are experienced hands that upon the whole it appears to me to be impossible to get Brandy or young hands up without experienced hands) went 32 Miles from NE to N and 8 Miles from NE to NW and left the River (the Latter part of this River strong current land bold) entered Steel River went 7 Miles from NE to E and put up at 6½ PM, (Hill River falls into Steel River on the South side)¹ . . Wind Northerly fresh breeze & Cloudy

July 14th Wednesday at 3¾ AM got underway went 25 Miles from N to ENE latter part nearly N° and left Steel River which is a fine bold River good depth of water land bold, river from ¼ to ½ Mile wide and falls into Hayes River on the N° side, entered Hayes's River² which falls from the South and is a fine bold River, went 4 Miles N° in Hayes's River. Latitude by Observation 56°26'N° then went 6 Miles NNE½E, 1 Mile NE, 6 Miles NNE, 2

¹From the last or Rock portage, Hill river flows between steep high clay banks to where it empties into the south side of Steel river (Apet Sipi). At the confluence it is ninety-five yards wide and rather muddy, while Steel river is 180 yards wide, and its water is slightly dark in colour. In the angle between the two streams is a high projecting point of land known to the Indians as Wachicha Copasen, or "The Crane's Breast."

²Shamattawa river, which is 250 measured yards in width at its mouth, flows in a wide valley that is directly continuous with that of the portion of Hayes river below it, while Steel river, which is a stream 150 yards wide, empties into its western side. Turnor quite correctly speaks of the Shamattawa as the main Hayes river, but modern practice has adopted the latter name for the old Hudson's Bay Company transportation route from Painted Stone Portage to York Factory. In going inland from York Factory this transportation route branches off at least three times from the main river into smaller tributaries, first up Steel river, then up Hill river, and finally up the creek to Painted Stone Portage.

Miles N b W, 1 Mile N b E, 2 Miles NW b N & 1 Mile WNW and came to Pin-ne-cut-a-way River which falls into Hayes's River on the North side (Pin-ne-cut-a-way River is a small River falling from the Westward, Land bold) then went 1 Mile NE b N and 1 Mile NW b N and put up at 6 PM Wind Westerly light breeze & Clear

1779

July 15th Thursday at 4 AM got underway in Hayes's River went 3 Miles NE, 6 Miles N^o, 5 Miles NNE, 5 Miles ENE, 3 Miles NE b N, 5 Miles ENE and 2 Miles NE and arrived at York Fort after a very successful passage except the Accident which happened on the 17th of June, I should be guilty of injustice was I not to inform your Honors that I think your Servants that came from Cumberland House at this time are in my opinion a set of the best Men I ever saw together as they are in general obliging, hardy, good Canoe Men, as to M^r Will^m Tomison, Rob^t Longmore, Charles Isham and Malchom Ross, I think them little or none inferior to a good Indian and in some Particulars far Superior to any of them in a Canoe, M^r Will^m Tomisons merrits must be well known to your Honors, but in my humble opinion was he to leave your Service that the Inland settlements from York Fort would intirely loose its present spirit, but in my humble Opinion was the number of men Inland Augmented to about Sixty of which about Fifty of them to go up the Sask-ash-a-wan River and ten to remain at Cumberland House (which is as many as it will keep as there was but about 350^{lb} of Flesh brought to Cumberland House between the 11th of October 1778 and 4th of March 1779 which was the time I remained at Cumberland House) I think M^r Will^m Tomison would then get a Flourishing Trade, but with Submission to your Honors I think your Inland Settlements from York Fort very short of Officers, as at present there is only M^r Will^m Tomison, Rob^t Longmore & Will^m Walker and in case any accident was to befall them or they chuse to Leave the Service I do not think any person at York Fort Capable or fit to go Inland with

Goods in charge, in my opinion the only person at York Fort fit to send by way of training for the purpose is Geo. Hudson your Honors Apprentice he being a very obliging well behaved Lad and seems to bear hardships with Courage, of which a person need have a good share and likewise of Strength, as he will meet with plenty of hardships such as hard work, short of Provisions and that they have often poor Pike and no thing to eat with it, and in bad weather after a hard days work to role him self in a Blanket and lay under a Tree if nigh unto them, if those may be allowed to be hardships. In my humble opinion your Honors may find many lads to train with intent to put in charge that may prove much inferior to Malchom Ross, M^r Will^m Tomison & Rob^t Longmore gives him the best of Character as being very obliging, steady, carefull, a good Canoe Man and by what I have seen and been well informed he understands the Indian Language the best of any of your Honors Servants Inland except M^r Will^m Tomison and Charles Isham,

In my humble opinion your Honors never need be surprised should you find great difficulty in keeping your Inland Officers as the Canadians prefer them to most others, and in my opinion their reasons are very plain as they think a Servant must have proved himself Capable before your Honors will put him in charge, and it is not to be wondered at that they should make your Servants great offers which is constantly the case, when they give Men which never saw an Indian One Hundred Pounds P^r Annum, his Feather Bed carried in the Canoe, his Tent which is exceeding good, pitched for him, his Bed made and he and his girl carried in and out of the Canoe and when in the Canoe never touches a Paddle unless for his own pleasure all of these indulgences I have been an Eye Wutness to, one Nicholass Clerk to Blondeaux & C^o I have been well informed has 150 Pounds Sterling P^r Annum he is said to understand the Indian Language well, one Jacobs which never saw an Indian before he was ingaged and now knows not any thing an Indian

says has 100 Pounds Sterling P^r Annum all their Clerks have two suits of long Cloath ea, Shirts, Hatts, Stockings, Shoes &c in proportion, if he chuses to keep a girl which most of them does the Masters finds her in Apparel so that they need not spend one farthing of their Wages, your Honors Officers takes the half of a Canoe and does the same duty as another Man, an other substantial reason why the Canadians prefer your Servants they are of Opinion could they get M^r Will^m Tomison & Rob^t Longmore into their service they would in a great measure wean the Affection of the Indians from Your Honors Servants, which with submission to Your Honors I believe to be to true as there is not an Indian in that part of Country but M^r Will^m Tomison or Rob^t Longmore or both of them is acquainted with and many of them not known by any other of Your Honors Servants and the Indians seem very fond of them both, and I may venter to asure Your Honors should you not keep them in your service that they will come into the Country by the way of Quebeck, but Your Honors must be best acquainted with your own Interst and Affairs

The Following is the best Account I could learn of the Quantity of Furrs carried out of the Sask-ash-a-wan River by the Canadians

Blondeaux for 6 Canoes 63 Packs			
M ^c Cormack	6	d ^o	46
Geboch	3	d ^o	31
Pangman	5	d ^o	36
Greaves	5	d ^o	118
Holmes &			
Grant	5	d ^o	
Total			294 Packs from 85 ^{lb} to 90 ^{lb} W ^t ea

Suppose ea Pack to Contain 60 Beaver which I am of Opinion they will exceed one with the other but upon that calculation they will amount to 17640 Beaver exclusive of about 2000 Made Beaver brought out of the River by

Rob^t Longmore so that the Sask-ash-a-wan River may be supposed to amount to 20000 Made Beaver, I should suppose as about 18000 Made Beaver goes past Your Honors from this one River and at the same time Your Servants trade all the Goods they can get into the River and turn away great number of Indians for want of Goods that it must appear that Your Honors rather intended settlements in that River is capable of great improvements which never can be Effected without a greater number of hands, and should these present Men be sent home it would take several years to bring it to its present weak state again, and in my opinion the expences must be much greater in proportion for Twelve than it would be for fifty Men, but this River is not the only place where great quantitys of Furrs goes from to Canada, but likewise from the Northward of Cumberland House where ten Canoes commonly Winters and is supposed to Carry out about 10000 Made Beaver at least which I should suppose worthy Your Honors notice and I should suppose a Settlement might be made in that Part which would turn to great advantage

Cumberland House in my opinion can be called nothing but a Warehouse or be looked upon a halfway house for other Settlements as no Indians reside nigh unto it but are much higher in the Country as all the Indians that came to Cumberland House might have gone in half the time to the Canadians, I am of opinion flat bottom boats¹ would be very usefull at Cumberland House such as would take about five or Seven Men to work them as I think they would be very usefull in going up the Sask-

¹Turnor presents much the same arguments as Samuel Hearne had presented three years before, and urges the advisability of building wooden boats such as a London or Orkney boat builder could build without difficulty; but he is inclined to think that their utility will be confined to the Saskatchewan river, and that birch bark canoes will be needed for Hayes river. It was, however, a number of years before George Sutherland, who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay Company's fort at Edmonton, built wooden (York) boats to transport provisions and furs down that river, after which it was not long before the officers of the Company constructed skidways of green poles on the portages on Hayes river, over which these wooden boats were hauled by their crews.

ash-a-won River and would save the Canoes as they often meet great quantities of Ice in that River in the fall of the Year and cuts the Canoes in pieces, as out of Six Canoes Longmore took up the River there was not one fit to come to York Fort and great difficulty is and will be found in getting Canoes from the Indians, and am of Opinion the English Men must soon build their own Canoes, and I think if a proper boat builder was sent to Cumberland House he might build boats and keep them in repair in the passage up and down the Saskashawan and do the same duty upon the passage as an other man I should think a good boat builder might be got at Orkney and might be fitter for the purpose than a Londoner as they would submit to duties which a London boat builder would not, but at the same time should Your Honors ever think of sending a boat builder for Cumberland House good care should be taken that he understands his business as he can receive no Assistance with respect to Judgment of his business, and in case it should be thought necessary to have boats at Cumberland House nothing more than Rudder Irons, Nails & Roves would be required as good Pine or Poplar might be got near the House fit for planking and Birch or a kind of Hickery fit for Knees and Timbers and in my opinion was boats used for going up the Saskashawan River they might be able on their return in the Spring to bring a quantity of Provisions to Cumberland House which would be very acceptable and likewise necessary for the Supplying the People with provisions on their return up the Saskashawan in the Fall and I think Men would be able to carry more goods in proportion in Boats than they could in Canoes as there is no falls or Carrying places in that River I have consulted M^r Will^m Tomison and Rob^t Longmore who are of opinion they would be very usefull and less expence than Canoes and are likewise of Opinion Men would carry more goods in proportion in Boats, and Indians may be got to carry goods to Cumberland House but not to farther Settlements

As to the Wooden Canoes sent from England or Built at York Fort may be usefull at York Fort, but never can be carried to Cumberland House as they are much to short for their breadth and was they made to proper dimentions they then would be much to heavy as Men could not carry them over the carrying places as the Carrying places are much different to Land in England a Man often drops into the earth up to his backside suddenly and had he such great weights upon him it might disable him and they never could attempt to take a wooden Canoe without a boat builder or is the Road fit for any great Canoe untill they come above the Hill River, which takes them about twelve good days work in going from York Fort to the uper end of the Hill River, when above that River they could take Canoes of any Size to Cumberland House but if Birch Rine Canoes is broken which takes a much greater blow than a Person would suppose a Man then will mend his own Canoe in very little time which could not be done with a Wooden Canoe

On my arrival at York Fort found the Creek which was supposed to indanger the Factory turned about Ten Yards farther from the factory and so well secured with brush and stakes as in my opinion to be intirely out of danger but might in my opinion be much stronger was there men to throw earth upon the brush which appears impracticable this Summer for want of Men

The Flanker in which the Men resides and was in a very decaid rotten state I found rebuilding upon a larger scale the Angles jeting out being advanced from $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet to $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet and the outer Angle advanced 6 feet and a good Cellar sunk to the full extent of the Flanker and a drain laid from the bottom into the Creek, which Cellar must prove of great utillity in Stowing provisions and any other things that requires to be kept cool as likewise a great addition to the Warehouse room of which in my opinion York Fort is wanting as great quantities of Goods

is kept in a Shed or Warehouse without the Factory which I think may be supposed much Safer in the body of the Factory as likewise the extending the scale must make it more convenient and wholesome for the Men as in the old Flanker the Men were exceedingly confined or will there even now be convenience to Lodge half the upland Men while they are at the Factory and Men think it hard to be forced to lay in a Tent after so long a journey and be almost eat by the Moschetoes which must be the case with the greatest part of them, in my opinion the advantages arising from the Flanker being enlarged far surpasses the little irregularity of its appearance

Sept^r 15th Wednesday the New Flanker being covered the doors put up and the Windows glaized I cannot help expressing my aprobation of it, as I think it a much stronger piece of work than either of the other Flankers the timber being of larger dementions, and had Walter Bigger been a workman great part of the inside work would have been ready to be put up as he did nothing towards the building the outside, but I think him the worst I ever saw take a tool in hand as he could not make a common flight of steps consisting of ten steps in double the time as some of the foremost hands would have done or in half the workmanlike manner, as the steps he calls finished is one of the most Scandalous peices of work ever seen, his steps one higher by a full Inch than the other and some full an Inch at one end than at the other and scarce a joint but made with clatter wedges, and he is not only a bad workman but above being taught, before I went inland he was set to make me a small box to contain my parallel Glasses which was nothing more than if he had cut a small Square box at opposite angles which he was $2\frac{1}{2}$ days in executing in such a manner that it was useless and William Guthry made me one in about two hours in a workmanlike manner. James Clouston the supposed Bricklayer who never saw a Brick laid before he came to York Fort I think may be called an other bad hand as a common

Bricklayer would do more work in one day than he would in Ten, as to the other Men in general, I think them a set of well behaved good working Men, and in my humble opinion I think Men that are sent to this country should be all young as I should think Lads under Twenty Years but not less than Seventeen Years of Age far preferable to middle aged Men particularly for inland Service as they sooner larn to manage Canoes and probably would stay longer in the Service unless were Your Honors mean to farvour an old Servant or any particular person by sending him to this Country if I might presume to give Your Honors my opinion upon the number of Labourers at York Fort I might venture to inform Your Honors there being at present but ten I think them very few in proportion to the duties the place requires and out of that ten there could not above three of them be sent inland even upon the greatest emergence and with submission to Your Honors I think the trading Guns must be very slightly proved as one that I bought of Your Honors made by Wilson being loaded to four Inches including powder, shot & wading the third time it was fired blowed into two pieces about 15 Inches from the britch but luckily did no damage, I shall here take my leave of Your Honors wishing Your futer affairs more prosperous and remain

Your Honors

most Obedient and Faithfull Servant

Philip Turnor

JOURNAL IV

JOURNAL OF THE MOST REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS AND
OCCURRENCES FROM YORK FORT TO ALBANY AND MOOSE
FORTS &C FROM 17TH SEPTR 1779 TO 14TH SEPTR 1780,
KEPT BY MR. PHILIP TURNOR, SURVEYOR

JOURNAL IV

*A JOURNAL of the most remarkable Transactions and Occurrences
from York fort to Albany and Moose Forts &c from 17th Sept^r 1779
to 14th Sept^r 1780 kept by*

M^r Philip Turnor Surveyor

1779 7^{br} 17 left York fort
 25 arrived at Severn
 8^{br} 21. at moose fort
 x^{br} 23 at albany
 1780 feb^y 19 Set out from albany
 29 arrived at Henley house
 march 17 left Henley
 24 back to albany

June 5 Set out from albany
 18 . . . met Geo Sutherland agoing there
 21 arrived at Henley
 26 Set out from Henley
 July 8 arrived at Gloucester House
 august 2. left y^e Same
 6 arrived at Henley
 8 left . . . Henley
 11 arrived at Albany
 7^{br} 10 in the East main Sloop to moose Fort
 11 arrived there

*Journal of Proceedings and Occurrences
from September 17th, 1779 to*

1779
 Sept^r 17th Friday at 3 PM Embarked in the Severn Sloop to
 proceed for Albany or Moose Forts

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25th Saturday Arrived at Severn House¹ where I remained four days during which time we had continually frost Snow and bad weather

29th Wednesday Again Embarked in the Severn Sloop to proceed on our Voyage

Oct^r 21st Thursday Arrived at Moose Fort² after a very fatiguing Voyage of 22 days from Severn where found all well

I think Moos Fort in a most ruinous condition particularly the Mens Flanker not a Window but what is stoped with paper or rags & all unhung the platforms intirely worn out the Stairs in the Chiefs Flanker puled down and destroyed the steps or Stairs leeding from the Yard to the Chiefs appartment almost dangerous to Walk up the Smiths Shop & Cook rooms ready to fall and not a piece of Timber or board on the Plantation when a Board was wanted the Gun Chest were broke up and the Guns lay tumbling about the Warehouse, the Stockadoes most of them tumbling down and not two Months firewood on the plantation part of which M^r Jarvis³ procured that the whole place seems as though it was intended to be deserted

¹Fort Severn is a remote trading post established in 1785 by the Hudson's Bay Company as an outpost from York Factory. It is situated on the west bank of the Severn river four miles from its discharge into Hudson Bay, and on a clay plain thirty feet above high tide. Its position is approximately North Latitude 56°; West Longitude 87° 33'.

The name given me by the Indians for the Severn river was Washahó sipi. Mathew Cocking, who had been at Cumberland, was now in charge here.

²Moose Fort is now, and has been for a long time, situated on the east side of Factory Island, twelve miles above the mouth of Moose river, where it discharges into James bay. It was built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1672. It was not re-occupied after the French occupation of Hudson Bay until 1730.

³Edward Jarvis entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1771, and was employed until 1779 as "surgeon" and "assistant" at Albany Factory. In 1775 he had made an expedition to explore the course of the Chepy sipi, or Dead river, when he established communication between the Albany and Moose rivers. In 1776 he had made a journey from Henley to Lake Michipicoten, which he discovered to be part of Lake Superior. In 1779 he was chief at Moose Factory. In 1782 he was given command of Albany Factory. Here he was in charge for seven years, and then returned home for one year. He returned to the command of Albany Factory from 1790-92, when he sailed again for Europe, where he appears to have remained for four years. In 1796 he was appointed "supervisor and inspector of all the Company's factories in Hudson's Bay". He seems to have been stricken with illness almost immediately on his arrival in Hudson Bay, and he returned to Europe finally in the autumn of 1797.

Dec^r 14th Tuesday during the time I have been at this place the weather has been extremely disagreeable continually snow or thick weather, the Factory seems to wear a different face the Windows hung and glaized the Cabbins repaired new Stairs built in the Chiefs Flanker some Timber provided and boards sawn for repairs and making chests for the Guns but it will be a work of some time to put the Factory in repair being neither House Carpenter or Sawyer

15th Wednesday sett of for Albany Fort to consult M^r Tho^s Hutchins¹ upon my future proceedings in company with the Surgeon² of Albany Fort and M^r John Turner³ and others

¹Thomas Hutchins entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1766, and was employed for seven years as "surgeon" at York Factory. From 1774 to 1782 he was in command at Albany Factory. In 1776 he had been directed by the Governor and Committee to send expeditions inland from Moose and Albany Factories to intercept the "Pedlars", and in the autumn of 1777 he had reported the establishment of Gloucester House at "Upashewa lake, two hundred and thirty-four miles above Henley." He returned to England in 1782, and became secretary to the Company in London. He died in June, 1790. He was described as "late of the Parish of Allhallows Staining in London."

Hutchins was a keen and competent naturalist and botanist, and was the author of one of twelve manuscript volumes of "Observations on Hudson's Bay" now in the possession of the Company. For his scientific work he was awarded a gold medal by the Royal Society.

²The Surgeon at Albany Fort was John McNab.

³John Turnor, probably a brother of Philip Turnor, and described in the Company's books as of Friston, near Saxmundham in Suffolk, entered the service in 1778, when he was "aged about 27 years" in which case it appears that he was about a year older than Philip Turnor. He was employed until 1782 as Master of the *Severn* Sloop, which plied between York Fort and Severn and Moose Factories. This covered the period of the voyage between these places in the autumn of 1779, when Philip Turnor was a passenger on board the Sloop, and he accompanied the latter from Moose to Albany in the ensuing December.

John Turnor was taken prisoner by the French when Admiral La Pérouse captured York Fort in August, 1782, and in the following year he was appointed chief mate under Joshua Tunstall of the Company's ship *Prince Rupert*, a position which he continued to hold during four successive voyages to Hudson Bay during the years 1783-86. He served as chief mate to William Christopher of the ship *King George* for the voyage of 1787, and in the following year to Joshua Tunstall of the *Sea Horse*. In 1790 he was appointed by the Company to the command of the *Queen Charlotte*; in 1801 to the *Prince of Wales*; in 1802 to the *King George*; in 1813 to the *Prince of Wales*; and 1814 to the *Eddystone*. He therefore commanded one or other of the Company's ships during the annual voyage to the Bay, on no less than twenty-five occasions between 1790 and 1815, and during this period he sailed annually from the Thames in the Spring with the single exception of the year 1811. He spent the winter of 1815-16, when he was in command of the *Eddystone*, off Charlton Island, not being able to proceed further owing to ice conditions. He retired from the Service in 1817, and in

23rd Thursday Arrived at Albany Fort¹ found all well A person could hardly suppose this place and Moose Fort has the same owners here every thing seems in good Repair a Sufficent stock of Firewood and Timber on the Plantation and business seems to go on smooth & even Upon consulting M^r Tho^s Hutchins he seems of opinion that it would be best for me to proceed Inland from this place first in which opinion I intirely acquiesce as Albany is most capable of giving me assistance Moose Fort Inland Settlements being more nominal than real

1780

Feb^y 19th Saturday Sett out to proceed for Gloucester House in company with Your Honors apprentice John Hodgson² and assisted by two able men from Albany Fort and two men returning to Henley House

29th Tuesday Arrives at Henley House found all well³ at the

March 1818 was granted a pension by the Governor and Committee of the Company "in consideration of the length of time he has been in the Service." He died on December 17, 1822, aged sixty-nine years, and there is in the Company's Archives a copy of a letter addressed to his widow, Mrs. Margaret Turnor at Stepney Square, dated March 26, 1823, and also one to a Mr. John Turnor (probably his son) addressed to Stepney Green on May 26, 1824.

¹Albany Fort is on the south side of Albany Island, which is six miles long and two and a half wide, just inside the mouth of the Albany river, and about seven miles westward and inland from the general course of the shore line of James bay. This shore is flat and shallow, and the tide runs out about three miles, while the flood extends up the river about three miles above the fort.

On the plan of the mouth of the Albany river, dated 1774, in Hearne's *Journey* (Champlain Society Publications, Volume VI), "Old Factory" is indicated on the main land, two and a half miles farther south. Albany river is a large stream with a total length of six hundred miles.

²On May 10, 1774, the Company engaged John Hodgson and George Donald as apprentices from the Grey Coat Hospital at Westminster, from which place David Thompson was engaged in a similar way ten years later, doubtless on the assumption that their superior education in mathematics would be of advantage to the service.

In a letter from Thomas Hutchins, Chief at Albany Fort, to John Favell, Master at Henley House, dated September 11, 1775, is the following:—

"We recommend John Hodgson to your especial care and attention, and that he be kept to the Practice of Writing and Accounts, at all opportunities, when not employed on inland journeys, making observations and taking the distances of Places, and making Plans, in which you are to take every opportunity of making him usefull, and which we have reason to hope may easily be effected considering his Education at School, and employment here this summer, in surveying Albany river." John Hodgson remained in the service until 1810, and subsequently retired to Lower Canada, after being in charge at Albany Factory for several years.

³Henley House was situated on a gravelly island in the Albany river, opposite the mouth of Henley river, and ten miles below the mouth of Kenogami river.

place but my own health in so bad a state that I am not able to proceed but intend staying at Henley untill the rivers opens and proceed early in the Spring the two men which assisted me are to proceed to Gloucester with the Packet

March 16th Thursday during my stay at this place the weather has proved very favourable but was not able to make any Observations for several days my Eyes being so much affected with the Snow but by M^r Tho^s Atkinsons assistance both my health and Eyes soon recovered

17th Friday left Henley House to return for Albany Fort in Company with John Hodgson your Honors apprentice and four people from Henley House M^r Favell being so short of provisions he could not keep us and had I staid he could not victual me to proceed up the Country untill the Boats arrived from Albany with Provisions

24th Friday Arrived at Albany Fort where we found all well

June 5th Monday at ½PM left Albany Fort to proceed to Henley and Gloucester Houses in a Canoe accompany'd by John Hodgson your Honors apprentice the Boats having been gone 10 Days but the river being so exceeding shole I expect to come up with them in four days and are in hopes they will then be over the worst of the road and it is intirely useless to proceed to Henley House before the Boats as they can neither keep us or forward us to Gloucester House for want of Provisions, at 3½ PM put up having gone about 6 Miles wind NE blows hard with Thunder and heavy rain and nothing to Shelter us in the night and Salt Geese for Breakfast, Dinner, & Supper and a short quantity of them but I am convinced M^r Tho^s Hutchins would have supply'd me much better if he had had it in his power but Henley and Gloucester take such quantity of Provisions that the People at Albany Fort are continually at short allowance

This was a second building, for, as will be seen by Turnor's map, Old Henley was situated on the north bank of the river opposite the south branch of Kenogami river. The House was built in 1741 to oppose the French Canadian traders who were pushing up from the south.

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	months
Gloucester supply'd 8 Months p ^r man for 5 Men is .	40
Henley 10 d ^o 15 d ^o is .	150
Indians for the Business of the above places . . . about	12
Henley this year sent 6 Men to Albany 11½ Weeks } not having provisions at Henley House . . . }	17
East Main for 12 Men	19
	238
Three Months provisions for 70 Men is	210
	28

That it appears Albany Fort has 28 Months for 1 Man to supply with provisions over and above what comes from England besides keeping her own complement of 38 Men provided Henley had kept her own men which I am informed seldom happens then Albany would be short 11 Months for 1 Man which she has to provide over and above keeping her own complement of 38 Men

1780

6th Tuesday at 6 AM got underway and went about 16 Miles and put up at 9 PM the part of the river passed this day is so exceeding bad that we could not get up with a Canoe without leeding at about every mile and could not come near the side of the river for stones so could not gett any tracking and had not the Boats gone before me I should have thought it impossible Wind Easterly with flying Clouds

7th Wednesday at 6 AM got underway at 2 PM came up with the Boats about 32 Miles from the Factory (they having not gone 3 Miles p^r day being forced to Carry Leed, Warp or Row continually not being able to come near the banks to track) went about 5 Miles farther and put up Wind Easterly clear weather

8th Thursday at 6 AM got underway in company with the Boats and came to several places where they were forced to take up one Boat at a time having about 16 men upon the tracking line 4 or 5 men clearing the line the others

some times in the Boat and some times up to their middles in water steadying the Boat John Hodgson and my self in the Boats working with setting poles and the lines and men had to go to the other Boats in Canoes and had there not been Canoes to attend the Boats they could not have got them up as the Canoes had some times to carry the men and pass the line to the opposite side of the water and use two lines an end, went about 13 Miles and put up at 5½ PM Wind Easterly clear weather, by the marks the men shewd me and which appears plain on the Banks the water is lower by 16 feet perpendicular than it was at this time last Year and about 10 feet lower than any of them ever knew it at this Season of the Year

9th Friday at 6 AM got underway went about 4 Miles and came to the Fishing Creek Fall¹ where the Boats was unloaded and the Boats got up light which took two hours to each Boat to get them about ½ Mile and took all the Men to exert them selves to the utmost to accomplish was very near losing two men in clearing the line they being obliged to walk up to their middles in the strength of the current to clear the line and as soon as the line was clear it flew from them and left them helpless if they had moved their legs they could not have got them down again was forced to pass men to them with sticks from each other, the men which was with the Boats frequently out round her sides to their middles in water and had the tracking line broke most likely the Boat would have dashed some of them in pieces, and this fall which is now so bad seldom used to be any obstruction as they used to track over it the same as any other part of the river that it is impossible to form any Judgment of the Rivers in so uncommon a Season

10th Saturday at 5 AM sent John Hodgson about 8 Miles up the River to Indians to try to procure provisions at 1 PM got underway with the Boats all the Cargoe having

¹Fishing Creek Fall is about forty-five miles above Albany Factory. During part of this distance, at all events, the river flows over a bed of flat-lying Palaeozoic limestone.

been carried about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile went about 2 Miles and put up at $5\frac{1}{2}$ PM, John Hodgson returned having found the Indians but could get no provisions but they promised they would try all in their power to provide some, Wind Easterly Cloudy Weather

11th Sunday at 6 AM got underway went about 1 Mile and the new boat which I was in over powered us and drove before the current and got on a Shole and stove but was got on shore on the North side with much difficulty, which intirely hapned by the badness of the Grapnells of both the Henley Boats being intirly useless not having above two Arms to each of them and they broke like Glass they have been made of bad Iron and badly worked and I am convinced Your Honours have been ill used in them, the Boats Cargoe being Flour & tight Casks received very little damage, got the Boat repaired went about 2 Miles more and put up at 6 PM wind NW light breeze

12th Monday at $6\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway and I and John Hodgson went to the Indians and got 24 days provision for 1 man of Fish, Rabbits & Beavers flesh for the payment of which I gave an order upon M^r Hutchins, at 6 PM put up having gone about 6 Miles Wind Westerly fresh breeze & Clear

13th Tuesday at 6 AM got underway went about 9 Miles and put up at $3\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Westerly light breeze & Cloudy

14th Wednesday at $6\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway went about 16 Miles and put up at 9 PM Wind Westerly for part of the day latter part Easterly, Sailed this day about 8 Miles which is more than they Sailed before since they came from the Factory not dareing trust the Boats with Sail on account of the sholeness of the Water

15th Thursday at $6\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went about $3\frac{1}{2}$ Miles and put up at 8 PM Wind Westerly fresh gale and Cloudy

16th Friday at 6 AM got underway went about 8 Miles and put up at 4 PM Wind Easterly light breeze with showers of rain

- 17th Saturday at 6½ AM got underway went about 17 Miles and put up at 5 PM Wind Easterly with snow & rain
- 18th Sunday at 4 AM got underway went about 13 Miles and put up at a Creek called Chim-a-ha-gan Seepe at 8 PM at which place George Sutherland mett us on his return from Inland who seemed in a most miserable situation having almost lost the use of one side, Wind Northerly with Showers of rain
- 19th Monday at 5 AM got underway went about 8 Miles and put up at 4 PM Wind Westerly with rain
- 20th Tuesday at 6 AM got underway went about 15 Miles and put up at 6 PM Wind Westerly Cloudy Weather
- 21st Wednesday at 4½ AM got underway went about 5 Miles and came to a creek where Jinkin Daniel was fishing who informed us that he believed M^r Favell had not provisions for the day in the House and he had not one fish therefore I & John Hodgson took our Canoe and some provisions to carry to M^r Favell at Henley House where we arrived at 2½ PM found all well and at 6 PM the three Boats arrived Wind Northerly Cloudy Weather, the whole Journey has been nothing but a Repetition of the transactions of Thursday June y^e 8th
- 23rd Friday this day two of the Boats returned for Albany
- 26th Monday at 8 AM left Henley House to proceed for Gloucester House accompanied by 5 other Canoes with goods and provisions for Gloucester the River being so exceeding shole that it is impossible for the Boat to proceed any farther, the difficulty I find in getting my Canoe up the River she being the largest in company and a bad bottom will occasion me to defer taking the bearings & distances untill my return which when Taken can be but a guess, went this day about 18 Miles Wind Westerly Cloudy Weather
- 27th Tuesday at 6 AM got underway went about 16 Miles and put up at 5½ PM Wind Westerly fresh breeze and Cloudy
- 28th Wednesday at 6½ AM got underway went to Moose-wa-pa-kin Seepe and put up at 4½ PM to fish having

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only 5 days provisions p^r Week, found the Creek almost dry got 2 small fish Calm hot weather

29th Thursday at 6 AM got underway at 3½ PM put up to try for fish but got none Calm hazy hot weather

30th Friday at 6 AM got underway at 2 PM put up at blackwater Creeks¹ to fish got 3 Jack & 2 Trout Calm hot weather

July 1st Saturday at 5 AM got underway at 6½ PM put up at Jepastick Seepe found the Creek dry and no fish to be got Wind Westerly Cloudy Weather

2nd Sunday at 5½ AM got underway at 4 PM put up about 2 Miles below Boats Creek where we found a Canoe left by W^m Irvin last fall when the River set fast repaired her and left a worse in its place, Wind Westerly Cloudy weather

3rd Monday at 6 AM got underway at 4 PM put up about 2 Miles below Wapesue Seepe² Wind Southerly fresh breeze & Cloudy

4th Tuesday at 5½ AM got underway at 2 PM put up Wind Westerly with Thunder & heavy rain

5th Wednesday at 6 AM got underway at 3 PM put up at the foot of Martins fall³ Wind West with rain

6th Thursday at 6 AM got underway Carried about 50 Yards on South side the fall then led up the remainder went about 3 Miles and led up a fall about ½ Mile which always used to be carried at on account of the height of fall and depth of water went about 7 Miles and carried over a large rock about 50 Yards went about 3 Miles and carried over an Island between two falls 120 Yards and put up at 4 PM Wind Westerly with showers of rain

7th Friday at 5 AM got underway went 1 Mile and carried 70 Yards, went ½ Mile and carried ¼ Mile went 1½ Mile and carried 50 Yards went ¼ Mile and carried 80 Yards into Moose-a-wa-kay Lake which is not above

¹A small stream on the north side.

²At Wapisue or Swan river, he leaves the country underlain by limestone, and enters the more hummocky country underlain by granite.

³Martin Fall is a rapid in which the water has a drop of from twelve to fifteen feet.

2 Miles wide went 1 Mile in Lake and put up at 3 PM to fish got a few small fish Wind Southerly light breeze & Cloudy

8th Saturday at 5 AM got underway went about 2 Miles in Lake and entered the River and Carried about 700 Yards went about 5 Miles and Carried 200 Yards went 4 Miles and carried 300 Yards went 3 Miles and came to Espashaway Lake went 5 Miles and arrived at Gloucester House¹ at 5 PM where I found all well

10th Monday the people which accompany'd me John Hodgson Your Honors Apprentice excepted returned for Henley House with part of the Furrs traded here the Canoes that came with me brought only two 8 Gallon Kegs or Bundles each except 2 Bundles of Pork or Flour each out of which trading goods 2 Canoes was obliged to be provided Henley not being able to get more than 3 Canoes through M Favell used every endeavour to get them the other 3 Canoes which came up was Canoes that came from Albany and intirely spoiled in attending the Boats and the Indians will not yet be perswaded to build large Canoes and the Canoes we have at present two people and their provisions nearly Loads them, had people on Journeys Bacon and Cheese it would be a great help Geese and Pork being very heavy carriage and Journeys in this part of the Country are very different from York Fort where they travel in company with Indians and a Country that will produce plenty but in this part if we meet Indians they are ready to beg from Us instead of assisting us, the Inland business at Albany Fort is carried on in a different manner to what it is at York Fort, here the Inland settlements must have every thing sent to them and a good quantity of provisions to enable them to keep the House as this Country will not afford provisions, on the contrary the York Fort Settlements maintain their own men and send them to the Factory once a Year for their own Goods which eases

¹Gloucester House was on the north shore at the Narrows of Espashaway lake, now called Washi lake. It was built two or three years before Turnor's visit, to oppose the Canadian traders, but it was evidently a very poor place for provisions.

the Factory of a very great Burthen with Submission to Your Honors I should suppose Gloucester House to be well worth supporting as by what I can learn most of the Furrs traded at this place was from Indians which used to trade with the Canadians, I cannot help thinking this House to weakly manned I should think Eight men few enough in that case two or three of them might be employed in hunting and they might find a Winter fishery which cannot be managed under three hands which cannot be spared out of five Men as their would be only two men left at the House which would render the House an easy prey to Indians and when Indians come to trade You cannot shut the gates against them without giving them offence but at present the House cannot be supplied with either trading goods or provisions on account of the uncommon sholeness of the River and had the River been in its usual state they could not have been Supply'd with so much provisions as they had last Year though Albany was distressed to the utmost and very little sent to Henley, I am of Opinion should not Albany be better Supply'd with provisions that it will be impossible to support Gloucester House and in that case Ten Men would be sufficient for Henley House which would greatly ease the Burthen of Albany Fort

31st Monday this day the Canoes 5 in number returned from Henley House with goods for this place they informed us they expected no more Canoes untill the fall of the Year and all the goods now brought will little more than trade the Furrs in the House which was left by Indians for want of Goods, on the arrival of those Canoes there was neither Cloth, Blankets, Knives, Hatchets, Ice Chizels, Gunns, Shott or hardly any other article of trading goods at the place some Indians which had Furrs laying at the House having been in and traded all the Goods that came with me and even now they have only two Low India Shot in the House that they have neither Shot for their own defence or to trade with Indians and being so short of goods creates a very great expence when a Master has

not the goods they want he must try to perswaide them to trade such goods as he has which must be done by presents

On the return of the Boats from Henley if there had been provisions at Albany to have Victualed a good number of Canoes from that place they might have given this place as much Assistance as would have enabled them to have shifted until they could have received assistance next Spring which probably would have arrived before many of the Upland Indians would have been here to trade but when I consider the distressed situation Albany was left in at my departure I am well convinced Albany cannot afford any assistance and I do not see where Gloucester House could have been settled more advantageous for the part of receiving assistance from Albany and a probability of a fishery and should suppose for trade by the apparent rise of the trade and in this part of the Country they have nothing to trust to but the Factory and their Fishery as the Indians can hardly keep themselves, And should Gloucester House be properly supported I am of opinion it will suffer very much for want of trinkets which the Canadians give in great quantities such as Lace, Rings, Ribbons, Paint &c which Your Honors Servants cannot do and such like presents greatly gain the Love of the Women and some of them have great influence over their Husbands particularly the Young people who would carry part of their Furrs to the Canadians if it was for those trinkets only, if an Indian trades lace he will get a peice of 36 Yards for one, two or three Beaver, if given about 12 Yards or some times a piece, rings about 20 for one Beaver, Ribbons, Paint and all their trinkets in like manner which makes all Upland places which have York Fort standard of trade deny all kinds of trinkets which must hurt the trade, Kettles are an article which the Canadians sell at a surprising rate all their Kettles that I have seen are made of strong Copper and Copper covers to them the covers of the large kettles answer the end of a Frying pan and they

sell those Kettles at about half the price Your Honors sell Brass Kettles of the same size but I think the Masters of Your Honors Inland Settlements may do very well with the Standard except trinkets

The trade of this place and Cumberland House differ very much, at Cumberland House Brandy is the chief trade all Powder, Shot, Tobacco, Knives, Flints, Steels, Paint and small articles are given and at this place the chief trade is in Cloth, Blankets, Powder, Shot, Guns & Ironwork and some Tobacco, the Brandy mostly given & greatest part of the Tobacco and small articles the chief reason that I know for the trade differing so much is all the Canadians having used them to this method of trade and Indians will not do without Brandy and at this place Indians cannot afford to buy it and they will have a good drink before they trade and if Your Honors Servants will not give it them the Canadians will and they get this drink before they trade consequently have it in their power to leave You afterwards, when they get sober they trade Cloth, Blankets, Powder Shot &c which they cannot do without they having no Leather in their Country, on the contrary at Cumberland House Cloth is almost a Luxury they having plenty of Leather and can live without a Gun most of them being able to kill Buffalo with Bow & Arrows, when a gang of Indians come to Cumberland House if any of them owe any debt they immediately pay it and some few of them will give the Master some Skins to take care of until their drink is over, as soon as the day is closed they begin to trade Brandy and continue trading all night in the day they will goe to Sleep and begin drinking at night which closes again in the morning and some times lasts this way four or five nights or as long as their Furrs lasts and when their drink is over they trade the Furrs left in care of the Master for Guns, Ironwork & some times Cloth and every Indian gets a present of Tobacco, Powder, Shot &c and some of the Chief Indians a piece of Cloth to make a smock for his Wife, the Masters of most of Your Honors

Inland settlements particularly those belonging to York Fort would Labour under many difficulties was they not to keep a Woman as above half the Indians that came to the House would offer the master their Wife the refusal of which would give great offence to both the man and his Wife though he was to make the Indian a present for his offer the Woman would think her self slighted and if the Master was to accept the offer he would be expected to Cloath her and by keeping a Woman it makes one short ready answer (that he has a Woman of his own and she would be offended) and very few Indians make that offer when they know the Master keeps a Woman and those Women are as usefull as men upon the Journeys

Aug^t 2nd Wednesday the season being far advanced and no Indians to be procured to go further up the Country at present therefore take the opportunity of returning to Albany Fort with the Canoes that came on Monday last, at 7 AM left Gloucester House went in the Lake about 5 Miles NEbE (leaving the mouth of a River which falls into this Lake to South of us about 2 Miles from the House) left the Lake and entered the Kasitchawan or Albany River went 7 Miles from S^o to E^t seldom 200 Yards on a Course and came to a Carr^g place 200 Yards over went E^t 2 Miles & NE 1 Mile and led down a fall about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile to Moose-a-wa-kay Lake went E^t 2 Miles & NEbE 1 Mile in Lake and carried 100 Yards into the River went $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile and carr^d 50 Yards went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and Carr^d 100 Yards went E^t $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and carr^d 80 Yards went E^t $1\frac{1}{2}$ Miles and carr^d 600 Yards went $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and carr^d 200 Yards and put up at 7 PM Wind Southerly light breeze and Cloudy

3rd Thursday at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went E^t to NE 3 Miles and led down a fall went NEbE 2 Miles and S^o $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and led down a fall went E^t to NE 8 Miles and came to Martins fall carr^d 50 Yards went E^t to NE 12 Miles and put up at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM Calm with heavy Rain

4th Friday at 6 AM got underway went NbE 4 Miles

NbW 3 Miles NNE 3 Miles NE 3 Miles ENE 1 Mile E^t 1 Mile and NE 3 Miles and came to Wa-pe-seu Seepe (a small river . . . falling from the Northward but at present almost dry) went E^t 2 Miles, SEbS 1 Mile E^t 3 Miles SE 3 Miles ESE 1 Mile, E^t 3 Miles S^o to E^t 10 Miles and came to Boats Creek (so called on account of the Boat having laid there with goods for Gloucester House but at present dry) went SE 2 Miles, SbW 1 Mile SE 1 Mile S^o 1 Mile and ESE 1 Mile and came to Aquamar-towa Seepe (a large river falling from the Southward but at present almost dry)¹ went E^t 2 miles and put up at 6 PM, Calm with small rain

5th Saturday at 6½ AM got underway went E^t 2 Miles and came to Je-pas-tick Seepe (a small creek on South side) went 7 Miles E^t 3 Miles ESE to S and SE 1 Mile and came to blackwater Creeks (two small Creeks on North side) Went from S to E 3 Miles SE to E 3 Miles & SSE 3 Miles and came to a place known by the name of the Six Islands went E^t 3 Miles SE 4 Miles SSE 4 Miles, SE 2 Miles E^t 2 Miles and ESE 2 Miles and came to Moose-wa-pa-kin Seepe (a small River or Creek on North side) went ESE 1 Mile, SW 1 Mile & SE 2 Miles and put up at 6 PM Wind Westerly Clear weather

6th Sunday at 5½ AM got underway went SSW 3 Miles SSE 2 Miles and came to Sturgeon Creek (a small creek on south side) went SE 2 Miles and came to a place known by the name of the four Islands went ESE 3 Miles SSE 4 Miles SE 1 Mile S^o 1 Mile ESE 4 Miles SSE 2 Miles E^t 1 Mile S^o ½ Mile E^t 1 Mile, SE 1 Mile & NE ½ Mile and came to the mouth of the South River²

¹Aqua martowa river is the Ogoki river, one of the largest tributaries of the Albany river from the south. Up it is an easy canoe route to Nipigon lake and Lake Superior.

²The South Branch or Kenogami river, which rises in Kenogami or Long lake. It and its tributaries drain a great area of country from the Canadian Pacific Railway northward to the Albany river. After the Canadian National Railway was built, and before the Temiscaming and Northern Ontario Railway reached Hudson Bay at Moosonee, supplies for the posts at the south end of the bay were usually taken in scows at the time of high water in the rivers in the spring from the Canadian National down the Nagagami and Kenogami rivers to the Albany, and down it to Albany Factory. This was done without any transshipment or re-handling of cargo.

opposite Old Henley which spot is full of small Islands went NE 5 Miles & NEbE 5 Miles and came to Henley House where I found all well Wind SW fresh breeze and Cloudy

Henley House stands upon an Island on North side the River a small branch of about 70 or 80 Yards wide running round the North side of the Island and a small creek falling into it on the North side (called chickney creek) the Island is about $\frac{3}{4}$ Mile long and near $\frac{1}{4}$ Mile wide the House stands about 150 Yards from the west or uper end of the Island and the ground which the House stands upon is about 3 Feet below the Level of the ground about 100 Yards to Eastward or lower down the Island and I think Henley House the worst building I have seen in the Country both as to Convenience and Workmanship the Flankers all given way from the sheds that both Flankers and Sheds are obliged to be shored the platforms of Sheds and tops of the Flankers all rotten the Flankers neither Wind nor Water tight and was a Person to begin to Repair it I am of Opinion he would find more Labour than in Building a Substantial good new House which I should think the complement of Hands at Henley with the assistance of two House Carpenters very Sufficent to compleat in little time as Timber may be easily procured at a little distance up the River, and with Submission to Your Honors Superior Judgment I should suppose a House built upon the Plan of Severn House would be more Substantial, Defensible and Convenient than a House upon the plan of the present Henley House and with Submission to Your Honours I should think it would be much better to build a House upon the heighest ground as it would not be subject to damage by deluges and in that case I should think it most prudent to let the present House stand untill the new one is tenantable as I should not think any of the materials of the present House worth puting into a new one except the Brickwork which would soon be removed and should suppose Albany might be able to spare her

Bricklayer for that purpose and should Your Honors Order a new House to be built some Additional supply of Bricks will be necessary and I should think the best kind of Roof would be a platform with a little descent that well Caulked and Tar'd then Covered with the London strong brown Paper and Tar'd again then Smiths ashes (or Scales of Iron if they could be procured) Strowd over that which would dry like stone and by repeating the Tar brown Paper & Ashes when necessary it would make it proof against all weather and by having this kind of Roof they would be enabled to keep Watch upon the top of the House when necessary

8th Tuesday at 7½ AM left Henley House to proceed to Albany was obliged to leed our Canoes ¾ Mile for want of Water went nearly E^t 5 Miles, NE 1 Mile E^t 3 Miles ENE 5 Miles and came to a Creek on South side in which great quantity of Fish is annually caught for the use of Henley House but at this time intirely dry went ENE 14 Miles & NE 5 Miles and put up at 6 PM wind Westerly light breeze & Cloudy

9th Wednesday at 5½ AM got underway went ENE 4 Miles EbS 4 Miles, ENE 4 Miles and came to a Creek on South side called Chim-a-ha-gan Seepe went NE 5 Miles E 4 Miles and SE 2 Miles and came to a small River on South side called Jepy Seepe went NE 1½ Mile ENE 2 Miles NNE 3 Miles and came to a part of the River called the mouth of Henley River (formerly from a supposition that a river run to the Southward at this place which proved only an Island about five Miles long known by the name of Humbles mistake) went NE 6 Miles ENE 4 Miles and put up at 6 PM on Black Bear Island Wind Easterly Cloudy Weather

11th Thursday at 6 AM got underway went ENE 4 Miles NE 2 Miles & ENE 4 Miles (and came to a bluff point called Flamborough head) went NE 2½ Miles ENE 3 Miles NE 4 Miles EbS 4 Miles E 4 Miles and came to a Creek on North side called the fishing Creek went E 2 Miles EbN 2 Miles & ENE 4 Miles and came to the

fishing Creek fall (which is bad on account of the sholeness of the water) John Hodgson and Will^m Irvin in shooting the fall sunk their Canoe but luckily both their Lives and Furrs was saved by an other Canoe which was before them, put up at 3 PM to dry the Furrs Wind Easterly fresh breeze & Cloudy

11th Friday at 5 AM got underway went E^t 2 Miles NE 4 Miles NEbE 3 Miles NE to SE 8 Miles E^t 7 Miles NE 3 Miles NEbE 7 Miles & NNE 5 Miles and came to the great Fall which we was forced to leed down the water being so exceeding shole went NE 3 Miles NNE 5 Miles ESE 2 Miles and E^t 3 Miles and came to the Factory at 5 PM where we found all well and the East-Main Sloop Just arrived Wind Westerly with Showers of Rain

19th Saturday this day Pancakes being no other kind of Provisions in the Factory

20th Sunday the East-Main Sloop Sailed for Moose River and believe the firing of the Guns at her departure has brought in some Indians with a few Geese, Ducks & Plover little more than one days allowance or we should have had no victuals this day, if it pleases God to send us a Ship this Year I hope we shall not be in immediate want of Provisions again before her arrival, the Water in the River is so salt that we cannot use it but shall be forced to fetch water 3 Miles up the River on account of so little Water coming down the River

28th Monday assisted M^r Hutchins in makeing an overhale of the Provisions and Stores of which the following is the very alarming account of the remains of Provisions

Viz

Barley	4 Bushels
Butter	10lb
Flour	112 lb
Cheese Gloucester	2 lb
Malt brown	1/2 Bushel
Pale	2 d ^o
Molasses	1/3 Cask

Rice	12 lb
Salt white	76 Bushels
Tares	1½ d°

In case no Ship should arrive this Season the before mentioned Provisions would do very little towards the Supporting 59 People and from what quarter we could receive any Succour I cannot foresee I think the consequence would terminate in the loss of many of our Lives

Sept^r 6th Wednesday the East Main Sloop arrived with the happy news of the Ship being safe in Moose Roads and likewise brought the Packet from England, I beg Your Honors permission to venture to lay the following account before You

Sent from England Viz^t

Pork	838 Peices is . . .	.3352 day for 1 Man
Beef	743 d° is . . .	.2972 d° p ^r d°
Cheese	917 d° is . . .	.917 d° p ^r d°
Bacon	1226 d° is . . .	.1226 d° p ^r d°
Stock Fish . . .	336 lb a 2 ^{lb} p ^r man is 168	d° p ^r d°

Provisions sent from England	8635
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The Following Provisions required Viz^t

9 Months at Albany Fort for 12 Men	}	3285 days p ^r 1 Man
intended for Inland . . . is . . .		
8 Months for the above 12 Men	}	2920 d° p ^r d°
when Inland		
9 Months at Albany Fort for 2 Extra	}	547 d° p ^r d°
Men intended for Gloucester		
House	}	1490 d° p ^r d°
7 Months for 7 Men at Gloucester		
House	}	5475 d° p ^r d°
9 Months for 20 Men at Henley		
House	}	508 d° p ^r d°
Indians assisting Occasionally on the		
Journeys		

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Provisions required for Inland . . 14225 days p^r 1 Man
 d^o sent from England . . . 8635 days p^r 1 Man

Deficiency to be Supply'd by Albany }
 Fort } 5590 days p^r 1 Man
 32 Men at Albany Fort 1 Year is . . 11680 days p^r 1 Man

Total which Albany has to Supply }
 by Her Hunt } 17270 days p^r 1 Man

With submission to Your Honors I cannot help thinking the before mentioned Provisions though so great a quantity will prove Inadequate to the Service required by Your Honors but that must be intirely submitted to Your Honors superior Judgement whether the returns expected will answer a greater Supply, in my Opinion the prosecution of Indian settlements from this place must be attended with great expence being forced to have the greatest part of their Provisions sent from the Factory

10th Sunday Embarked in the East Main Sloop to proceed for Moose Fort

11th Monday Arrived safe at Moose Fort found all well

14th Thursday by the desire of M^r Edward Jarvis & assisted by the House Carpenter we took a survey of the State of the West Flanker in which the men resides and found it in such a rotten condition as to require immediately to be rebuilt therefore made our Report of the defects to M^r Edward Jarvis accordingly, there likewise requires a great repair to the Stockadoes, Platforms, Smiths Shop, Cook Rooms & Saw house, the main Girder of the first floor of the South or Chiefs Flanker requires to be taken up it being considerably settled, this Girder is supported in the middle by the Brickwork of the Chimney and at some time I suppose has had the Brickwork taken down without first properly shoring the Girder and the weight throwd upon the fresh brick work before it was settled the Girder of the Roof having to Long a bearing without being properly trussed therefore a Shore was set under the Girder of the Roof and upon the Girder of the First

Floor which throws most of the weight of Roof upon the Girder of the First Floor but I think with little Labour they may be properly set up again In my Opinion little can be done this Year towards the repairs of this place but providing & Squaring the Timber & Sawing some Boards

I cannot help thinking Moose Fort badly Situated as no Vessel bigger than a Long Boat can come to the Launch—about one Mile lower down the Island Sloops should come to a good Launch but wether the Expencc of removing the Factory would not over ballance the advantages derived from it can be best determined by Your Honors, I shall here take my leave of Your Honors wishing an increase of Your Trade and remain

Your Honors most Obedient
and Faithfull Hum^{ble} Ser^t
to Command
Philip Turnor

JOURNAL V

JOURNAL OF THE MOST REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS AND
OCCURRENCES FROM 19TH DECEMR 1780 TO 7TH AUGUST
1781, BY MR. PHILIP TURNOR, SURVEYOR

JOURNAL V

*A JOURNAL of the most remarkable Transactions and
Occurrences from 19th Decem^r 1780 to 7th August 1781
by M^r Philip Turnor
Surveyor*

1780

Dec 19th Tuesday sett of for Albany Fort in company with the people returning to Albany from hauling goods to this place with intent to take sketch of the coast as it appears in Winter

24th Sunday arrived at Albany Fort and found all well.

1781

Jan 4th Thursday sett of for Moose Fort again in company with the people hauling goods

12th Friday arrived at Moose Fort having had bad walking and found all well

22nd Monday sett of for East Main House¹ assisted by Geo. Donald,² W^m Wase & John Laughton & 2 dogs with intent to take a Sketch of the Coast as it appears in the Winter and to take Observations at East Main House

¹East Main House, situated at the mouth of the East Main river, called by Samuel Hearne the Slude river, in North Latitude 52° 13' and West Longitude 78° 30'. This House was established by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1685, and at this time it was headquarters of the east coast of the bay. In a straight line across James bay, passing south east of Charlton Island, it is one hundred and fifteen miles north-east from Moose Factory.

²We have recorded on p. 264 that in 1774 George Donald was engaged as an apprentice from the Grey Coat Hospital.

In a letter from the Hudson's Bay Company in London to E. B. Kitchen and Council at Moose Factory, dated May 11, 1774, is the following:—"We have engaged—George Donald as an Apprentice for 7 years from the 10th instant, whom we do recommend to the especial care and attention of Our present Chief, and that he be kept to the practice of Writing and Accounts and the several Instructions he has already received by his education at School, and whereby we expect he may become very useful to the Company and particularly by going hereafter Inland into the country, and making Observations and taking the distance of Places and making Plans."

In the early part of 1777, this young apprentice was employed in surveying the river in the neighbourhood of Mesackamy House. He was also with Turnor at Abitibi and Frederick House lakes.

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1781

Feb^y 1st Thursday arrived at Rueperts River Log Tent¹

Feb^y 3rd Saturday again sett of for East Main House

5th Monday arrived at East Main House and found all well

19th Monday sett of for Moose Fort

March 1st Thursday arrived at Moose Fort and found all well

April 2nd Monday at 6 AM sett of with intent to proceed to Mesagamy Lake² with intent to take Observations at that place assisted by Geo. Donald John Laughton H. Monroe an Indian at 8 AM broke one of our sleds, was obliged to send to the Factory for an other went this day about 8 Miles nearly South through the woods

3rd Tuesday at 3½ AM got underway at 5 AM was obliged to send H. Monroe back and the Indian to assist him he not being able to walk the snow being hard at top and often braking into the snow to the middle that he could not manage his snow shoes at 3 PM the Indian returned with the Chiefs Servant and at my request brought me a Sled went this day 2 Miles

1781

April 4th Wednesday at 3 AM got underway went 15 Mile nearly South and put up at ½ PM

5th Thursday at 3 AM got underway went 6 Mile and put up at 6 AM having broke two of our Sleds

6th Friday Wind South with rain most part of this day could not travel

¹Rupert's House, at the mouth of Rupert's river which flows into the south east angle of James bay, was the first trading post built by the Hudson's Bay Company, having been built by Gillam and Groseillier in 1668, and named Fort Charles. From it the first cargo of furs was taken to England in the *Nonsuch* in the summer of 1669, the year before the Company actually received its charter. Subsequent to the occupation of Hudson Bay by the French, there was no attempt made until 1776 to re-establish Rupert river House, which is here referred to as a "Log Tent", not even a "House".

²Mesogamy lake, now called Kesagami lake, is situated seventy miles, a little east of south, from Moose Factory, in a country which up to the present has been but slightly explored. It is drained northward by the Kesagami river into Hannah bay, a southern arm of James bay. On Turnor's map, "Masackamy late House," meaning a house formerly but not now occupied, is marked near the southwest end of the lake, not far from a portage leading into Agaskagon lake, which is near the headwaters of Nettogami river, a branch of French river which is the most easterly large tributary of Moose river. The canoe route from Moose Factory to Kesagami lake was up these latter streams rather than up the Kesagami river.

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7th Saturday at 3 AM got underway went about $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and could not proceed farther as we could not go six steps an end without breaking up to the middle in the snow and the top of the snow was all Ice therefore returned for the Factory where Geo. Donald and my self arrived at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM the others came in the cool of the evening

May 11th Friday at 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM left the Factory to proceed for Wapiscogamy House¹ in company with the Boat, the river very full of small driving Ice went about 8 Mile and put up on the North shore at 7 PM wind NE light breeze, if the wind had not been in our favour we could not have got far this day the shore being intirely coverd with Ice and the current strong, cannot at this time well take the course of the River being forced to goe at the back of the Islands

1781

May 12th Saturday at 5 AM got underway went about 6 Miles amongst small Islands and put up at 5 PM Wind South-erly light breeze & cloudy cannot get tracking the banks being coverd with Ice

13th Sunday at 5 AM got underway went about 7 Mile and put up at 4 PM calm and cloudy mett Cap Moose-tuck-ki going to the Factory with his family 2 Canoes at 9 PM 3 Canoes of uplanders which was going to the Factory to trade came to us and remained all night

14th Monday at 4 AM got underway went about 5 Miles and mett 2 Canoes of upland Indians going to the Factory to trade went about 5 mile farther and put up at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM wind SW fresh breeze the shore a little clearer of Ice got tracking in some places

¹Wapiscagami House was situated on the west bank of Missinaibi river, which is the great west branch of Moose river, and half a mile above the mouth of Wapiscagami creek. It was one hundred and twenty miles in a direct line south west of Moose Factory, and fifty miles west of Coral rapids on the Abitibi river. It was built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1777, and was later officially named Brunswick House. It continued to be occupied till 1791, when it was abandoned in favour of New Brunswick House, which had been erected on Wicabanish lake in 1788.

Thus far up the river, though there are rapids in places, there are no serious obstructions to navigation by canoes or small boats.

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15th Tuesday at 5 AM got underway went about 12 Mile and put up at 4 AM wind NE light breeze the shore rather clearer of Ice the Current strong

16th Wednesday at 4 AM got underway went about 13 Miles and put up at 3 PM calm with heavy rain the shore tollerable clear of Ice but the water so high that they are forced to track through the Willows

1781

May 17th Thursday at 4½ AM got underway went about 17 Mile and put up at 5½ PM wind Easterly light breeze begin to get tollerable tracking

18th Friday at 4 AM got underway went about 14 Miles and put up at 4 PM wind Easterly fresh breeze got great help from the Sail

19th Saturday at 5 AM got underway went about 12 Miles and put up at 5 PM wind Easterly fresh breeze got great help from the Sail

20th Sunday at 4 AM got underway went about 15 Miles and put up at 6 PM wind NE cloudy weather got great help from our Sail

21st Monday at 5 AM got underway went about 9 Miles and put up at 6½ PM wind westerly light breeze, bad tracking this day

22nd Tuesday at 4¼ AM got underway went about 17 Miles and put up at 6 PM wind Northerly fresh gale & cloudy got some help from the Sail this day

23rd Wednesday at 5 AM myself & Geo. Donald sett of with our Canoe for Wapiscogamy House about 14 Mile distance where we arrived about Noon as did the Boat in the Evening and found all well it may be necessary to observe these computed distances is taken as following the winding and Bays along the shore that the distance to follow the middle of the River will be much less

May 31st Thursday this evening two Canoes of uplanders consisting of an old Man & his wife & two Young Men came to trade the Young men brought two good Bundles of Furrs in Beaver Catts &c the old Man brought about 5 or 6 Summer Bear skins and when he saw the method of trading

he looked out a Gun which he said he would have at night they went away and did not trade the Gun but early next morning returned with two Bundles of Catts amounting to about 111 Beaver and 4 Beaver Skins to cover them which was nearly as much as they brought at first the whole not amounting to 240 Beaver the old Indians Furrs part belonged to his Son which I suppose is gone to the Canadians with the other Furrs such as Beaver Otters Martins &c I suppose if he had not approved the manner of trading at Wapiscogamy that he would have carried his Furrs to the Canadians

I should suppose had this place been supplied with trading goods and properly managed at first it would have been a place of tollerable trade by this time as I think many Indians would come to this place which would not come to the Factory because at this place they can drink in peace which is more than they can do at the Factory The home guard Indians both at Moose and Albany Fort constantly Drink their Brandy from them some times without giving them a part of it which the upland Indians complain very much of particularly at Albany

June 7th Thursday at 11½ AM left Wapiscogamy to proceed for Misinabee Lake and Lake Superior being assisted by Geo. Donald and three Indians and their wives went 4 Mile WbS and put up at 1 PM wind Northerly with heavy rain, the River about 150 yards wide the bank on North low on South side high and coverd with Pine Asp Poplar Birch &c

8th Friday calm with heavy rain lay by this day

9th Saturday at 6 AM got underway went round a bay from NW to SSW 3 Mile, NW 1, SbW 2, W¾, NW 1½, W ½, NW to W 1¼, S to NW 1½, WSW to W 1½, SSW to N1, & from W to SW 1 Mile and came to a small fall or rapid current went from N westerly to S 1 Mile and put up at 5½ PM calm & cloudy the River passed this day from 150 to 250 yards wide the Land on South side high

and covered with small Asp, Poplar, Pine &^c the Land on North side low and covered mostly with Pine¹

1781

June 10th Sunday at 5½ AM got underway went nearly S 1½ mile all rapid current and came to a fall and Carring place a Boat might be got to this place carried on S° side the river about 2 Mile nearly SSW the bank below the fall and at the carring place about 100 y^{ds} high when up the Bank the carring place is very level and good, I should suppose the water falls about 100 Yards in this fall which is about 2 Mile long between high perpendicular Rocks

At this carring place was detained about 2 hours by one of the Indians coming back and inform^g the others the Devil had taken a Bundle which he had carried partover the carring place upon which the Indians wanted us to go with them in serach of him but I refused expecting they wanted to slip us and return with the Canoes so I staid by our things and let them go in search of him by them selves being detirmined not to be played with, in about two hours they returned having found an upland Indian called Cow-es-ow-es-co-gee which had been at Wapiscogamy to trade and knowing we was upon the carring place had returned and carried a bundle over for us they having found this Indian and seeming satisfied I proceeded with them without suspecting any scheeme to be laid by them or should have kept a sharp guard against them as I am of oppinion the Indians often use a pretence of being afraid of the Devil to see if they can affright the Englishmen and if they could to make their advantage of it

left the fall and went from S to SW 1 mile and came to a fall and carring place carried 1000 yards on S° side through the woods (a small creek on N° side joins this River at the head of this fall) went from E to S 1½ mile and came to a fall and carring place carried out of a small bay on N° side ½ mile nearly South the fall very high between two perpendicular rocks about 40 f^t apart, went SSE ½ mile and

¹They had now reached a sharp bend in the river, at the northern edge of the rocky country. Above this point the stream flows from the south in a series of rapids and falls.

came to a fall and carr^g place carried 600 yards on N^o side the carring place good the fall not very steep went WSW 2 Mile and put up at 5½ PM opposite a small Island coverd with Pine &^c wind Southerly cloudy weather the river passed this day about ¼ mile wide full of Large Rocks the Land bold and coverd with woods

June 11th Monday this morning stoped to make paddles at 7 AM got underway went WSW to SSW 2 mile and came to a piece of rapid current went S to SW 2 Mile, S 1½, SSE to SW 2 and S 1½ mile and put up at ½ PM being taken very Ill wind Southerly with rain in the afternoon

12th Tuesday at 6½ AM got underway went WSW ¾ mile and passed two small Islands & went to N^o of them went W 1¼ & SSW 1 mile on N^o side a large Island and came to a river about 60 yards wide opens WSW easey current went SSW 1 SSE ¾ & S 1 Mile and came to the end of the large Island went SbW 1 mile and passed an other Island about ½ mile long went S to SbW 1½ mile and passed an other Island to S^o of us about 1 mile long went SSW 1½ and passed a small Island to S^o of us went SbW 1 mile and came to a carring place, carried 90 yards on S^o side over a rock the fall rather steep an very rocky the river passed this day easey current and deep water being from 200 yards to ¼ mile wide land low coverd with Pine Ceader Asp Poplar &^c, went SbW 1 mile and came to a small rocky fall led our Canoes up went W^t ¾ miles and came to a small rocky fall led our Canoes up went SW ¾ mile and came to a rocky fall led our Canoes up went SW ½ & W 1 mile and passed a small Island to S^o of us and put up at 5¾ PM the river above the Carring place strong current land low & coverd with Pine Poplar Ceader &^c calm with showers of rain heavy rain at night

June 13th Wednesday calm with heavy rain at 10 AM got underway went SW ½, SSW ½, SSE ½ and came to a bad fall led our Canoes ¼ mile SSE then went WSW 1 & SW 1 mile and put up at ½ PM on an Island on the N^o side the River¹ calm with heavy rain the river passed this day

¹They had now reached the vicinity of the present Canadian National Railway where it crosses the river at Mattice.

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about 300 y^{ds} wide strong current land bold and covered with woods

1781

June 14th Thursday heavy rain in the morning at 10½ AM got underway went S½, SSW ½ & SW ½ mile and came to a small creek on N° side, went from S to SW 1, S to SE 1 & S ¾ mile and came to a bad fall but the water being favorable led up through a rock in the middle of the river (this rock is commonly a carr^g place of 200 y^{ds}) went SbW ½, SW ¾, WSW ¾, SW ½, S½, SE ½, & from SW to NW 1 Mile and came to a small Island in the middle of the river covered with small poplar went SbW ¾, WbS ¾, SW ¾, SSW ¼, S ½, SbW ¼, SW ¼ & W^t ½ mile and put up at 5 PM to dry our things the current this day easy except the falls the river from 200 to 300 y^{ds} wide the Land rather low the Woods mostly burnt, being only small patches which has escaped Wind Variable cloudy weather

15th Friday at 7½ AM got underway went SWbW 1 mile came to a small Island of burnt Pine went S2 & SW 1 mile and came to a fall and carrying place carried 100 yards over a Rock on S° side the River Latitude by Observation 49°31'N. then went SW ¾, SSW to SSE 1, WSW ¾ mile and came to three small Willow Islands in a Bay on N° side the river went SbW ½ mile and passed a small river on S° side went WSW ½ mile and came to a bad fall led up on S° side the river at the back of a rock (the river passed 200 to 300 yards wide) went WNW ¼ & WbS 1 mile (the river about 60 yards wide) went SSW 1 mile and came to a large fall led up the bottom then carried 550 y^{ds} on N° side through the woods, went WSW to WbS ½, SWbW ½ & WSW 1 mile and came to a large creek on N° side and put up at 5½ PM wind variable the current this day easy except the falls the Land mostly low and burnt within 6 or 7 years past

June 16th Saturday at 6 AM got underway went SbE ½, WSW ¾, SEbS ½, WSW ½ & SSW 1 mile and came to a small fall sett & led our Canoes up went SbW ½ mile (and came to a river on N° side about 80 yards wide shole and stoney

with strong current the Indians call it a branch of Albany River)¹ the river in this part very stoney and strong current went S $\frac{3}{4}$ & SbW $2\frac{1}{2}$ mile easey current, went S $\frac{1}{2}$ & SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile strong current went from W to NE 1 mile easey current E $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current went SE $\frac{3}{4}$, S $\frac{1}{4}$ & near SSE $2\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a small fall led up it, went SSW 1 mile and came to a fall led nearly S^o 1 mile, went near S $1\frac{1}{2}$ and passed 3 small falls led up them and came to a fall & carring place carried 30 yards over a rock, went S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a great fall and carring place carried 500 y^{ds} through the woods on N^o side, bad walking sharp rocks and wind fallen Trees, went $\frac{1}{4}$ mile S^o and put up at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM at the mouth of a creek on the S^o side the river the creek about 30 y^{ds} wide, the river passed this day about 200 to 300 yards wide easey current except where mentioned to the contrary the land in some places bold mostly burnt lately wind Northerly fair weather

1781

June 17th Sunday at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went S $\frac{1}{2}$, SW $\frac{1}{2}$ & W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a fall and carring place carried 350 yards on S^o side through the woods went S $\frac{1}{4}$, SW $\frac{3}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ SW 1, S 1 & SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ and came to a small river on N^o side 30 yards wide called Me-caw-baw-nish Seepe running out of a Lake of the same name left the main river and went up Me-caw-baw-nish river SW 1 mile and came to a fall between rocks 20 f^t wide carried 50 y^{ds} on N^o side, went S to SSE 1 mile and came to a small fall led up, went ENE to S & SSE $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a fall and carring place carried 170 yards through the woods on S^o side went $\frac{1}{2}$ mile nearly S^o all a fall led our canoes, went S to W $\frac{1}{2}$, SSW to WSW 1, W to SSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ and came to Me-caw-baw-nish Lake² the latter part of this river about 150 yards wide the current hardly perceivable, went $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in Lake SWbS passed 2 Bays on N^o side and 3 on S^o side and put up at 3 PM upon a point on N^o side the Lake, the Lake

¹The Mattawichuan river, up which there is a passable canoe route into the Kabinakagami river, a branch of the Albany.

²Afterwards called Brunswick lake, on the west shore of which New Brunswick House was built by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1788.

when first entered appears small, when at this point it opens S° 5 or 6 mile and about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide, went round the point to the bottom of the next bay on N° side about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and sett our nett in a kind of gut way about 10 yards wide which an upland Indian as was with me informed me was a good fishing place went through the gut way which is about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a large bay at the back of the Lake opening nearly SW and joins an other large bay at the South end of the Lake, the land at this end of the Lake low and burnt in spots the other parts covered with good pine, asp, Poplar, Birch &c wind variable cloudy weather

June 18th Monday Wind Easterly with heavy rain received 25 Large Tick-a-meg about $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb ea 18 Jack about 5^{lb} ea & 4 Suckers from the nett the Indian informed me this was not the season for fishing at this Lake or we should have caught great quantitys of Tick-a-meg, the Lake Tick-a-meg is esteemed the next fish to Sturgeon being far preferable to the Tick-a-meg taken near the Sea Shore

19th Tuesday at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway in the Lake went SbW 1 mile keeping on N° side S $\frac{1}{2}$ keeping the N° shore on board SbW $2\frac{1}{2}$ mile crossing to S° side a Bay opens 1 mile deep on S° side and a Bay opens 2 mile deep on N° side the Lake in this part 1 mile wide Latitude by Observation 48°58 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' N° went S° $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile the Lake then opens a large bay WNW which has communication with the Bay at the fishing place before mentioned the part of the Lake passed about 1 Mile wide went S 1 mile amongst small Islands the Lake about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide, went SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile up a small bay $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide clear of Islands and entered a kind of creek about 10 yards wide when in is about 100 yards wide went S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to the end of the Bay (the latter part of this Lake the land rather bold and rocky mostly burnt woods) carried out of this lake nearly E^t 1 mile & 250 yards the first part half Leg deep in water through Juniper woods the latter part good ground & high Pine woods and came to the river again, went up the river from WSW to SSE $\frac{3}{4}$, SE to WNW 1, SSE to S $\frac{1}{2}$ & SSE

to W 1 mile and put up at 5 PM wind Northerly clear weather the river passed this day about 80 yards wide land low & covered with Cedar Pine Poplar &c

June 20th Wednesday at 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway at the foot of a great fall carried 150 yards on S^o side over a craggy rock (the fall about 40 f^t Perpendicular) went from S to W 1, SW to WbN 1 $\frac{1}{2}$, SW to SSW 1, W to SSW $\frac{1}{2}$, W to SSW 1, WNW to SSW $\frac{1}{2}$, SSE to W $\frac{3}{4}$, SW $\frac{3}{4}$ and SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a bay at the foot of a fall carried 270 yards on S^o side, went from NNW to SWbS $\frac{1}{2}$ & W to SSE 1 Mile and led up a fall went SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and passed a small Island went from SSE to E $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and led up a fall went from SSE to E $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and led up another fall went S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to fall $\frac{3}{4}$ mile SSE led up it (this fall is properly a carrying place on N^o side but the woods being burnt occasioned them to try to lead the Canoes up it) went from S to SW $\frac{1}{2}$, SbE to ESE $\frac{1}{2}$ and SbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a small river or creek on N^o side, went ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came a fall $\frac{3}{4}$ mile S^o led the Canoes up it went from ESE to ENE 1 mile and put up at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM the river passed this day about from 100 to 200 yards wide easy current except the falls which is very bad the Land rather bold the woods burnt in patches Wind Northerly clear weather

June 21st Thursday at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went from SbW to S1, SWbS to SSE 1 & SSW to SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and passed a small creek on N^o side went from SSW to SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ & SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and led up a fall went SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to the foot of a Large Island went on N^o side of it NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to the foot of a fall carried 200 yards upon the Island then went N $\frac{3}{4}$ & WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to the end of the Island went from NE to NbE 2 mile and came to a fall and led up went SSE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to a fall and led up it went SbE to SbW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and led up a small fall and came to a broad part of the river called the *Grassey lake* the River passed this day about 100 yards wide easy current except in the falls land rather Low & covered with Cedar Poplar &c and burnt in patches, went

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SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ & SbW 1 mile the river about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, went SSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ & SbE $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile the river about 1 mile wide the channel about 100 yards wide the current easy the sides of the river grassy swamps with kind of Ponds put up at $3\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Southerly with showers of Rain sett our nett

June 22nd Friday this morning got 1 large Jack & 3 Suckers from the nett at $8\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway went from SSE to E 1 mile and came to a narrow part of the river the part left about 1 mile wide grass & Willows with water amongst it land low and rocky the Woods on N^o side burnt,¹ went from SSE to S 1, SSE to SW $\frac{3}{4}$, S to W $\frac{3}{4}$, S to SW $\frac{1}{2}$, SE to SW 1, SE to SW $\frac{1}{4}$, S to SE $\frac{1}{2}$ & SSE to SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a fall and carrying place carried 330 yards through the Woods on S^o side went ESE to SSE 1 mile and came to a fall and led our Canoes about 1 mile S^o then went from S to SW 1 mile and came to a small fall sett our Canoes up went from S to SW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to a fall sett and led our canoes up about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SW, went SW to NW $\frac{1}{4}$, SSW to SW $\frac{3}{4}$, S to NW $\frac{1}{4}$ & from W to SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and passed a small creek on N^o side, went from W to SW 1, WNW to WSW 1, W $\frac{1}{2}$, N $\frac{1}{2}$, W to NW 1 & N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a fall and carrying place carried 300 yards on S^o side through the woods went from WSW to WNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to *Mis-sin-a-bee Lake* and put up at $6\frac{1}{2}$ PM the river passed this day from 60 to 100 yards wide easy current except the falls the banks rather low the woods mostly burnt only a few green patches left wind Northerly clear weather

1781

June 23rd Saturday at $8\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway in Lake went WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the Lake then opens SW went SSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to the place where the House stood² found the

¹The Canadian National Railroad crosses the river about this point at Peterbell.

²Missinaibi House, on the east side of Missinaibi lake, two miles south of its outlet. It was built by John Thomas in the summer of 1777, and was burnt by Indians in 1780, but rebuilt later, and occupied for a number of years. It was situated in Latitude $48^{\circ} 28' 30''$, Longitude $83^{\circ} 28'$, thirty-two miles east-northeast from Missinaibi Station on the Canadian Pacific Railway. Missinaibi lake is twenty-six miles long, and from half a mile to a mile and a half in width, and lies in a northeasterly and southwesterly direction.

House was burnt but had not taken fire by the burning of the Woods as the Indians had informed us as the Woods are not more burnt then they were at first for building the House I found 2 Broad Axes, 1 Pit saw, 1 Crosscut saw, 1 hand saw, 2 Trading hatchets, 1 Ice Chisel, 1 Kettle, 1 Gallon copper pot which had been burnt and likewise saw the remains of the Furr's which did not appear to have been much burnt but being now in so rotten a state I could not well determine, the Lake in this part about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide the woods on N^o side burnt on S^o side Pine, Asp Birch &^c at 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway again to proceed for Meshipicoton Bay went SbW 1 and came to a grassey point the Lake about 200 yards wide then opens suddenly to about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went SW 10 miles passed 8 small Islands the Lake about 1 mile wide the land bold & rocky at this place a small River falls into the Lake¹ on S^o side out of a small Lake called Mis-sin-a-bee asish went SWbW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a rocky point on N^o side the Lake then opens NNE and continues open SWbW farther then I could see went N^o 1 mile this part of the Lake about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide put up at 5 PM wind NE clear weather

1781

June 24th Sunday at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went NNW 1 mile the Lake then opens NE farther than I could see and about 2 mile wide with 4 or 5 Islands in it the Land bold and rocky the woods burnt went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile into the bottom of a small bay and carried 520 yards N^o through the woods into a small Lake called Mis-sin-a-bee asish² but not the same Lake which the river falls out of into Mis-sin-a-bee Lake went SW $\frac{1}{2}$, WSW 1, SW $\frac{1}{4}$, SSW 1, NW $\frac{1}{2}$, W $\frac{1}{4}$, SWbW 1, WSW 2 & W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to the end of the Lake which is about from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide the Land low the woods burnt (I neither saw a river falling into or running out of this Lake) carried 500 yards nearly W

¹Dr. Robert Bell notes this stream as follows:—"A river falls a considerable height over the rocks into the lake. It is called Wi-a-sitch-a-wan, or 'Water shining from afar'."

²Now called Crooked lake.

through the woods into a Lake called Wa-wa-ke-gum-mau¹ went W^t 3 mile the Lake about 150 yards wide the Lake then opens NE and continues open SW went NE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then W^t 1 mile the Lake in this part $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide went WSW 1 mile the Lake then opens SE went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ the Lake about 100 yards wide apparently between the main on the right hand and an Island on the left the lake then opens N & S the Land bold went NE^E $\frac{1}{2}$ then NW 200 yards through a gutt way and came into a bay about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide² went WSW 1 mile the lake still open ahead turned between Islands NW^bW $\frac{1}{2}$ then W 1 mile the Lake $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went WSW 1 mile the Lake $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide the land ahead appears very high went SW 2 mile the Lake then about 3 mile wide went SSW 1 mile the Lake then about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the Lake then about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide and came to the head of a small river (this Lake very full of large Islands first part the land bold the woods mostly burnt the latter part the land very high coverd with pine Asp &^c) enterd the river at head of which is a fall and carring place carried 230 yards on N^o side over a rough rock and burnt woods went W^t $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and put up at the head of a carring place on S^o side at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM wind northerly cloudy weather

June 25th Monday at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway carried 1440 yards over the carring place which is exceeding bad being all loose rough stones and burnt woods went WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a Lake the river about 30 yards wide land rather bold the woods mostly burnt went in Lake WSW 2 mile SW 5 mile the Lake $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide land very high and rocky, on N^o side the rocks in some Places 40 or 50 yards high almost perpendicular and coverd with Pine Asp &^c the Lake then turns about 200 yards wide making a bay on N^o side into which a small river falls by which river we

¹The portage over the height of land between the water flowing to Hudson Bay, and the water flowing down the Michipicoten river into Lake Superior. The lake is now called Dog lake.

²In this reach the lake is now crossed by the Canadian Pacific Railway about a mile south of Missinaibi station.

are to return from Meshipicoton¹ went S° $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in the narrow part of the Lake it then opens about 1 mile NNE & $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SSW went SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a river The latter part of the Lake bold Land coverd with Pine Asp &^c went about 3 mile in River making 1 mile SSE and came to a fall and carring place carried 500 yards nearly SSE on W^t side and came to a Lake² the river about 40 y^{ds} wide and very crooked went in Lake S $\frac{1}{2}$ & SW $3\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a River at the end of the Lake the Lake about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide land high and rocky coverd with Pine Asp &^c enterd the river and run down a fall at the head of it & went SW 1 mile and about 2 mile make^e 1 mile S° went SE $\frac{1}{2}$ & S $\frac{1}{2}$ and came to a fall and carring place³ carried 700 yards on E^t side and put up at 6 PM the river about 50 yards wide strong current the land bold and coverd with Pine Asp &^c Wind variable clear weather

June 26th Tuesday at 5 AM got underway went from SW to S $\frac{1}{2}$, SW to W $\frac{1}{2}$, SW $\frac{1}{2}$, SSW 1, SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ & WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and passed a creek on N° side went from S to E $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and passed a creek on S° side went from W to NW 1, W to SW $\frac{1}{4}$, NW to W $\frac{1}{2}$, SW 1, W 1, SSW to W $\frac{1}{2}$, W^t 1 & near W^t 1 mile and run two small falls went from NW to SW $\frac{1}{2}$ & WbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and passed a creek on N° side went WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ and came to a fall and carring place carried nearly W^t 2 mile & 200 yards through the woods on N° side the first part very good the latter part down two steep hills⁴ then went from W to SE 1, NW to SW 1, WNW to NE $\frac{3}{4}$, W to SW $1\frac{1}{2}$ From NW to SW 1 & N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and carried 50 yards over a neck of land on W^t side to cut of about 3

¹They crossed the Little Stoney and Big Stoney Portages, and entered Manitowik lake, paddled through this lake past the mouth of Hawk river, by which they were to return, and down Michipicoten river.

²Crossed Pigeon Portage, five hundred yards long, and entered Whitefish lake.

³They ran down the river to Cat Portage, past a fall with a drop of thirty-six feet.

⁴They ran down the river to the Long Portage, the length of which Turnor states as two miles and two hundred yards. It led past a rapid and two falls with a total drop of about two hundred feet. These are now known as the High Falls, and at them a hydro-electric power plant has been constructed.

Five miles lower down the stream, the Magpie river enters it from the north, and a mile farther, the Michipicoten river falls into Lake Superior.

miles of the river went from S° westerly to N° $\frac{3}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{2}$ & W $\frac{1}{4}$ (and passed a river on N° side which falls into this river by which river we are to return for Moose Fort) came to *Meshipicoton House*¹ which is on the East side of the river at 10 AM, the river passed this day from 60 to 70 yards wide strong current mostly shole and gravelly bottom land high, the first part coverd with Pine Asp &° the last 5 mile all burnt as are all the Woods round this spot Meshipicoton House is an exceeding bad building being built with small Ceader & mud consists of only two rooms one for the Master and the other for the men and have no communication with each other but by the front doors the House is coverd with ceader bark and the only fastning is a slight single bolt the masters room has a double door but may nearly put a hand through them being only made with a hatchet the Trading room stands about 6 yards from the House at the west end the Stock-adoes stands about 7 or 8 yards from the House and close to the out side of the Trading Room and have a kind of a Latch for a fastning to the door or gate and they have the pride to call it a Fort they have a fine Plantation about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long and $\frac{1}{4}$ broad and bounded by the river on one side and hills on the other opposite the House are large rockey hills or kind of small mountains the largest of which is called by the Indians the Meshipicoton Asinne which in English is the Meshipicoton stone, this Fort as they are pleased to call it is at present in the possession of J. B. Nolin a French Canadian he has four Men here with him they have nothing but Fish to Live upon their Canoe not yet arrived he expected it a month past, they call the Fish which they get Herring and are drying them for Winters

¹Michipicoten House of that date would appear to have stood near the spot where the Hudson's Bay trading post was afterwards built, namely on a sandy plain on the south side of the river a short distance below the mouth of the Magpie river. This plain extends for a considerable distance on both sides of the river, and is quite an attractive place for a small settlement. Edward Jarvis, the Hudson's Bay Company's officer in charge of Henley House, had visited Michipicoten by way of the Missinaibi river, on June 19, 1776, where he had found Alexander Henry. We have seen that Henry left the Saskatchewan river in the spring of that year on his way to Montreal, and he was doubtless stopping for a short time at this his old home when Jarvis arrived there.

stock but I think they are more like the Tick-a-meg we get at Moose & Albany Forts they have got at this place 2 Cows, 2 Bulls, 1 Mare, 1 Cock & 3 Hens they had a stone Horse but he died last winter they having been so sloathfull to procure Hay for the Winter as did likewise a calf the Cattle are of a small long leged breed, the Mare about 14 hands & $\frac{1}{2}$ high 2 years old clean leged and fitt for the Saddle, Nolin informd me he had been there three Winters that he is in partnership with a Saint Jermaine that they bought the House with one Canoe of Goods of M^r Henry for 15000 Livres that the first Winter he got 23 Packs of Furrs the next Winter he says he got 44 Packs in which was 34 Packs of Beaver, 3 of Otters, 3 of Catts, $1\frac{1}{2}$ of Martins & $2\frac{1}{2}$ of Bears, Musquash &^c this year he says his trade is not half as good but if there should be good news from Montreal his Partner will come to Meshipicoton and he will make a Settlement at Me-caw-baw-nish Lake, but I should suppose if your Honors should again settle a House near Mis-sin-a-be Lake it would intirely stop their progress if the Canadians should settle at Me-caw-baw-nish lake They would certainly carry away many Furrs which would otherways come to Wapiscogamy I should suppose if a House was settled and well supply'd at some place near Mis-sin-a-be Lake that it would effectually secure all the Indians near the House and between it and the Factory for both Winter and summer as the Canadians Cloth Blankets and Gunns are not so good as Your Honors Nolin informed me they had tried to get the same kind as Your Honors Trade but they could not procure them I could not perceive any difference in the Tobacco but never using any my Self I could only Judge by the smell and the look of it he informs me he never trades any Liquor but gives it all to the Indians I saw him refuse 5 Beaver Skins and would not trade Liquor for them he informd me by the Last Accounts from Mitchanamacna which was last Fall the Canadians had taken three small Forts from the Americans & had killed 20 and taken 360

Prisoners¹ he likewise informed me he was apprehensive they should not be able to procure goods from Montreal as no Canoes had passed for the North which used to pass in May but he said he had goods enough to serve him another Winter but I do not believe him as the Canadians are apt to Enlarge the worst he said would be want of Provisions as they cannot get Fish in the Winter, went up a hill facing the House to take a view of the Bay which is about 2 mile wide at the bottom the extreem points of land in view bearing W about 20 mile and SWbS 8 miles a large Island bears WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ W about 20 or 30 miles distant the land round the Bay very high and mostly covered with Woods at the bottom of the Bay is two Islands at which they commonly Fish

June 27th Wednesday Wind Easterly Cloudy Weather

28th Thursday Wind Westerly with rain

29th Friday Calm cloudy Weather being fully determined if possible to go to Ab-bi-tib-be Lake this Summer and seeing no sign of the Weather clearing at 7 AM got underway with intent to stop near Meshipicoton if the weather should clear went W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came into Lake Superior went NW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a Carring place out of the Lake into a river nearly opposite Meshipicoton House carried $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and 200 y^{ds} NE up a steep hill then over Rocks into the River in which we passed two large Falls went about 3 mile in the river from N to E and passed a small river or creek on N^o side went 2 miles more and left the river and turnd up a creek about 6 f^t wide on S^o side, the river passed this day very crooked short turnings making about 3 mile NE from Meshipicoton, the river about 50 yards wide shole with strong current land at a little distance from the River very high and Mountainous went about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile up the creek and came to a swamp carried out of the swamp $2\frac{1}{4}$ mile ENE the first part of the carring place a Plain then about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile through Pine woods then up a high hill and over a fine plain on the

¹The war of the American Revolution between Great Britain and the United States was in progress at this time, but just what action or actions are here referred to is uncertain.

top of the Hill into a Lake then went $3\frac{1}{2}$ mile ENE in Lake and put up at $11\frac{1}{2}$ PM¹ Meshipicoton bearing SWbS about 8 mile, the Lake about 1 mile wide the land very high on both sides Calm with heavy rain

June 30th Saturday at 6 AM got underway in the Lake went $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile NEbE and came to the end of the Lake carried 1000 yards E^t through the Woods into a small Lake or Pond went ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and carried 500 y^{ds} E^t through the Woods into a small Lake or Pond went E^t $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and carried $\frac{3}{4}$ mile ENE through the Woods into a small Lake or swamp went NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile (a small creek then runs to S^o) then went ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and carried 270 y^{ds} ENE into a small Lake (all the little swampy lakes passed the land low and coverd with woods) went ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ & NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and carried $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile ENE into a small Lake went NEbE 1 mile and carried 170 yards into a small Lake went NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ and carried 120 yards into a Lake (the three last Lakes passed the water very green and Clear and rather brackish the Land bold and coverd with woods and all the small Lakes except where the creek is mentioned are standing waters and are nearly of a round form)² went in the Lake NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the Lake about 50 yards wide then opens to about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went NEbE 2 mile and came to a small river about 10 yards wide falling out of the Lake went nearly NE 2 & S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and run a small fall went ESE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and run a small Fall NEbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and run a small Fall then NEbE 1 mile up a bay (the river running to N^o) and came to a carring place (the river between all the Falls opens into bays about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide the falls about 6 or 7 yards wide) carried $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NE and came

¹Their course this day was as follows:—They descended the Michipicoten river for about a mile to its mouth in Lake Superior, and coasted northward along the shore of the lake to a Portage over which the outfit was carried to Magpie river which flows into Michipicoten river a mile above its mouth. They ascended Magpie river, following its windings for five miles, then turned eastward into a little creek six feet wide. Ascending this creek for a quarter of a mile, they left it, and portaged across to Wawa lake, reaching it near the site where the mining village of Wawa stood later. They paddled three and a half miles over this beautiful lake and camped on its shore.

²They had now reached Hawk lake, which lies four miles east-north-east from the east end of Wawa lake, having passed through a number of small lakes with intervening portages on the way.

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into the river again went NEbE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile the river or kind of Lake $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide then went 3 mile the river very narrow and crooked makeing about 1 mile NE and came into the Bay and Lake described *June 25th*, the river passed the Land bold and coverd with Woods went to the end of the Lake and put up at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM¹ Wind Westerly with rain

1781

July 1st Sunday at 5 AM got underway in our old track for Mis-sin-a-bee Lake carried at the same carring places which we did in going and arrived at Mis-sin-a-bee Lake at 6 PM and put up Wind Westerly cloudy weather

July 2nd Monday at 5 AM got underway and at 11 AM arrived at the place where Mis-sin-a-bee House stood

3rd Tuesday Wind SW clear hot weather

4th Wednesday Wind SW forepart of the day clear latter part heavy Thunder & Rain

5th Thursday at 5 AM got underway for Wapiscogamy at 6 AM came to the first fall in running the Fall came across a stone broke and sunk our Canoe lost my Powder Horn, Shoes & Tin Pot but luckely saved every thing else my Sextant getting wet all the black came of the Index Glass and cracked the Quicksilver, the black I think I can repair but do not know what to do to the Quick Silver at $\frac{1}{2}$ PM had repaird our Canoe got underway and at 6 PM put up in the part of the river called the Grassey Lake Wind variable cloudy weather

6th Friday at 5 AM got underway at 7 PM put up at the Carring place out of Me-caw-baw-nish Lake Calm with Thunder

1781

July 7th Saturday at 5 AM got underway in the part of the River missed by going through Me-caw-baw-nish Lake went EbN $1\frac{1}{2}$, N $\frac{1}{2}$, ESE $\frac{1}{4}$, NWbN $\frac{1}{4}$, NNE $\frac{1}{4}$, NEbE $\frac{3}{4}$, NNE $\frac{1}{2}$, NEbE 1, N $1\frac{1}{4}$, NNE $\frac{3}{4}$, N 1 & NWbW 1 mile

¹They had paddled or sailed over Hawk lake, which is two and three quarter miles long, and came to Hawk river, which flows out of the lake. They descended this river, making a number of portages, and reached the Southwest bay of Manitowik lake, passed five days before.

and run a small fall then went NNW $\frac{1}{2}$, NW $\frac{1}{2}$ & NWbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and passed three small Islands then went NWbW $1\frac{1}{2}$, NNE $\frac{1}{2}$, NNW $\frac{1}{2}$, NbE $\frac{1}{2}$, NE $\frac{1}{2}$, NNW 1, NbW 1, W $\frac{1}{2}$, N $\frac{1}{2}$, NW $\frac{1}{2}$, N 1, W^t $\frac{1}{2}$, NNW $\frac{1}{2}$, NWbN $\frac{3}{4}$, N $\frac{1}{2}$, NE $\frac{1}{2}$ & NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and run a small fall then went NNW $1\frac{1}{4}$, NW $2\frac{1}{4}$, WNW $\frac{1}{4}$, W $\frac{1}{2}$, WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ and NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to Me-caw-baw-nish River at $11\frac{1}{4}$ AM the river passed this day very good mostly easey current continued on and at $5\frac{1}{4}$ PM put up 5 below the Albany branch calm with Thunder and rain

8th Sunday at $4\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway and at $6\frac{1}{2}$ PM put up at the same place where we put up June 11th Wind NE with rain

9th Monday at $3\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway at 6 AM came to the 4th Carrying place from Wapiscogamy at 8 AM was clear of the Falls at $1\frac{1}{2}$ PM arrived at *Wapiscogamy House*¹ having not met with any thing remarkable we carried at all the carrying places which we carried at in going up except the two nearest Misinable Lake wind variable fine weather

1781

July 11th Wednesday at 11 AM got underway for Moose Fort went ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to Wapiscogamy River or creek about 30 y^{ds} wide on N^o side went ENE 1 mile, NEbN $\frac{1}{2}$, NNE $\frac{1}{2}$, N $\frac{1}{2}$, ENE 1, E $1\frac{1}{2}$, NE $1\frac{1}{2}$ and ENE 1 mile and came to a small Fall and run down it and went NEbE 1, EbN 1 and NE 4 mile and came to an Island in a bay on N side went E $\frac{1}{2}$, ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ & NNE 1 mile and came to a creek about 30 yards wide on N^o side called *Show-west-a-See-pe* then went NEbE 1 mile and came to an other branch of Show-west a See-pe about 20 yards wide, went NEbE 2, NbE 1, E $1\frac{1}{2}$, ENE $1\frac{1}{2}$, EbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ and E^t 2 mile and came to an Island went SE $\frac{1}{2}$ ESE $\frac{1}{2}$ and E^t $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a small River on S^o side called *Mes-a-quag-a-may* Seepe falling out of a Lake of the same name nearly opposite Me-caw-baw-nish Lake went

¹From Manitowik lake they retraced their previous course, through Manitowik and Dog lakes, and down Missinaibi river to Wapiscagami, or Brunswick House, which was reached on July 9.

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E^t 1 mile and passed a small Island and put up at 7½ PM¹
wind variable cloudy weather

12th Thursday at 5 AM got underway went NNE 1 mile and came to a small river on N^o side about 20 yards wide called *Maat-a-puse-swan ashish* a Seepe (at this place the Indians say the Devil was formerly caught roasting a Rabbit from which the river takes its name) went from E to NE 1¼ mile and came to the other branch of Maat-a-puse-swan a Seepe about 30 yards wide there is a large Island in the mouth of this and Show west a Seepe extending up the rivers went NE 1 mile and came to *Men-e-tae skeek* a Seepe a small river or creek on S^o side went E NE 2 mile and came to a small creek on N^o side went E^t 3, NE 1½, ENE 1½, NbW 1½, NE 1½, ENE 2, EbN 2½ and E^t 1 mile and passed 3 small Islands went NE 2, NNE 1½ and NE 1 mile, and came to a fall called the *great Fall* the current not exceeding rapid but very full of stones went ENE 5 Miles and passed 3 small creeks on N^o side called the great Fall creeks went E^t 1, NNE 1, NE 1, E 1½, EbN 1, ENE 1, ESE 1, E 1½, NE 1, EbS 4, ENE 2, NNE 2, E ½ & SE 3 mile and came to a large River called the *South Branch* an Island about ½ mile long lays opposite the mouth of it the river in this part about ½ mile wide drawing gradually in untill it is about 100 yards wide at Wapiscogamy House the Land bold and covered with Timber went NNE½E 6 mile and E^t 5 mile and passed 3 Islands on N^o side the shore then a kind of white soft Rocks rather bold the Land coverd with Timber put up on an Island at 7 PM² Wind Westerly cloudy weather

¹Passed the mouths of the two branches of Soveska river from the north, and in the evening passed the mouth of Opazatika, or Poplar river, coming in from the south, a mile below which they camped for the night.

²Leaving their camping place a mile below the mouth of Opazatika river, they passed the two mouths of Rabbit river, and came to the rapids in the township of Gentles. They continued on to the mouth of Mattagami river, which is here called the South Branch, on the upper waters of which the town of Timmins is now situated. From the junction of these two streams the river is now called Moose river. They descended this stream for eleven miles, and camped on an island near the point where the Temiscaming and Northern Ontario Railway now crosses the river on a bridge 1826 feet long.

1781

July 13th Friday at 3 AM got underway went ENE $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles and passed the *white rocks* and 3 Islands went ENE 5 miles and passed 2 Islands on N° side went NEbE 2 mile and passed one Island on S° side and one Island on N° side and came to *Me-tock-a-ha-gan* Seepe a small river or creek on N° side went NEbE $2\frac{1}{2}$ mile NEbE $5\frac{1}{2}$ mile and passed 5 Islands and came to *Je-pass* Seepe a small river with a small Island in the mouth of it on N° side the River went EbN $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and came to the *Ab-bi-tib-be* River a large River on S° side with many Islands in the mouth of it went ENE 1 and NE 1 mile and came to *Chim-a-ha-gan* Seepe a small river or creek on N° side went E^t $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to *Cut-a-pew-a-ha-gan* Seepe a small river or creek on N° side went E^t 2 mile and came to a creek on N° side called by the English *Hancocks Creek* went E^t $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mile and came to the *French Creek* a small River on S° side went E^t 1 mile and came to the *South bluff creek* on S° side the river then went NE 7 Mile and came to the Factory at 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM¹ Wind variable hot weather the River below Je-pass Seepe exceeding full of Islands and sholes particularly on N° side the current strong the land rather low and coverd with Woods the River above Jepass Seepe rather easey current, the Land bold and coverd with Woods, the River from side to side at the Factory about 3 Mile wide drawing in to about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide at the South Branch the branch of the river facing the Factory about $1\frac{1}{8}$ mile wide

¹They descended the Moose river for twenty-four miles to the mouth of the Abitibi river and thence past the mouth of French river to Moose Factory on the east side of Factory Island. Turnor had thus completed the survey of the Missinaibi and Michipicoten rivers from James Bay to Lake Superior, a distance, in a direct line, of 300 miles. This was undoubtedly the first reasonably accurate survey that was made of these two streams. However, this route was evidently well known, and had been in use by Indians and fur traders for many years before Turnor surveyed it, for it is clearly shown on "A General Map of New France com. call'd Canada", made by Herman Moll, which appeared in Lahonton's *Voyages* (London, 1703). On this map the Moose river is called the Machandibi river, and the Michipicoten river is drawn longer than the Missinaibi (Moose river) instead of being shown as very much the shorter of the two which it actually is.

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July 27th Friday at 6 PM got underway with intent to proceed to *Ab-bi-tib-be* Lake to make Observations as near the Canadian Settlement as I could being assisted by David Laughton and three Indians, M^r Jarvis standing in need of George Donald at the Factory and I am clearly of opinion I can make shift with David Laughton went 2 mile and put up at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ PM wind variable cloudy weather It may seem strange to begin a Journey at so late an Hour of the day but Indians never travel any distance the first day gave the Indians a good drink at night

28th Saturday at 6 AM got underway went to the mouth of the *French creek* and put up at 10 AM the Indians being sleepy and the Canoes Leakey¹ Wind Southerly Cloudy weather

1781

July 29th Sunday at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway I have great hopes of making a quick Journey the Indians being well pleased went up the French Creek SSE $\frac{1}{4}$, SW 3, SWbW $\frac{3}{4}$, SSE $\frac{1}{2}$, S $\frac{3}{4}$, SSW 1, SW $1\frac{1}{2}$, SWbS $2\frac{1}{2}$, SSE 1, SEbS 1, SbE $1\frac{1}{2}$ and put up at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM wind Southerly fresh breeze and cloudy the River passed this day about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide land rather bold and coverd with Pine, Asp, Birch &^c

30th Monday at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went SbW 1 & SbE 1 mile the river passed as yesterday went SSW $\frac{1}{2}$, WbS $\frac{3}{4}$, SW 1, SWbS $1\frac{1}{4}$, S 1, ESE 1, S $\frac{1}{4}$, SW $\frac{1}{4}$ and SbW 2 mile and came to an other River leeding to the Westward called *Me-che-pow-mis-tick* a Seepe and put up at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Westerly with showers of rain the river passed this day except as before mentioned about 200 yards wide exceeding shole and full of Islands the Land rather bold with Woods now on fire

31st Tuesday at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway the branch we follow called *Ne-quag-a-ma-shisk-tick* Seepe went SSE $\frac{1}{4}$, SSW $\frac{1}{4}$, SEbS $\frac{1}{6}$, SbW $\frac{1}{6}$, SSE $\frac{1}{8}$, SSW $\frac{3}{8}$, SSE $\frac{1}{8}$, SSW $\frac{1}{6}$, SE $\frac{1}{6}$, SbW $\frac{1}{2}$, SEbE $\frac{1}{8}$, SSW $\frac{1}{4}$, SSE $\frac{1}{6}$,

¹They ascended Moose river for nine miles, to the mouth of French creek, where they camped. It is usually one day's work to get the men away from the trading post, and started on a journey. After that the regular routine of travel can be adopted, but this is impossible on the day of departure.

SbE $\frac{1}{2}$, SW $\frac{1}{4}$, SSE $\frac{1}{4}$, SW $\frac{1}{4}$, SWbS $\frac{1}{6}$, SW $\frac{1}{4}$, SSE $\frac{1}{8}$
SSW $\frac{1}{2}$, SEbS $\frac{1}{6}$, SSW $\frac{1}{4}$, SSE $\frac{1}{2}$, E $\frac{1}{8}$, S $\frac{1}{8}$, SE $\frac{1}{2}$,
S $\frac{1}{4}$, SE $\frac{1}{4}$, SbW $\frac{1}{4}$, S $\frac{3}{4}$ and SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and put up at
5 PM wind W^t cloudy weather the river passed this day
about 80 yards wide very shole the Land rather bold and
coverd with Woods

Aug^t 1st Wednesday at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway went S $\frac{1}{6}$, E^t $\frac{1}{6}$,
S $\frac{1}{6}$, E^t $\frac{1}{6}$, SE $\frac{1}{4}$, E $\frac{1}{2}$ and SE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to an
other branch of the River on E^t side called *Ke-asksh-a-sish*
a Seepe opens NW continued SE $\frac{1}{2}$, S $\frac{1}{6}$, W $\frac{1}{8}$, S $\frac{1}{8}$,
SW $\frac{1}{8}$, SEbE $\frac{1}{4}$, SbE $\frac{1}{6}$, SE $\frac{1}{2}$, NE $\frac{1}{6}$, E $\frac{1}{6}$, ESE $\frac{1}{4}$,
S $\frac{1}{6}$, SW $\frac{1}{6}$, SSW $\frac{3}{4}$, SSE $\frac{1}{8}$, SSW $\frac{1}{6}$ and S 1 mile
and put up at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind variable clear weather, the
river passed this day about from 30 to 60 yards wide very
shole the land rather bold and coverd with woods

2nd Thursday at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went SE $\frac{1}{4}$, E $\frac{1}{6}$,
S $\frac{1}{6}$, SSW $\frac{1}{4}$, S $\frac{1}{6}$, SWbS $\frac{1}{2}$, SSW $\frac{1}{4}$, WbS $\frac{1}{4}$, WSW
 $\frac{1}{6}$, SE to SW $\frac{1}{4}$, SbE to WSW $\frac{1}{4}$, S $\frac{1}{6}$, SSW $\frac{1}{4}$, SW
 $\frac{1}{6}$, W to S $\frac{1}{2}$, S to W $\frac{1}{4}$, S to SW $\frac{1}{4}$, S to W $\frac{1}{4}$, S $\frac{1}{4}$,
W $\frac{1}{4}$, S $\frac{1}{4}$, SE $\frac{1}{6}$, SSW $\frac{1}{6}$, SE $\frac{1}{8}$, SbW $\frac{1}{6}$, EbN $\frac{1}{4}$,
EbS $\frac{1}{2}$ & S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and put up at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM calm with rain
the river passed this day about 40 yards wide and very
shole the Land rather bold and coverd with Woods

3rd Friday at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went E $\frac{1}{6}$, SbW $\frac{1}{6}$,
SEbE $\frac{1}{6}$, E $\frac{1}{6}$, SW $\frac{1}{4}$, SE $\frac{1}{6}$, SSE $\frac{1}{2}$, S $\frac{1}{4}$, NE $\frac{1}{4}$,
S $\frac{1}{2}$, S $\frac{1}{4}$, SW $\frac{1}{2}$, W $\frac{1}{8}$ & SEbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a
small Fall and carring place Carried 200 yards on E^t side
Went SEbS $\frac{1}{6}$, SW $\frac{1}{6}$, SbE $\frac{1}{6}$ and came to a small
Fall and Led up it went SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a small
fall and led up it went SSW $\frac{1}{8}$ and put up at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM
calm with heavy rain

Latitude by Observation 50°54 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' N°

The River being so exceeding shole I was not able to go
in the Canoe any part of this River since the first day and
half up it but walked through the woods and the Indians
was obliged to leed the Canoes and even then broke them
in peices the Indians informed me at first that I could go
much sooner this way than any other besides the Advan-

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tage of seeing the place where Me-sag-a-my House was settled which made me desirous of going up this River but the Indians now find it so bad that they think they can return down this River and go up the Ab-bi-tib-be River sooner than they can go this way but the Season being so far advanced I have determined to return to the Factory¹

Aug^t 4th Saturday at 1 PM got underway for the Factory again at 5 PM put up calm with Thunder and rain

1781

Aug^t 5th Sunday at 7¼ AM got underway at 6 PM put up Wind Variable with Thunder and Rain at 8½ PM the Wind with rain came in the face of our tenting which was only Birch Rind put up to windward upon which we turned our tent which we had no sooner done than the wind came about again with as heavy Rain and Thunder as ever I saw and the Thunder so close that for ¼ hour there was not a Second of time between the flash and the clap the storm continued about an hour at the end of which we had not a dry thread amongst us so pulled of my shirt and lay in the wet blankets

6th Monday at 4 AM made fires to dry our Selves at 8½ got underway at 6½ PM put up Calm and Clear

7th Tuesday at 6¼ AM got underway and 7 PM arrived at the Factory Wind Southerly cloudy Weather

It is out of my power to warmly recomend a Settlement to be erected again at Mesinabee Lake as I think the expence in supplying it will be very great in proportion to the trade that would be got at it as the Country seems very thinly peopled and very scarce of provisions I saw but one Indian at Meshipicoton and not an Indian in my passage above Wapiscogamy, but I should rather think sending four or five men in the spring with trading goods

¹They had ascended French river, an estimated distance of about fifty-one miles, when they found the river so shallow that they decided to abandon the attempt of getting to Abitibi lake by this route through Mesagami (Kasagami) lake.

There is evidently a mistake in the latitude given for the place where they turned back, which would be only sixteen miles up French river above its mouth. Possibly it is a mistake in copying for 50° 34½' N. which might be not far from the correct position.

and let them stay at Mesinable or nearer Meshipicoton about a month and trade with the natives and be as regular as possible in the time of their arrival at their post and in a few years it might be well determined wether it would be worth making a Settlement but should a Settlement be made it would take Ten men at least for the use of that place only to keep and supply the House I think it would be very practicable to go from Wapiscogamy to Misinabee by the time half the Indians had been in to trade the River braking much sooner at Wapiscogamy than at Moose Fort but Your Honors must be the only Judges wether the returns that might be expected would fully answer the expence shall conclude with my sincere wishes for an increase of Your Honors trade and remain

Your Honors
most Obedient Hum^{ble} Serv^t
Philip Turnor

JOURNAL VI

DIARY OF OCCURRENCES AT CUMBERLAND HOUSE BY
PHILIP TURNOR, AND MITCHEL OMAN, MASTERS, COM-
MENCING JUNE 9TH, 1790, ENDING MAY 23RD, 1791,
INCLUDED

JOURNAL VI

*A DIARY of Occurrences at Cumberland House by Phillip Turnor,
and Mitchel Oman, Masters*

Commencing June 9th, 1790 }
Ending May 23rd, 1791 } *included*

1790

June 9th Wednesday Wind Westerly Clear Weather, at 2 PM M^r Walker¹ with fourteen Canoes of Englishmen and 2 Canoes of Indians, embarked for York Factory loaded with Furs leaving Bundles at this place, likewise all the Indians went off except a helpless Girl about ten years of age so afflicted with the evil that it cannot stand, the Compliment at this place consists of Philip Turnor Master, Peter Fidler, W^m Hawkland and William Sabbiston, the latter very much wounded on the left side of the Back with Bristol Shot which happened the day they left the South Branch House²

¹William Walker was in charge of the flotilla of canoes that left Cumberland House for York Factory, carrying the fur obtained by trading with the Indians during the preceding year. With him were Malchom Ross, and the young apprentice, David Thompson, who had kept a meteorological register at Cumberland during the winter, and had also taken a number of astronomical observations under Turnor's direction, to determine its latitude and longitude. The party went down the Saskatchewan river, around the north end of Lake Winnipeg, and down the Hayes river to York Factory, where it arrived on July 7. Thompson made a survey of the route as they travelled, taking the directions with a magnetic compass, and estimating the distances.

²South Branch House was built in the autumn of 1786 by Mitchell Oman. It was situated on the south branch of the Saskatchewan river. On June 22, 1794, it was plundered and burnt by the Fall Indians, the only man to escape being John Cornelius Van Driel. Van Driel, described in the Hudson's Bay Company's records as "of Lambeth", had entered the service in 1793 as a "writer", and had been employed as a trader inland from York Factory. He had reached South Branch House on October 19, 1793. After his escape from the destroyed House, he was sent to Churchill, and the chief of this fort, Thomas Stayner, describes him in 1795 as being "no good whatever . . . he is certainly Hypochondriac and not at all times . . . in his senses." This may have been due to his experiences at South Branch House. He returned to Europe in September, 1795. Van Driel had apparently been "in the Canadian employ" for some years before he entered the Hudson's Bay Company's service.

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by the man in the Stern of the Canoe, firing at some Geese, and his Gun hung fire

1790

June 10th Thursday Wind NW^t fresh Gale with showers of Rain, the two men at work in clearing the Ware-House, overhauling two nets and searching for three that was lost in the late Gales of Wind, but without success, got 5 Fish

11th Friday Wind NW^t heavy Gale Cloudy Weather the two men employed in the Garden

12th Saturday Wind NNW^t fresh Gale with flying Clouds, the People as yesterday

13th Sunday Wind NbE^t light Breeze and clear the People overhauling the Nets, got 4 fish

14th Monday Wind Easterly light Breeze thin Clouds the People overhauling the Nets, at Work in Garden &^c &^c the Wounded Man on a mending appearance got no fish

15th Tuesday Wind Easterly light Breeze and Clear the People as yesterday, got no fish

16th Wednesday Wind variable all round with flying Clouds, the People as before, got 4 small Fish

17th Thursday Wind Northerly flying Clouds, the People as before, got 8 small Fish

1790

June 18th Friday Wind Northerly flying Clouds with light showers of Rain, the People as before, got 1 small Fish

19th Saturday Wind variable Westerly flying Clouds, the People as before, got 3 small Fish

20th Sunday Wind NNW^t strong Breeze with flying Clouds

21st Monday Wind variable Westerly Peter Fidler and William Hawkland at work at the Nets and William Sabbiston much better of his Wounds, about 9 AM eight Canadians arrived in a light Canoe five Canoes of them loaded with Furrs had come from the Northward and had been laying two days at the Sask-ash-a-wan River expecting the People y^t Wintered up that River who supplies them with Provisions for their Journey out, but not finding any account of them they came to this place for intelligence got 3 small Fish from our Nets

22nd Tuesday Wind SWbS light Breeze and Clear, the People as before got 2 Sturgeon and 3 small fish

23rd Wednesday Wind and Weather as yesterday, 2 PM Mess^{rs} Small, McKensie, Shaw and McGilvery Masters of Canadian Settlements to the Northwest¹, arrived in their passage out, they informed me they had had a good Winter both with respect to Trade and Provisions M^r McKensie says he has been at the Sea, but thinks it the Hyperborean Sea but he does not seem acquainted with Observations which makes me think he is not well convinced where he has been²

At 4 PM the Canadians went away got 2 Sturgeon and 7 small Fish from our Nets

24th Thursday Wind variable with a little Thunder and Rain in the afternoon the People as before got 4 Sturgeon and 5 small Fish

25th Friday Wind NE^t fresh breeze and Cloudy, the People employed about the House, to much swell in the Lake to go to the Nets

26th Saturday Wind and Weather as yesterday the People making a Net &^c got 11 Sturgeon and some small fish in the evening two Indians and their families came in and brought a little fresh Provisions, one of them ill of a Fever he has had some time upon

¹The group consisted of Patrick Small from Ile à la Crosse, Alexander Mackenzie from Fort Chipewyan, Angus Shaw from Moose-hill lake post on the upper waters of Beaver river, and William McGillivray from Churchill river, or perhaps Lac la Ronge. They were on their way from their trading posts, where they had spent the winter, to the North West Company's headquarters at Grand Portage on Lake Superior.

²During the previous summer Alexander Mackenzie had descended the Slave and Mackenzie rivers to the Arctic Ocean, but since the great stream which was to bear his name did not lead him to the Pacific Ocean, as he had evidently hoped or expected that it would, he called it the "River Disappointment." He had probably been led by Peter Pond to believe that Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska was much nearer the Pacific Ocean than it actually was.

We have here a brief account of the first meeting of the man who had descended the great river from that lake to its mouth in some unknown sea, and the man who would shortly set out to find and determine the actual situation of lake Athabaska. Captain Cook had ascertained the position of the Pacific coast of America, and the latitude and longitude of Cumberland House were also known, and therefore its distance from the Pacific coast was beyond question. But the positions of the lakes, rivers, mountains, etc., between these two places were as yet unsettled.

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- 27th Sunday Wind variable between North & West light Airs and clear
- 28th Monday Wind NNW^t light Air and Clear, two Men taking the Bark of some Pine Trees that the Turpentine may run the Man that was shot still growing better
- 29th Tuesday mostly Calm with clear weather the People mending Nets &
- 30th Wednesday Wind SWbyS light air very hot clear weather the People as before
- July 1st Thursday Mostly Calm hot weather, the People employed about the House
- 2nd Friday Wind SWbyS light air clear hot weather received some fresh Moose flesh from the Indians, the People as before, two Canoes of the Indians went away
- 3rd Saturday Wind NW^t light Breeze Clear of Clouds but very thick with smoke from the *Beaver Lake most of the Woods on the sides of it being on fire,*¹ in the evening *two Indians from the Northward arrived* with a few Summer Furrs, some dried and some fresh Provisions, *these Indians formerly traded at Churchill but now trade with the Canadians*
- 4th Sunday Wind NW^t fresh Breeze with flying Clouds the Indians of yesterday traded & went away
- 1790
- July 5th Monday Wind ESE^t fresh Breeze with flying Clouds the People making Nets and variously employed in the Gardens &^c got 4 Sturgeon and 3 small Fish took up the Nets the Man that was shot much better
- 6th Tuesday Wind SE by E Cloudy Weather the People as yesterday.
- 7th Wednesday Wind SE flying Clouds, the People as before, all the Indians, except the poor girl that is bad with the Evil, went away to the Westward
- 8th Thursday Wind WSW fresh Gale with flying Clouds and showers of Rain
- 9th Friday Wind Westerly fresh Gale with flying Clouds, the People as before

¹Bush fires were prevalent then as they are now.

- 10th Saturday Wind NbE light Breeze and Clear, the People as before . . . set two Nets
 11th Sunday Wind Easterly light Air fine Weather got 1 Sturgeon and 2 small fish
 12th Monday Wind N^{lv} fresh Breeze and Cloudy Wea^r with a little rain about noon, the man that was shot capable of light work, the People making nets &^c got no fish

1790

- July 13th Tuesday Wind NW^t light Breeze with flying Clouds the People as yesterday, got 3 Sturgeon & 2 small fish
 14th Wednesday Wind SW light Breeze with flying Clouds, the People as before, got no Fish
 15th Thursday Calm with thin Clouds, the People as before, got 2 small Fish
 16th Friday fore part Calm hot weather 4¼ PM Wind NW^t a perfect Storm with Thunder and thick, large hail, the storm lasted about ¼ hour broke down about a fourth part of the Stockadoes and destroyed a new Canoe and damaged all the old ones; in the evening employed sawing ribbing for the Stockadoes, got 2 Sturgⁿ
 17th Saturday Wind NE^t Clear Weather, the People digging a trench to set the broken Stockadoes in, got 1 Sturgeon and 1 small fish
 18th Sunday Wind ENE light breeze warm Weather with Thunder and Rain at night, got 3 Sturgeon and 11 small Fish
 19th Monday Wind NE^t fresh Breeze Clear Weather the People setting up Stockadoes, round the Garden
 20th Tuesday Wind SW^t by S fresh Breeze, the People repairing nets &^c got 3 Sturgeon and 12 small fish
 21st Wednesday Wind W by N Clear hot Weather, the People setting up Stockadoes &^c got 3 Sturgeon and 5 Tickameg
 22nd Thursday Wind Westerly fresh breeze flying Clouds the People variously employed; got 7 Sturgeon and 8 Tickameg
 23rd Friday Wind NW^t light Breeze and clear, the People taking up the Floor of the Ware-House and putting new Joists and repairing the Cellar under the Warehouse &^c got 9 Sturgeon and 7 Tickameg; only one Net standing

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- 24th Saturday Wind SW light breeze and clear the People as yesterday, got 3 Sturgeon
- 25th Sunday Wind NWbN fresh Gale flying Clouds
- 26th Monday Wind NWbN fresh Breeze and Clear the People relaying the Warehouse floor and clearing the Warehouse Cellar &^c; 7 Sturgeon
- 27th Tuesday Wind SSW Clear Weather, the People variously employed; got 8 Sturgeon
- 28th Wednesday Wind variable, fore part of the day clear, latter part Cloudy with a little Thunder & Rain, got 3 Sturgeon, W^m Sabbistons back perfectly healed

1790

- July 29th Thursday Wind Easterly forepart & NW^t latter part of the day, Cloudy Weather with Thunder at a distance the People employed at the Net &^c got 3 Sturgeon
- 30th Friday, Wind and Weather as yesterday, the People as before; got 4 Sturgeon
- 31st Saturday Wind WNW light Breeze and Clear the People as before; got 2 Sturgeon
- Aug^t 1st Sunday Wind WNW light Breeze and Clear in the evening an Indian man and his family arrived in one Canoe from the Pillecon Lake, to Northward he brought nothing, he traded with the Canadians and came here to see the Indians of this place
- 2nd Monday Wind WSW light Breeze inclining to Rain, the People making a Ladder to Cellar, overhauling the Net &^c got no fish; sent the Indian a hunting
- 3rd Tuesday Wind Westerly fresh Breeze flying Clouds; the People variously employed, got 4 Sturgeon The Indian return'd without success
- 4th Wednesday Wind NNW fresh Breeze flying Clouds, the People as before, got 3 Sturgeon

1790

- Aug^t 5th Thursday Wind forepart SW latter part of the day Northerly with light showers of Rain & Cloudy Weather the People as before, got 3 Sturgeon, the Indian went a hunting in the morning
- 6th Friday Wind SW light Breeze and Cloudy, small showers

of Rain, the People as before, got one Sturgeon The Indian return'd having had no success

7th Saturday Wind variable Westerly fresh breeze Clear weather, the People as before, got 4 Sturgeon, in the evening the Indian return'd, having killed a young buck moose

8th Sunday Wind NW^t light Breeze thin Clouds the People fetching home the Moose killed yesterday

9th Monday Wind Easterly fresh Breeze flying Clouds Thunder in the evening and a little Rain in the night the People variously employed, could not get to the net being too much swell in the Lake

10th Tuesday Wind Westerly fresh Breeze flying Clouds the People as before

11th Wednesday Wind variable Westerly light breeze Clear Weather, the People as before the Indian went a hunting

12th Thursday Wind ESE Southerly to NW light breeze Clear Weather the People as before

13th Friday Wind and Weather as yesterday, the People as before

14th Saturday Wind and Weather as yesterday People as before

15th Sunday Wind SE light Breeze and clear, much Lightning and some Thunder in the evening, PM the hunting Indian return'd brought a little Moose flesh and an Indian came in from the Swampy river (a small River to NW^t) and brought some dry Provisions and a few Furrs

16th Monday Wind NW light Breeze and clear; the People variously employed, the Indian of yesterday traded and went away, as likewise the Northward Indian a hunting

17th Tuesday Wind SW^t light Breeze flying Clouds moderate shower of Rain latter part of the day, the People as before, got 3 Sturgeon from the nets

1790

Aug^t 10th Wednesday Wind ESE fresh breeze Weather as yesterday; the People as before

19th Thursday Wind NWbN fresh Breeze Cloudy weather, People as before

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- 20th Friday Wind forepart of day NWbN latter part ESE light Breeze Clear Weather; the People as before got 4 Sturgeon from the net
- 21st Saturday Wind SE light Breeze Clear Weather People as before, got 2 Sturgeon, set a small net
- 22nd Sunday Wind ESE fresh Breeze and clear could not get to the Nets
- 23rd Monday Wind variable N^{ly} light Breeze and clear, the People variously employed, got 3 Sturgeon, 1 Jack and 5 Tickameg
- 24th Tuesday Wind variable from SW^t Northerly to ENE fresh Breeze clear Weather, the People as before 3 Sturgeon 4 Tickameg & 1 Jack Fish
- 25th Wednesday Wind Easterly light Air clear Weather, the People as before, 1 Sturgeon and 5 small Fish, four Canoes of Indians arrived from the Westward brought a small quantity of Provisions; 8½ PM *two Canoes of Canadians arrived, on their way to the Athapiscow Country, they left ten more in Saskashawan River* which are to follow them to Athapiscow
- 26th Thursday Wind SSE light breeze clear weather 10 AM the Canadians embarked for the Athepiscow Lake, *before M^r M^cKensie¹ embarked he presented me a Promissory Note given him by the late M^r George Hudson in 1787 for 150 lb^s of Fatt which this House stands indebted for*, but I could not pay it, not having 50 Pounds of Fatt in the House PM four Canoes of Indians arrived from the Southward with a few Furrs and some Provisions; the People variously employed with the Nets &^c got 4 Sturgeon & 5 small fish
- 27th Friday Wind ESE light Breeze and flying Clouds the People as before; got 4 Sturgeon and 4 small Fish sent one Indian hunting he brought 1 Beaver
- 28th Saturday Wind Easterly fresh breeze and Clear the People as before AM sent five Canoes of Indians hunting
- 29th Sunday Wind ESE a moderate Breeze forepart of the day Cloudy, latter part Rain, got 7 Sturgeon & 3 small fish

¹This was Alexander Mackenzie on his way back from Grand Portage to Lake Athabaska. Nothing is recorded of any conversation between them about the geography of the distant country to which they were both going.

from the Nets; in the evening one Indian returned from hunting, brought 2 Beaver

30th Monday Wind SE light Breeze and flying Clouds the People as before, 5 Sturgeon and 3 small fish from the nets, the four Hunters return'd, brought 2 Buck & 1 Doe Moose and 4 Beaver

31st Tuesday Wind variable from West to North fresh Gale with Rain all day, the People variously employed

Sept^r 1st Wednesday Wind North fresh Gale Cloudy Weather, the People as before

2nd Thursday Wind Easterly light Breeze, thin Clouds, the People as before, got 18 Sturgeon, 2 Jack and Tickameg AM four Canoes of Indians arrived from the West brought a few Summer Furrs & some Provisions

3rd Friday Wind NE light Air flying Clouds with gentle showers of Rain, the People as before

4th Saturday Wind Easterly light Air Clear Weather the People at the Nets and drying the Moose flesh brought on Monday last as it will keep no longer, 6 Sturgeon from the Nets, in the evening two Canoes of Indians arrived from the Northward; they brought a few Summer Beaver, some dry, and a little fresh Moose flesh, one of them who is expected to Pilot the Northward expedition informed me has a good quantity of dry Provisions laid up on the Road, and expected us some time past, and thinks we shall not reach the Athapiscow Lake this Fall. AM sent two Indians hunting¹

¹Between the date of this last entry and September 13, when Turnor's party left for lake Athabaska, a party had arrived from York Factory, including William Walker, Malchom Ross, Mitchell Oman, and probably also David Thompson.

On September 15, Mitchell Oman took charge of Cumberland House, and continued the journal till May 23, 1791. This journal contains little beyond the records of the trivial routine of life at the house, and the labour of catching enough fish for all. There are, however, the following items of interest.

Sept. 15. At noon Mr. William Walker and 12 canoes of Englishmen embarked for South Branch and Manchester.

" 21. About 6 P.M. one Canoe of Canadians stopt here and stayed all night. Supplied Mr. McGilvery with some moose flesh.

" 22. In the morning the Canadians embarked.

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- Oct. 7. Two men arrived from the South Branch House with the agreeable news of all being well in that quarter; they brought birch rind for building one canoe, as also 300 lbs dried meat, 127 lbs beat meat, and $71\frac{1}{2}$ lbs of Fatt.
- " 8. Those who arrived yesterday resting themselves.
- " 12. At 5 P.M. Mr. William Tomison arrived here (from York) with 7 men, the rest being with the canoes at the Goose Carrying place.
- " 13. People employed carrying Trading goods across from Saskatchewan River, where the canoes stopped.
- " 14. Mr. William Tomison and 11 Englishmen embarked for South Branch and Manchester House."

David Thompson remained with Mitchell Oman at Cumberland. The winter was spent building or preparing to build a new house, and getting food from the lake and the forest.

April 21. "The (Saskatchewan) river is driving full of ice."

May 1. "Two men and a girl arrived from the South Branch House in a canoe, left the cargo &c. at the Goose Carrying place."

They also brought a letter from Mr. William Walker dated "South Branch House, April 24th, 1791," in which he says:—"My (trade) is but little owing to the want of Brandy and cloth, for above this two months past I have had neither, which made me lose the chief of the trade and the primest of furs, for want of the above articles."

- May 3. "Two Frenchmen arrived here on their journey up the River, who begged to be supply'd with Provisions to save them till they get to one of their upper Settle^{ts} and they are to pay the quantity back again; upon these terms I supply'd them with a little, and they went away."
- " 18. "At 6 A.M. four Englishmen arrived in 2 canoes from Manchester House with 24 bundles of furs and 6 bags of pemmican, also brought the agreeable news of all being well in that quarter."
- " 23. "At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9 A.M. Mr. Wm. Tomison and fifteen Englishmen arrived from Manchester and the South Branch House loaded with furs."

JOURNAL VII

JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY FROM CUMBERLAND HOUSE
NORTH AMERICA IN LATITUDE $53^{\circ} 56\frac{3}{4}'$ NORTH AND
LONGITUDE $102^{\circ} 13'$ WEST OF GREENWICH TOWARDS THE
ATHAPISCOW COUNTRY AND BACK TO YORK FACTORY,
[SEPTEMBER 13, 1790 TO JULY 17, 1792], BY PHILIP
TURNOR

JOURNAL VII

JOURNAL of a Journey from Cumberland House North America in Latitude 53°56¾' North and Longitude 102°13' West of Greenwich towards the Athapiscow Country and back to York Factory

by Philip Turnor

1790

Sept 13th Monday at 7¼ AM embarked at Cumberland House in Company with M^r Malcom Ross,¹ [with wife and two children] Peter Fidler my assistant, Hugh Lisk,² Robert Garroch,³ Malcolm Grot⁴ and Peter Brown⁵ in two Canoes,⁶

¹Ross's journal states—"Being appointed by the Chief and Council at York Factory to go in charge of the few goods that is to go on the expedition with Mr. Phillip Turnor to the Northland:—we embarked at 7 A.M. in Two canoes"—

²Hugh Lisk (or Leask), a native of Orphir in the Orkneys, was born about 1761, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1782 as "labourer". Shortly after his arrival at York Factory he was taken prisoner by the French. He returned to York Factory in 1783, and from 1785 to 1802 he was employed as "labourer", "canoeman", and "steersman and bowman" inland from York Factory. He returned to Europe in 1802 on the *King George*.

³Robert Garroch [Garrock, Garrett], a native of Orphir in the Orkneys, was born about 1763, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as "labourer" in 1782. He was taken prisoner by the French at York Factory a few days after his arrival there; but he returned in 1783 and was employed until 1799 as "labourer", "canoeman", and "steersman". In 1799 he returned home, but re-entered the service in 1801, and was employed as "steersman" and "trader" inland from York Factory. From 1804 to 1806 he was stationed at Split lake in the Nelson river district. In 1807 he returned to Europe on the *Prince of Wales*.

⁴Malcolm Grot [Groat], a native of South Ronaldshay in the Orkneys, was born about 1764-6, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as "labourer" in 1785. He was employed as "labourer", "steersman" and "bowsman" inland from York Factory until 1803, when he returned to Europe.

⁵Peter Brown, a native of Stromness in the Orkneys, was born about 1758-64, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as "labourer" in 1785. He was subsequently employed as "steersman" and "bowsman" inland from York Factory until 1799, when he returned to Europe on the *King George*.

⁶Peter Fidler's journal states—"Left Cumberland House to proceed towards the Athapescow with two canoes and the following men, viz., Mr. Malchom Ross, Master, Mr. Philip Turnor, Surveyor, myself as his assistant, Hugh Leask Steersman, Robert Garrock and Malchom Grott, Bowsmen, also Peter Brown a middleman. Mr. Ross had also his woman and 2 children with him. (An Indian woman at a House is particularly useful in making shoes, cutting line, netting snow shoes, cleaning and stretching Beaver skins &c., that the Europeans are not acquainted with). . . . Our sole motive for going to the Athapescow is for Mr. Turnor to survey those parts in order to settle some dubious points of Geography, as both Messrs Hearn and Pond fixes those places in their respective maps far more to the westward than there is good reason to think them".

all except my self and Peter Fidler being supplied with some Scotch Barley, Oatmeal, Flour and Salt, my self and Peter Fidler having only about 30 pounds of Flour and none of the other articles, an Indian which I had kept in the summer for the purpose of Piloting us part of the way being gone a head, went in Cumberland House Lake NE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and turned a point or neck of land then went NEbE 6 Miles in a part of the Lake not above one mile wide then NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N 4 miles in a part about 2 mile wide then NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NbW $\frac{1}{2}$ W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile in a part not above 300 yards wide easy current then NbE 2 miles nearly along the middle of a swampey bay about two or three mile wide then NNW 1 mile in a part about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide then NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 3 mile a long the west side of a bay about two mile wide left the bay and enterd a narrow (the bay continuing three or four miles NNE) went NbW 1 mile in a part about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide a large part of the Lake then opens called by the Indians or lime stone Lake¹ went NE 3 miles along the SE side the Lake about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 mile wide to NW then went NE 8 miles the lake about 5 mile wide to NW and 3 mile wide to SE of us and put up at 7 PM at the mouth of a small River² up which we are to proceed the Lake continuing about 2 mile to East, the first part of this Lake the land low and coverd with Pine Asp &^c the middle part low swampey land thinly coverd with small pine juniper &^c the latter part rather bold land well coverd with Pine Asp &^c, Wind SW light breeze and clear most of the day, sailed most part of the Lake

Double Merid. Alt. Aquilæ	96° 12'
Error	8° 3'
	88° 9' Latitude 54°15'56''N

¹The Indian name is omitted in the manuscript, and I have never heard the lake called Limestone lake. This northern expansion of the lake is called by the Indians Namew (Sturgeon) lake.

²He had reached the mouth of Sturgeon-Weir river, commonly called by the Canadian traders, Maligne river, at a place now called Sturgeon Landing. He

14th Tuesday 5¼ AM got underway entered Nemew Kip-pa-ha-gan Seepee or Sturgeon wear river went nearly NbW 1 mile moderate current then about 3 mile from NE to NNW very strong current handed the Canoes most of the way, then about ¼ mile NbE easy current (and passed the mouth of a small river¹ running out of a lake in the port nelson track called the Goose Lake) and came to a fall carried 195 yards on north side good carrying place and put up at 9½ AM found two Canadians at this place waiting for the Canoes coming up with goods one of them a M^r Tompson² master of a settlement near the lower part of Grass river in the Port Nelson track, and five tents of Indians some belonging to Port Nelson river and others to the northward towards Churchill river all of them was very desirous to have us go to their country and make no doubt but either way would have answered in point of trade, traded some provisions

1790

Sept 14th Doub. Merid. Altitude ☉^s LL 85° 13' 45''

8° 3'

77° 10' 45'' Lat 54° 18' 33'' N

had found some of Blondeau's men building a house here when he passed the spot in 1778. The river is seventy yards wide with wooded banks, and low cliffs of limestone on the west side. The exact place where Turnor took his latitude is uncertain, but it would be in the vicinity of North 54° 17', so that his result is about one minute too far north.

¹Goose Lake river is the stream which Turnor descended in 1778 when he first went to Cumberland House. Its mouth is three miles up stream from Sturgeon Landing. The party camped at Rat portage just above the mouth of Goose river, where the river flows over a bed of flat-lying limestone.

²The "Mr. Tompson" here referred to was Robert Thompson, an employee or clerk of the North West Company who appears to have been one of the most successful of the Canadian traders who had gone into the wooded country between the lower Saskatchewan and the Churchill rivers. Ross says of him that he was "tenting upon this Carrying Place waiting for there canoes to arrive from the Great Carrying Place, to get goods to go down towards York Factory to winter, where he has wintered this 2 years & has carried away a great quantity of good Furrs which otherways would have gone to your Honors Settlements." He would thus appear to have gone into that country as early as 1788 at least. At a later date David Thompson located a house of his on Burntwood lake in which he had lived in the winter of 1793-94. He was killed by Indians in the winter of 1794-95.

at 4 PM M^r Paterick Small¹ arrived with Ten Canoes of goods and put up by the side of us. Wind Westerly light breeze and clear

15th Wednesday 7¼ AM got underway our Indian pilot in company. left M^r Small settling goods for M^r Tompson to return to the Port Nelson track with, M^r Small very kindly offered to pilot and assist us in case our Indian pilot deceives us, went W to WSW ¼ mile passed two small islands then from WNW to SSW 3 miles mostly rapids then SW 2 miles easy current, then W ½ mile & NW 2 miles and passed a flat shoal strong ripple and came to a rapid called the Nemew-kip-pa-ha-gan or Sturgeon Wear, the Indians frequently damming the river across at this place which is what the river takes its name from, then

¹Patrick Small was born in or near Perth, Scotland, the son of John Small who was apparently the brother of Patrick Small of Leanoeh, the father of Major General John Small. He was Roman Catholic in religion. The date when he came to Canada is not known, but in 1781 he was granted a license to go to Niagara and Detroit in charge of eight batteaux with thirty-two men and three thousand two hundred gallons of rum, having probably been outfitted by Simon McTavish, who was his guarantor.

He was in Mackinac in June 1782. He was a partner in the North West Company, holding two shares in the agreement of 1784, and an equal number in the agreement of 1790. From 1784 to 1791 he was at Ile à la Crosse, or in its vicinity. In the winter of 1786-7 he was opposed by Alexander (afterwards Sir Alexander) Mackenzie who wrote to Roderick McKenzie as follows:—"I hope you will be on a more friendly footing with your neighbours than I am with mine [Mr. Small]; we have not spoken together since the canoes left this, which, I believe, is more from indifference than from hatred, as we have had no quarrel". (Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, "Recits de voyage", p. 16).

In 1791 he left Ile à la Crosse and went to Montreal, and thence across the Atlantic to London.

On January 13, 1794, when General Small made his will, he gave his property in Nova Scotia to his "affectionate cousin Patrick Small". . . . "at present residing in Wood Street, London" where he and a Mr. Young were carrying on the business of "Scottish Factors" under the name of "Small and Young".

On May 31, 1796, he was one of those who proved the will of General Small, but he never went to Nova Scotia to take possession of the property left him by the General. He was recorded as an Overseas member of the Beaver Club in Montreal until 1810, but in 1811 his name was no longer on the list of members, so that he probably died about 1809 or 1810.

He had at least two daughters born in the Northwest. One of these, Charlotte, born at Ile à la Crosse on September 1, 1785, was, on June 10, 1799, married at that place to David Thompson, the great geographer. The other, Nancy, was the wife of John Macdonald of Garth, and is buried at Gray's Creek, near Cornwall, Ontario.

Patrick Small, Junior, who was afterwards in the employ of the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies, was probably his son.

went NWbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and WbS 1 mile strong current then W 1 mile and SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile easy current and came to a part of the river 400 to 500 yards wide easy current, the other part of the river from 40 to 100 yards wide, went W 1 mile WNW 1 mile W 2 miles and WbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the river then about 70 or 80 yards wide went WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile very strong current and put up at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Westerly fresh breeze and clear, at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM broke a Canoe which stoped us untill 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM

16th Thursday 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway went NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and handed up a strong ripple then WbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile strong ripple, WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile easy current, NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile strong ripples, NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile easy current and W 1 mile strong ripples and came to a fall¹ with a carrying place 150 yards over on south side but the water being favourable led the Canoes on north side all the river passed to this place the banks rather bold and covered with Pine, Asp, &c at this place bold rocky shores, went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current, NbE 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile rather easy current then NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile strong ripple and came to the Misk-a-Sask-a-ha-gan or Beaver Lake, this river is in general very shoal but the water clear so that the stones can be seen though not easily avoided, the bottom is of lime stone kind and like a honey comb which makes it very bad for the feet and our people led the Canoes about one sixth part of the whole river, put up at 1 PM being too much swelled in the Lake Wind NW fresh gale fine weather in the evening 4 Canoes of Indians joined us from the Tents we left yesterday morning

17th Friday 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway in the Beaver Lake which opens North went NbW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile in a part about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide then NWbN 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile keeping close along the SW shore then WbN 1 mile across the mouth of a bay to a point then WbN 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile across a bay in the same manner, then WbN 2 miles in the same manner and WNW 3 miles across the mouth off a bay in the same manner as before,

¹Known as the Crooked rapid. The bed of the river here is composed largely of white limestone, sometimes smooth, but in other places honeycombed.

then WbS 1 mile off the mouth of a small bay leaving the point near a mile to south then NW 4 miles to the mouth of a small river¹ leaving a bay about 3 mile deep to to west, the Land on the south side of the Lake very heigh and bold rocky shore on the north side the land seems very bold and well coverd with Pine &^c the shore seems to sweep round from North to NWbW apparently for 10 or 12 miles the shore we cross to the land is low and coverd with pine asp &^c, a point continues about 3 mile East into the Lake round which the Lake seems to turn to the NW upon which point the Tents and Families of the Indians which joined us yesterday are, but we did not accompany the Indians to them it being out of our way and the wind laying on that shore, several Islands in this lake two of which lays off the mouth of the small river we crossed for at about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distance, at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM enterd the small river, the Indian knows no name for this river, the Canadians call it the English river, and bad river as they likewise do the Sturgeon wear river, the mouth of this river is about 80 or 90 yards wide, rather a blind enterance land low on both sides and coverd mostly with willows, went in the river NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and W to NW in moderate turnings 3 miles and N to W 1 mile and came to a fall carried 310 yards on E side through middling good carrying² then went from N to W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and WNW 1 mile a small creek then opens on east side, went WNW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N 1 mile W to SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile near NNW 2 mile all the river passed land low and easey current came to a rapid and handed the Canoes NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, then went S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, NW westerly to South 1 mile, W to SW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile land low on both sides, then went near NW 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles land rather low on east side and rocky and bold on west side moderate current, and put up at 7 PM Wind SW strong gale and clear

¹The river above Beaver lake is now called Sturgeon-Weir river. He was now leaving the limestone country, and entering the more rugged country underlain by granite. Here the shore is of red granite.

²Spruce Portage was over granite, though to the west of the river a cliff of limestone rises to a height of fifty or sixty feet.

18th Saturday at 5 AM got underway went NNW 2 miles and came to a heigh rocky point on W^t side round which opens a narrow bay to south that appears like a river and an other bay with a low point and the same appearance to the North, heigh rocks all round the bays, then turnd round a grassey point to Eastward the part of the river passed this day land low on East side and very bold and rocky on West side, then went NbW to NNE and NbW 2½ miles, E to N ¼ mile and NW to E 1½ mile and came to a fall, the latter part of this river land rather low and coverd with willows asps &^c current easey, carried 80 yards on E side the fall then went NbE to NNW 3 miles mostly rocky shores, went NW 1 mile and came to a fall and carried part of the cargoe 220 yards on E side and led the canoes up with the remainder and came to a large bay went NNW 1 mile on West side and came to a narrow part with a small Island in the middle strong current on both sides led the Canoes 20 yards on west side of the Island¹

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. 81° 2' 45"

— 8° 1' 12"

73° 1' 33" Lat. 54°50'23"

then went WNW ½ mile and NNW ¼ mile in a large bay and came to a narrow part of the river and went NNE ¾ mile and came to a fall carried out of a small bay 480 yards on East side into a small bay above the fall, this is called by the Canadians the birch carring place we were here joined by M^r Small² with one Canoe, the river passed from the beaver lake from 50 yards to 100 yards wide, then went in a wide part of the river or kind of lake NNW ½ mile and N 1 mile nearly along the west side and put up at 4½ PM Wind NW fresh breeze and clear.

¹The last carrying place is known as Leaf Portage. The island on which Turnor took an observation for latitude is shown on the latest government maps as in North latitude 54° 51' which is only about half a minute north of Turnor's position.

²Birch Portage was on the east side of the river over a point between it and a small lake to the north. Here Small, who had stayed behind with Robert Thompson, caught up to them, and they continued northward for another mile and a half and camped together beside the river.

19th Sunday at 5 AM got underway M^r Small in company went NbW $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a wide part of the river or narrow lake land on both sides bold and rocky, covered with Pine Asp &^c came to a narrow part about 60 yards wide about 200 yards very strong current in the mouth of the narrow, went N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile in the narrow part and came to a broad part with two Islands in it went NbW $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and NW bN 1 mile along the west side, land rather bold and covered with Pine Asp &^c entered a narrow on west side (a bay continuing $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north) went SW to W and SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a fall with a small Island in the middle carried part cargo 20 yards being the length of the Island and took the canoes up the fall with the remainder, entered a small Lake went SWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small bay like a river appears west went SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small bay like a river appears east then went SbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and WbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile close on N side the part passed about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide the lake then appears about 3 mile wide to west with three Islands towards the south side of the bay, went WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile cross a bay on North side, NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile round a point then W $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the north side of the lake and came to a small river, the land round the lake bold and rocky covered with pine asp &^c entered the river led the canoes 100 yards up a ripple in the mouth of it then went 200 yards and came to a fall carried 200 yards on North side good carrying, entered a lake went WNW 1 mile and N 1 mile in a narrow part of the lake the lake then opens west three or four miles wide kept the East shore went NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and passed many small Islands then NW $\frac{1}{2}$ N $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles nearly along the middle of the lake and NWbW $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles and came to the NW corner of the lake, the Lake about three or four mile wide with several Islands in it, the land if it may be so called appears an intire high rock on all sides, thinly covered with small asp pine &^c entered a narrow or river being about 70 or 80 yards wide brisk current and went near W 2 miles and came to another lake entered at SW corner and went in the lake NW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile leaving a bay or end of the lake to north of

us, and put up at 3 PM on the north side of the lake at which place we found three tents of Indians waiting for M^r Small with provision and to take debt wind West fresh breeze fine weather for part of the day, much Thunder & rain from 1½ PM & all night

1790

Sept 20th Monday at 10 AM eight canoes belonging to M^r Small arrived the other being left with M^r Tompson to proceed towards York Factory down the Port Nelson track and suppose goods is likewise sent in the Indian canoes

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. 78° 48' 45"

— 8° 1' 12"

70° 47' 33" Lat. 55° 10' 29"

this lake called Sa-suck-kew or pillicon Lake¹
at 1 PM got underway nine canoes of M^r Smalls in company, we trusting to M^r Small for piloting us towards the Atha-pis-co country as our Indian pilott would not proceed further² nor could an Indian be procured to go with us or did any except one woman know the way the Indians seemed very desirous of our wintering in those parts. I am of opinion if any of the Indians had pretended to have gone with us they would only have taken us to some place which they approved and if we would not have wintered

¹This day Turnor and Small travelled up the river, over Dog Portage, across the north end of Corneille or Crow lake, over Crow or Pine Portage, through Heron lake, also called Mirond lake, and entered Pelican lake at its northeast corner, not southwest corner as here stated. From where they entered the lake they crossed for a mile and a half to the point where the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post of Pelican Narrows has been situated for many years. Turnor gives its latitude as 55° 10' 29", while its correct latitude is 55° 14'.

²Ross writes of their pilot as follows:—"I gave a treat of brandy to the Indian pilot last night, also a Coat & Blanket for his wife; he promised faithfully to stand by us, but this day when he was to embark his wife would not go, after all his promises we embarked at 1 P.M. after applying to Mr. Small for his assistance in showing us the Road, which we was obliged to do or else go back again, which I had very bad will to do".

Peter Fidler writes on May 3, 1791:—"The Pilot that was engaged to conduct us from Cumberland to the Isle a la Crosse deserted us 5 days journey from Cumberland House, in the Pelican lake, and the rest of the way we accompanied the Canadian canoes by the permission of Mr. Small on condition that we should not trade any skins from the Indians this winter that is past".

there we might have returned to Cumberland House if the season had not been to far spent therefore thought it most adviseable to accept M^r Smalls kind offer of pilotting us as he promised us he would not leave us without a guide went in the lake WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and passed a place where the Canadians formerly had a settlement¹ then NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$



—P. Fidler, June 23, 1792.

Pelican lake, showing position of old Canadian house.

mile along the north side a small opening like a river appears NE, then went NW 2 miles the lake then turning narrower the lake passed about three mile wide to West with several Islands in the west part went WNW $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles nearly along the middle of the lake a bay on each side with a point near the middle of the bays projecting into the lake making it appear like double bays with three Islands to west and one Island to east this part about a mile wide the land passed mostly bold and rocky and well covered with pine asp &^c entered a narrow went N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a broad part and went W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile across a bay to south, SWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile along the south side leaving the lake

¹Fidler's journal of June 23, 1792, refers to "an old Canadian house, it is now entirely down. Built in a fine small sandy bay about the year 1779."

about a mile wide to north with six or seven small Islands in it and came to a narrow or river went NNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a fall carried part cargoe 150 yards on North side stoney bad carring place led the Canoes up the fall with the remainder then went NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a fall and carried 70 yards over a rock in the fall, went 200 yards and came to a fall and carried 50 yards over a rock in the fall then went 200 yards and came to a fall and carried 70 yards over a rock in the fall and put up at 6 PM Wind Northerly cloudy weather, most of the land passed this day bold barren rocks

- 21st Tuesday at $5\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway in a lake called by the Canadians the lake of the woods went WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile an opening then appears south like a river then continued WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small opening then appears north like a small lake, went SW 2 mile WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile an opening then appears NW like a large river went SSW 1 mile and came to a narrow part of the lake, the lake passed about a mile wide, went through the narrow which only continued about 100 yards by the approach of two points very near each other then went WNW 1 mile across a round bay about a mile wide, the points of the bay approach within $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile of each other then went SWbS to W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile close on north side then NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to a point on north side a small Island at the point went without it and left three Islands at a little distance to south went WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ W 2 miles across a bay to a point on north side a bay opposite on south side, the lake about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide in the middle of the bays and about 1 mile wide at the points three Islands in a line between the points, then went NW 3 miles crossing a kind of double bay to NE, then NW $\frac{1}{2}$ N $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles the lake then draws narrow from about 2 mile wide in a continued sweep of a bay on south side, then went NWbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile the lake then about 200 yards wide but appears wider farther ahead a small opening at this place on south side which we enterd and went SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile then NW 1 mile, WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in small lake about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide and enterd a small creek went NW

to SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and entered a small lake and went SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WbS 1 mile and NWbW 1 mile the lake about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide, and came to a small creek the land passed this day mostly bold and covered with pine asp &^c went in the creek W to NW and SW 1 mile and came to the end of the creek which was dry carried 100 yards on west side good carrying entered a kind of small lake about 200 yards wide and went W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, then about 30 yards wide, went from NW to S 2 miles in short turnings and came to the end of the creek and carried 370 yards into the *Churchill river* called by the Indians the Mis-sin-ne-pee the carrying place is called A-thaki-a-sake-a-pitch-e-con, at this place found M^r Small (who had gone ahead) he had traded a good quantity of provisions from some Indians which was waiting at this place for him, I saw but five Indian men two of them Ne-he-tha-way or Southern Indians and three Chi-pa-why-ans or Northern Indians, M^r Small very kindly offered us part of the provisions but we did not accept any.

Churchill river at this place appears like a lake being about two mile wide with many Islands in it, the Canadians formerly had a settlement at this place.¹ went in the

¹From Pelican Narrows the united parties paddled to the upper end of Pelican lake, crossed the Pot Hole portages, and entered Woody lake, where they camped. The next morning they started before daylight, travelled the whole length of Woody lake, and ascended a little winding creek which in places was just wide enough for them to get between the boulders with their canoes. The water was everywhere stagnant, and in summer the sides of the creek would be covered with water lillies.

When seen in July 1894, the portage path rose in a rounded slope of light gray clay from the water of the creek, and extended northward, east of and beside the boulder-obstructed creek, over two low ridges of stoney clay, to the bank of the Churchill river. The creek is cut off from Churchill river, except at high water, by a ridge of granite. At the above date the water in the creek south of this ridge was ten feet below that in the Churchill river. On the nearest island in the river was an old warehouse of the Hudson's Bay Company, while just to the west was the site of a very old trading establishment, of uncertain date. The name given here for the portage is said by Sir Alexander Mackenzie to mean "The stretched frog skin." Its position is North Latitude 55° 24' 47", West Longitude 103° 31' 50".

When Turnor's party returned down the river on June 21, 1792, Fidler wrote:—"Left Churchill river at the Athake e sake epitchecon and carried over a wet portage with stony at the East end 370 yards into a small swampy creek—this is the height of Land at this place—the water we now carry into empties itself into Portnelson river about 4 miles N.W. of the Factory—The Missinnippe or

Churchill river WSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and put up on an Island at $6\frac{3}{4}$ PM Wind Southerly fresh breeze with rain in the forepart and cloudy latter part of the day

22nd Wednesday at $5\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went WSW 2 miles in a kind of Lake full of Islands and came to a part about 200 yards wide a very small bay indented on the north side west point of the bay a bluff of pine east point small asps in burnt woods, the lake or river passed, the land on both sides bold and rocky and covered with small Asp pine &^c, went in the narrow SWbW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile easy current it then opens like a lake went SWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ W 7 miles the river or lake from one to three miles wide with several Islands in it, the land on both sides bold and rocky the woods on north side mostly burnt south side covered with Pine, Asp, Birch &^c came to a narrow part about 100 yards wide, went NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current and came to a fall called by the Canadians the great rappid¹ carried 730 yards on North side good carrying place except about 150 yards of steep bank

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $76^{\circ} 50' 45''$

— $8^{\circ} 1' 12''$

$68^{\circ} 49' 33''$ Lat. $55^{\circ} 22' 33''$

then went WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and handed at a ripple, went NW 1 mile and came to a rappid and led the canoes 150

Churchill river spreads wide in places to 2 or 3 miles or more like a lake and wherever it contracts itself, so sure is there to be either strong Current or Heavy Falls. An old Canadian House of Mr. Joseph Frobishers at the east end of this Carrying Place built about 1777 & called Portage de Trate, on account of the years before they used to meet the Indians in the spring that were going down to Churchill & trade their skins from them."

As we have shown on p. 107 this house was built by Louis Primeau in 1774, and was occupied by Joseph Frobisher in the winter of 1774-5 (and perhaps also, as stated by Hansom, in the spring of 1774), and also by Alexander Henry and Thomas and Joseph Frobisher in the spring of 1776, and perhaps also by Thomas Frobisher in the spring of 1777.

¹They passed through Island lake, now known as Trade lake, and reached Grand rapids. On June 21, 1792, Peter Fidler wrote, "This is an excellent place for angling pike at the eddy where the canoes landed . . . a very strong fall, but not steep—several Canadians have been drowned here in running the Fall down—& one year in particular a whole Canoes people were lost".

yards on North side then went 200 yards and came to a fall and carried 110 yards on North side, good carrying then went $\frac{1}{4}$ mile near West and set up a rapid between two Islands, the river passed from 100 to 200 yards wide the banks bold and covered mostly with small Asps, came to a part about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide with several Islands in it covered with pine &^c went W $\frac{3}{4}$ and WbS $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile nearly along the middle and came to a part about 200 yards wide, went SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile fresh current and passed two openings on the SE side then entered a broad part like a lake about 1 or $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide with many Islands covered mostly with pine went WbS $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and WSW $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and came to a fall in a narrow carried 150 yards upon a rocky Island in the middle of the fall, then went WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and put up at $7\frac{1}{4}$ AM¹ Wind Westerly fresh breeze and clear

23rd Thursday at $5\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway went WSW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile then handed 20 yards at a very strong rapid on south side then went WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current the river from 100 to 200 yards wide, came to part about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide with several large Islands in it went WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and WSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ W $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and entered a part about 150 yards wide went WSW 1 mile strong current then led the canoes $\frac{1}{4}$ mile up the lower part of a fall or strong rapid on the south side then carried 100 yards good carrying and came to a part $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide land bold and mostly covered with scrub Asp Birch &^c as is most of the land passed this day, went on south side WNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ W 1 mile and WSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ W $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile, it then begins to draw narrower went SWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in the narrow then N $\frac{1}{4}$

¹Turnor knows that the Churchill river is a very irregular waterway, broken by many islands, and with bays and channels leading off in all directions, so that travel up or down the stream would be slow and laborious without competent guides. He therefore records in his notes detailed descriptions of its size, and direction taken by the compass. He describes the character of its banks and the woods that grow on them. If there is a current in the river he mentions it, and where he comes to a rapid or waterfall where it may be necessary to carry the canoes and cargo, he states whether the carrying place is on the north or south bank, its length and general character. He is making these observations for the benefit of the Hudson's Bay Company, so that in future its canoemen will be able to navigate the river without the assistance of Indian guides.

They had now passed through Keg lake and were just entering Drinking lake.

mile, narrow and strong current, then SWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile easy current the river then about 1 mile wide, went WNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a fall carried half cargoe 100 yards on north side, went SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the main fall then appears on south side an Island, the part we carried at appears shut in like a small bay, went SW 3 miles NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the river about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, put up at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM. Wind Westerly fresh breeze, flying clouds, this afternoon M^r Small divided his goods for some canoes to go forward to a new settlement.¹

1790

Sept 24th Friday at 1 AM M^r Small embarked with four Canoes at 3 PM we got underway M^r Smalls other five Canoes in company went round a point on North side leaving a large bay to West and a river called the rapid river but did not see the mouth of it, went NbE 7 miles in a lake called by the Canadians the Lake of the bald stone² this part of the lake about $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 mile wide then turned between Islands leaving a large opening ahead full of Islands went NWbW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, NWbN $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to carrying place about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south of a fall, called the hill carrying place, the latter part of this lake appeared about four or five mile wide to north of us heigh

¹They were camped on a lake called on the present maps Nistowiak lake, into the south side of which Montreal river, then called Rapid river, flows from Lake La Ronge.

In the journal by Ross at this point he writes:—"I understand that Mr. Small is going ahead with part of his canoes to a new settlement made this summer amongst the U-che-pi-wy-an Indians formerly used to go to Churchill".

On June 21, 1792, Peter Fidler writes of this place:—"Mouth of the Rapid river, a short one, but several rapids in it & Carrying places—that falls out of a pretty large lake where the Canadians have ever since had an establishment since 1778". On Fidler's sketch of the above date, a house is marked on the west side of the mouth of the river, and another on the island opposite the mouth.

In 1798 David Thompson ascended Churchill river from Frog Portage and made a survey of it. On August 27 of that year he reached "River aux Rapid where we found Roy by himself". He then ascended the river to Lake La Ronge, on the east side of which he came to "the old house where Mr. Simon Fraser & Versailles wintered 1795 & 98". Afterwards he crossed the lake to Versailles's house "at the mouth of the river aux Rapid. Mr. McTavish soon arranged the old fellow." After returning to Churchill river he continued to ascend it, and a mile above the mouth of Rapid river "passed the English] House of this summer on the right".

²Near the south end of this lake, now called Rock lake, Stanley Mission of the Church Missionary Society was afterwards established.

land coverd with scrub asp &c and seems to be the main shore, and about a mile wide to south of us but believe it to be only Islands which appear bold and coverd with pine &c, carried 180 yards over a hill through the woods, rocky bad landing at the lower side of the carrying place, went W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in a small bay and came to a fall and carried 100 yards over a rock on north side, not good, entered a lake called the Ne-keek Sack-a-ha-gan or Otter Lake went WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in a part about 1 mile wide kept nearly along the south side passed two falls to south of us which falls into the last lake went W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the south point of an Island a bay of the lake about two mile deep to north and the point coming in behind the North side of this Island, went WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile between two Islands then WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile along the side of a large Island the lake in this part about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide a long narrow Island to south, went WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile many small Islands to south then went NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile nearly along the middle of the lake being about 3 miles wide in this part with a double bay on West side and a deep bay in the NE corner, came to a narrow about 200 yards wide between two Islands went WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the lake then about a mile wide, went W 1 mile WNW 1 mile, WbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile nearly along the north side of the lake, then NWbW 1 mile a narrow deep bay on NE side and came to a fall, the Land about this lake rather bold and mostly well coverd with good Pine, carried 600 yard on north side good carrying, this is called the Ne-keek Win-e-cap or Otter Carrying place, went NNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile in a river about 150 yards wide easy current and entered a small round lake with two falls falling into it on south side, went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and put up on a sandy shore at 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM Wind Westerly light breeze and cloudy most of the day, clear in the evening, at 8 PM suddenly changed to heavy rain and snow and hard gale of Wind

Doub. Merid. Alt. of Aquilae 93° 29' 30"

— 8° 7' 30"

85° 22' Lat. 55°39'28"

1790

Sept 25th Saturday at 7¼ AM got underway entered a river about 100 yards wide went SWbW ½ mile land low and covered with small Asp, came to a rapid led the Canoes about ½ mile nearly SW on NW side very strong current, then went NW ¼ mile and came to a carrying place about 200 yards north of the fall carried the greatest part of the cargoe 1150 yards through the woods and the Canoes with the remainder 350 yards through the woods good carrying led the Canoes up the upper part of the fall with part cargoe this is called by the Canadians the Divels carrying place

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. 74° 1' 45''
 — 8° 7' 30''

65° 54' 15'' Lat. 55°40'14''¹

entered a lake about ½ mile wide went WNW 2 miles to a point on south side crossing a bay to south with three Islands in it but the main of the lake to north with four Islands, north of this point an opening appears about ¼ mile wide and beyond sight and a small Island on the west point of the opening, then went WSW 2 miles and came to a narrow the land mostly bold and covered with small Asp birch &^c put up at 5½ PM Wind NW strong gale flying clouds and frosty air snow in the night

1790

Sept 26th Sunday at 5 AM got underway in a river about 150 yards wide went SW 1 mile and NNW to SSW ¾ mile the river then about 400 or 500 yards wide with several islands in it, went SWbW 1½ mile an opening then beyond sight on north side, then went SWbW 1 mile and came to a narrow two openings round an Island followed the northernmost one, NW ¼ mile two openings then appear followed the Southern one, SW ¼ mile the lake then about 1 mile wide to South went SWbW 3½ miles passed a bay to north and an opening beyond sight suppose the land lately passed

¹The latitude shown on government maps is 55° 40' 25'', a difference of less than two hundred yards from Turnor's position.

to north to be only Islands the land round the lake rather bold mostly well covered with Pine Asp &^c, came to a narrow or river, went SW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile two opening then appear followed the northern one NbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, and came to a rapid carried part cargoe 130 yards on north side and led the canoes up the remainder, went N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a rapid and handed the Canoes 20 yards on West side then went N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to an Island in the mouth of a lake went on south side W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, the lake then appears about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide with several Islands in it went WNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile near along the middle of the lake then entered a narrow or river and went W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and led up a rapid on north side, went $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from N to SW at the back of a small Island and and handed up two rapids on North shore (this is commonly a carrying place on the South shore) then went SW to W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile on south side of an Island strong current and led round a bad point on the Island, dangerous of forcing the canoes side in against the rock the current turning so very sudden, entered a part about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went WNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a fall carried 120 yards over a rock on south side went SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a fall carried on South side 150 yards not good carrying, put up at 6 PM Wind Westerly heavy gale flying clouds cold raw weather

Doub. Merid. Alt. Aquilae 93° 26' 45''
 — 8° 7' 45''

85° 19' Lat. 55° 41' 5''

A Creek at the head of this fall¹ on north side, which Mr Small is gone up to *a new settlement on a small lake*, have since heard that it is only about six or seven miles from this place, *the mouth of the creek is a good place to set nets on the passage*

¹Trout Fall and portage. About a quarter of a mile above the fall a creek flows in from the north discharging McIntosh lake, which has a length in a general north-east and south-west direction of about sixteen miles. On its eastern side the North West Company had a house in which Alexander Fraser was to spend the following winter.

From this portage, Trout lake extends southwestward for ten miles.

27th Monday at 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway in a lake about one to two miles wide with several islands in it went SSW 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, SbW 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and South 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles the lake then about 1 mile wide with a large Island in the middle, went on North side SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the lake then two miles wide, went SSW 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles; leaving three Islands and most of the lake to South, came to a narrow at which place two openings appear one near South the other WSW suppose the point between the opening to be the point of a large Island the land round the lake mostly low and rocky covered with small birch pine &^c went WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile passed a rapid at which we led the Canoes 150 yards on south side, then a wide fall appears with an Island in the middle to NE, went NbW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a fall and carried 260 yards on South side and came to Mus-qua Min-ne-stick Sack-a-hagan or Black Bear Island Lake, went WbN 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the lake about one mile wide with several Islands in it an opening to North $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide appears, and a large bay continuing open to the West went in the North opening N 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the lake then appearing six or seven mile wide to north with many small Islands, the land at a distance appearing very heigh, turned a point WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, then SW 1 mile between the main land and an Island, then WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and WNW 2 miles many Islands to north put up on the South shore at 6 PM Wind SSW strong breeze hazey weather

28th Tuesday at 5 AM got underway went W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile in a narrow an opening about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide then appears on south side which makes it doubtfull wether the land passed south of us is an Island or south shore the land on north side appearing very heigh at Eight or nine miles distance, went WbN 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, WSW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and WSW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile keeping near the south shore many Islands to north, at this place left two openings to south and went between two Islands the passage about 40 yards wide strong smooth current for about 30 yards then went WSW 1 mile and WbN 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile at this place a large opening to south with three Islands in the mouth

of it, many Islands to north then went W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile one large Island north then, W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a bay about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile deep on south side with three Islands in it and an opening north with one small Island in the middle of it, then went in a part about 150 yards wide, W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current then NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile across a part with a small bay north and an other south then went N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current in a part about 100 yards wide and passed a small ripple then NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and passed an opening East with an Island in the middle then went W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile heigh rocks on SW side and bold land on NE side it still continuing open ahead and an other opening NbE which we followed and went NbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a small double bay on east side the latter part passed about 150 to 200 yards wide went WNW 1 mile in a narrow, a small bay then to south, then went NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in a narrow then N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile leaving a small double bay to West, then NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the latter part passed about 200 yards wide then went NWbW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile an opening on south side¹ with several islands in it, and an opening to north then went WbS $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile a large opening to south with many small islands in it and left two small islands to north in a bay, it then turns narrow went W to WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and passed an opening to south and an opening then to North, went W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SWbW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile an opening to south with two small Islands in it and an other to North then went NNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile the latter part passed about 100 to 300 yards wide with moderate current then came to a part about a mile wide, went NWbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and left an Island to south an opening then appearing SW which we followed SW 1 mile an opening then appearing to south went WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile along the side of one large Island to north of us, the lake then opens to north five or six miles wide very heigh Land, went W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a small bay to south, the lake then opens nearly South beyond sight, the east shore a heigh steep sandy bank went SW

¹Here he passed without noticing it the mouth of a river from the north, locally known as Whitefish river, but which, in order to distinguish it from many other rivers of that name, was called by the writer, who explored it, Foster river, after the late Sir George Eulas Foster, one of our most eminent Canadian statesmen.

1½ mile across to south end of a long Island then SSW ¾ mile between an Island and the west shore then W 1/8 mile between a point of the west shore and an Island, SSW ¼ mile and W 1/8 mile and passed two small Islands in a small bay to west then SSW 1 mile and S 1 mile in a part about ¼ mile wide and came to the end of the Island the lake then appearing clear of Islands to the southward went SWbW ¼ mile and came to a fall, this lake about the middle, heigh rocky land towards both ends not so heigh or rocky and mostly coverd with pine asp birch &c, carried at the fall 100 yards on north side into a little round bay and went W 1/8 mile and came to a narrow part with a small ripple in it, then directly opens again into a little bay went NNW ¼ mile to a fall,¹ left two falls on NE side made by there being two Islands in the fall carried 300 yards on SW side then went NW ¼ mile passed the two Islands and came to a fall with three small Islands in it, carried 90 yards on NE side and put up at 7 PM Wind Westerly fresh breeze and cloudy weather

1790

Sept 29th Wednesday at 7¼ AM got underway in a lake called the Moose lake went W ½ mile and passed close on south side of an Island, then NW ¾ mile three Islands then laying in a line NE this part of the lake about two mile wide it then runs away to the north beyond sight went NW ¾ mile and three Islands lays in a line NE as before and an opening beyond sight to SW with several small islands in the mouth of it and many Islands all along the SW side, went NW ½ mile two Islands then lay to NE, then went NW ¼ mile and came to a grassey narrow about ten yards wide through a narrow neck of land between low rocks and grown up with grass, no current and

¹Needle Falls, so called because the surface of the rock has been weathered into rough sharp points and edges, over which the *voyageurs* were obliged to carry their heavy loads, usually walking with bare feet. A short distance above these falls he crossed Needle or Sandfly lake, into the north end of which Mouse, Souris, or Belanger river flows from the north, through an extensive marsh east of a range of hills. In 1892, when I passed, there was a little outpost of the Hudson's Bay Company a mile above the mouth of Souris river, which, however, was only occupied in winter.

only about 30 yards through went through the narrow and came to a lake or part of the same lake called the Ca-napick Sack-a-ha-gan or Snake Lake¹ about one mile wide to south and quite open to north, went WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile passed close on south side of an Island, went NWbW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to two small Island went between them then went W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and entered a part about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide and went WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile nearly on North side, the lake drawing narrower, went NWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile this part then about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide went WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a bay on each side near $\frac{1}{2}$ mile deep then entered a grassey narrow the land passed in this lake rather low and well coverd with Pine Asp &^c went WNW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile in a swampey grassey part, a grassey bay about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile deep to south and a grassey swamp to north, then went SWbW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in a part from a $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide and passed between two small Islands then SWbW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile two openings then appear entered the northermost and went SSW 1 mile and passed between two small Islands and came to a part about 2 mile wide went SW 3 miles to a point on the NW side, about 1 mile wide at this place, then went WSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile cross a bay to an opening on north side the lake continuing open to SW entered the opening being about 200 yards wide, went WbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and put up at 5 PM Wind NE, forepart of the day a heavy gale latter part fresh breeze with cloudy weather all day, the land passed this latter part lowish and well coverd with Pine &^c

30th Thursday at 6 AM got underway in a part $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide a small opening on south side between an Island and the

¹Sir Alexander Mackenzie makes the following statement about the north west shore of Snake lake:—"For about three or four miles on the north west side of this lake, there is an high bank of clay and sand clothed with cypress trees [*Pinus Banksiana*] a circumstance which is not observable on any lakes hitherto mentioned, as they are bounded, particularly on the north, by black and gray rocks. It may also be considered as a most extraordinary circumstance that the Chepewyans go north west from hence to the barren grounds, which are their own country, without the assistance of canoes; as it is well known that in every other part which has been described, from Cumberland House, the country is broken on either side of the direction to a great extent; so that a traveller could not go at right angles with any of the waters already mentioned, without meeting with others in every eight or ten miles". (Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages*. London, 1801, p. lxxix.)

main shore went WbS $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to a point on south side, the Lake then opens SSW and NNE went SWbS 3 miles to a river on NE side, in a part about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide a bay of the lake continuing SSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 miles, the land in this part rather low and coverd with small Asps &^c except nearly opposite to the river which is heigh rocky land, entered the Ca-na-pick See-pee or Snake river which is about 150 yards wide land very low and coverd with willows, sides grassey went NW 1 mile easey current NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current and came to the snake fall handed the Canoes on SW side $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW very strong current and bad bottom being all large stones and very slippey, then went WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile moderate current then handed the canoes at a fall WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile current and bottom much the same as the other fall land low all this river, entered a lake about 2 mile wide with six small Islands ranged along the north side nearest the east end, stoped at this place four hours for the People to dry and warm themselves and to pitch some of the canoes, then went WSW 3 miles nearly along the middle of the lake and entered a river land rather low and coverd with Asp &^c went W 1 mile a small bay then on north side turned a grassey point and went SWbS 2 mile and SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and put up at $5\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind SW light breeze, fore part of the day cloudy, latter part clear

Doub.Merid.Alt. of Aquilae $93^{\circ} 24' 45''$
 — $8^{\circ} 7' 20''$

$85^{\circ} 17' 25''$ Lat. $55^{\circ} 41' 47''$

at 7 AM M^r Small with three of the Canoes that went to the northward joined us¹

1790

Oct 1st Friday at $5\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile on north side of an Island and enterd a lake about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile or a mile wide went NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NbW 1 mile and NNE 2

¹He had crossed Snake and Sandy lakes, and had camped on the river above the latter lake. Ross writes, "Mr. Small came up with us, he only left 10 men in the place of 15".

miles and put up at 6½ AM for M^r Small to divide his Canoes at 10 AM M^r Small with four of his Canoes went of for his Settlement at Isle-a-le-Cross¹ at 11 AM we got underway with the Canadians but could not proceed for Wind so put on shore again, Wind Southerly strong breeze, fore part of the day cloudy, latter part clear

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. 69° 10' 30''

— 8° 7' 20''

61° 3' 10'' Lat. 55°45'26''

2nd Saturday at 5½ AM got underway the lake continuing open to NE, turned a point on South side and entered a part about ¼ mile wide went SW 2½ miles to the mouth of a creek on NW side the lake at this place near a mile wide a bay continuing a mile or upwards SW into which the main part of the river falls. the land of this lake low and well covered with Pine &^c, entered the creek being part of the Mus-coo-see Se-pee or Grass River went about 5 miles from South-Westerly to East in a part not above 20 yards wide very short or rather constant turnings making about 1 mile NW through a grassey swamp, and entered the main river on East side being about 200 yards wide grassey swampey sides went N ½ mile an other branch then appears on W side about 200 yards wide and turning round to the south suppose it a branch falling into the lake, went NNE ½ mile N 1 mile NE 2½ miles NNE ½ mile and came to a small branch of the river on W side, the main river continuing NNE entered the small branch being about 20 or 30 yards wide went NW to NNE 1 mile NW to NE ½ mile, N ¼ mile and came to the main river some canoes went round the main river which did not make two minutes' difference went in the main river W to S ¾ mile, NWbN 1 mile and came to a large Island went on south side the Island W ½ mile and NW 1 mile, some canoes

¹Ross says, "Mr. Small went ahead again with 4 canoes half loaded—he has another settlement up the Beaver river to send men to & one canoe with provisions to send back to the settlement that he came last from as there is no good fishing place they have found".

went on north side which made no difference in their forwardness the river passed to this place land low with grassey swampey sides easy current then went W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and SWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, land on North side low and covered with small Asp, south side rather bold rocks covered with small Pine, *enterd U-che-quan Sask-a-ha-gan or Knee Lake*¹ and put up at 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM Wind SW strong breeze and clear²

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $68^{\circ} 13' 15''$

— $8^{\circ} 7' 25''$

$60^{\circ} 5' 50''$ Lat. $55^{\circ} 50' 56''$

3rd Sunday at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway in *the Knee Lake* went WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ W $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W 6 miles nearly along the middle of the Lake which is about from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 mile wide with few Islands in it, then SW 2 mile and SWbW 1 mile in a part about one mile wide then NWbW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile passed close on south side of an Island then NW 1 mile to a point NE side, the Lake about five or six mile to NE with several small Islands in it and about three mile to south clear of Islands, then went NWbN 2 miles leaving a deep double bay to NE and came to a narrow and went SWbS 1 mile in a part about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide and came to two openings enterd the southernmost one and went S $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a part about 200 yards wide went W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current set up it with poles then paddled 200 yards, then led the Canoes on north side $\frac{1}{4}$ mile near West up the lower part of a fall to a rock at the head of it, then carried 20 yards over the rock this fall is very bad at the lower part being very full of large stones, frequently most of the cargoe is carried the whole length of the fall, the Canadians run this fall down, enter on south side and cross directly to the north not good, went 200 yards W very strong cur-

¹About a mile below Knee lake, or Lac Geneau, they passed the mouth of Pine river, a stream three hundred feet wide, which discharges into Churchill river over a bar of sand. In order to distinguish it from the many other Pine rivers in this country, I bestowed on it the name of Haultain river, after Sir Frederick Haultain, Chief Justice of the province of Saskatchewan.

²See table on following page.

rent, then went NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NbW 1 mile moderate current then N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile very strong current and came to strong rapid or fall led near $\frac{1}{2}$ mile round to West on south side very full of large stones and to turn amongst in such strong current is both difficult and dangerous, then W to S 1 mile very strong current but good bottom, this used formerly to be a long carrying place on south side, put up at 5 PM in a part of the river $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide Wind SW light breeze and clear, the Canadians set two nets but got no fish

1790

Oct 4th Monday at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went SWbW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and passed a small Island and went S^t 1 mile and came to a lake called Nick-ey-thu-tins-Sack-a-ha-gan or *Lewis Primoes Lake*, entered the lake being about 2 or 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went WSW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile keeping on north side, then WNW 1 mile a bay to north came to the point on north side, a small Island laying of the point, passed within it and went NWbW 1 mile in a part about a mile wide the lake then widens on both sides, went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and N 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to a point on SW side, the lake about 2 mile wide then NWbN 1 mile to a point on SW side, a small bay on SW side, the lake here near 3 mile wide on NE side, then W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile the lake then near $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, then SW 1 mile to a point on north side, an opening on south side which seems to turn to the Westward and another which we followed NNW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide, then went NNW 1 mile and NWbN 1 mile near along the SW side in a part about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide, passed a narrow between two points the lake then opens beyond sight to south and makes the part last passed on SW side appear to be an Island, and to the north it appears about 3 mile wide, went SWbW 1 mile to the north end of a large Island then W 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile two Islands then appearing to south, came to a grassey swampey bay at the mouth of a river, *at this place Lewis Primo formerly had a house from which the Lake takes its*

¹I cannot tell the exact point on which Turnor's observations were taken, but his latitude would appear to be practically correct, while the correct longitude of the place was about 106° 47' 45", which would be seven or eight miles west of the position shown by his observations on the sun, and only a mile west of the position indicated by his observations on Procyon and Aldebaran (Table p. 352).

*name, this was then the farthest house in this Country,*¹ went through the grassey bay SW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the river the land round this lake rather bold and mostly well covered with pine asp &^c entered the river being from 200 to 300 yards wide with grassey marshey sides went S to W 1 mile a small creek then on North side went SWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and SW 1 mile passed two small Islands then S 1 mile WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a fall² carried 450 yards on North side lower part of the carrying place full of loose stones, then went W to S $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and put up at 6 PM Wind Westerly fresh gale fore part of the day latter part light breeze and clear

Doub. Merid. Alt. of Aquilae $92^{\circ} 53' 30''$

$8^{\circ} 7' 20''$

$84^{\circ} 46' 10''$ Lat. $55^{\circ} 57' 24''$

1790

Oct 5th Tuesday at 6 AM got underway in the river went near NW 2 mile NWbN 1 mile the river from 50 to 150 yards wide, went NNW 1 mile W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NWbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in a part about 500 to 600 yards wide easy current and came to a rapid went SW 300 yards Strong current then S $\frac{1}{2}$ mile moderate current then led the Canoes S to W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile strong current shoal and full of great stones, went W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, the river passed this day except as otherways mentioned,

¹He ascended the river through Knee lake, past Knee and Crooked rapids, through Primeau lake, and then across Dipper or Pelican lake, which he regards as merely the western part of Primeau lake, to the mouth of the river above it, on the south bank of which Primeau's house formerly stood, which he says was "then the farthest house in this country." Fidler in 1792 says, "Enter Primos lake, from the name of a Canadian who built a house in this lake in 1777." Fidler gives 1777 as the date for the building of the house at Frog portage, which however was built in 1774. He had probably been informed that the two houses were built in the same year, but his informant might easily be mistaken about the date of something that was done eighteen years before among people who took very little account of time. We may therefore substitute 1774 for 1777 without much danger of error. It is most probable, therefore, that this was the site of the house in which Primeau spent the winter of 1775-6, and from which he descended the river to meet Henry and the Frobishers in the spring of the latter year, as stated on page 121-2.

²Known as Pelican or Dipper rapid, which is a cascade with a drop of about eight feet over red granite.

rather easy current land low and covered with pine asp &^c then went S $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and SW 1 mile in a part with grassy marshy sides and came to the mouth of a small river on NE side called Teak a Seepe or Deer River this river leads towards the Athapiscow Country but is full of falls and shoals the Canadians have examined it and find it not fit for large Canoes,¹ then went SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, asps on both sides and came to a fall or strong rapid and led the Canoes $\frac{3}{8}$ mile on South side then paddled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and handed 40 yards on south side then paddled 200 yards to the foot of the carrying place,² and carried 350 yards through burnt woods on south side good carrying

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $65^{\circ} 35' 15''$

— $8^{\circ} 7' 20''$

$57^{\circ} 27' 55''$ Lat. $56^{\circ}—'13''$

then went 200 yards SW and led $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from S to W strong current and bad bottom then went SW to W 1 mile strong current and SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a kind of Lake about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went SSW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SSE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and SEbE 2 miles land in this part low and covered with pine asp &^c came to river about 100 to 200 yards wide and went S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and SbE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile

¹It is interesting to know that at this early date the energetic fur collectors of the North West Company, here called "Canadians," had examined this river in an attempt to find an easier and shorter route to Lake Athabaska than that over the Methy portage and down the Athabaska river. In 1892, a hundred and two years after Turnor's visit, I ascended the river to its source, crossed the watershed, paddled over Cree lake, and descended Cree and Stone rivers to Lake Athabaska. In order to distinguish it from the many other A-tick or Cariboo rivers in western Canada, I called it Mudjatick, or Bad Cariboo river. It rises in several small lakes and brooks in a gently undulating rocky country, and flows southward for eighty miles to its mouth in the Churchill river. It is a swift, winding stream, flowing in a shallow channel through a sandy plain with rocky hills on both sides which seldom touch the river. It is obstructed by but few rapids, and most of them are caused by accumulations of boulders or loose masses of rock. Its banks are thinly wooded with spruce and Banksian pine. Both it and the Cree river which flows northward from the watershed at its source, are too swift and shallow for economic navigation by large canoes.

²These rapids are known respectively as the Leaf and Drum rapids, in which the stream flows over beds of boulders and broken masses of rock. The rocky granite country had now been passed, and from here to Ile à la Crose the banks of the stream and lakes consist of sand, pebbles and loose masses of rock.

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and came to a lake¹ the river passed easy current land low and covered with pine asp &^c went the Lake SW $2\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a river on west side, the lake about 2 mile wide left the greatest part to south with five Islands in the middle and one on north side, entered the mouth of the river and put up at 5 PM Wind SE moderate breeze clear weather the Canadians set two nets and got a few fish this is a good fishing place in the spring

Doub. Merid. Alt. of Aquilae $93^{\circ} \text{ — } ' \text{ — } ''$
 $\text{— } 8^{\circ} \text{ } 7' \text{ } 20''$

$84^{\circ} 52' 40''$ Lat. $55^{\circ} 54' 9''$

1790

Oct^r 6th Wednesday at $5\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway in the river and went NW to W 2 miles strong current the river from 100 to 200 yards wide land rather low and covered with pine asp &^c and entered *Isle le Cross Lake* went W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and South $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in a part about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide then SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ S $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles to a point on W side a large bay on the east side which runs round to Southward the point is opposite to this place distance about 1 mile then went SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ S 3 mile and SEbS $3\frac{3}{4}$ miles to a point on west side, a bay on west side about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile deep, the lake at this point about 2 mile wide then went SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ E $3\frac{3}{4}$ mile at this place passed near to an Island on west side

Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $36^{\circ} 50'$ natural horizon
 $\text{— } 8^{\circ} \text{ } 7' \text{ } 20''$

$28^{\circ} 42' 40''$ Lat. $55^{\circ} 40'$

continued SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 3 miles passed two small Islands west of us and came opposite a point on W^t side about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile distance, a bay on West side continuing from the last mentioned point about 3 mile deep and the lake about 4 mile wide to East, went SSE 1 mile to a point on West side passed two small Islands to East a bay about 4 mile deep

¹Known as Shagwenaw, or Narrow Rapids lake.

to West between this and the last mentioned point, an Island close off the point went within it, then SSW 3 miles into a bay on west side and put up at the mouth of a creek or small river at 2½ PM Wind Westerly fresh breeze and clear

1790

Oct^r 7th Thursday at 7 AM got underway the course we should have gone to the SW point of a large Island was SSE distance 6½ miles but the wind being off the East shore we crossed to the east side of the lake which in this place is about 3 or 4 mile wide and drawing to about a mile wide opposite the point then went from the point of the Island SWbS 4 miles and came to M^r Smalls House about 1 PM. where we were very kindly received by M^r Small who offered us two Houses in his yard¹ as we intend staying here this Winter and having no intention to trade any thing but Provisions and three of our men unfit for any kind of duty Viz Hugh Lisk not able to walk from a violent swelling in the knee which seems full of matter Peter Brown very bad with a terrible cut in his foot and Rob^t Garroch with a violent bruised heel and as we can never be in a worse condition to build a place we thought it best to accept the offer as we could move as well even in the dead of Winter as now if we experience any inconvenience from being here at present we have no Provision and three men unfit for

¹Turnor and his party here experienced another example of that friendliness and human kindness which is characteristic of men on the frontiers of civilization. It was similar to the assistance which he and Robert Longmoor had received on the Saskatchewan river in 1778 and 1779, when, having no houses of their own in which to live, they were generously given houses by Blondeau. Small's establishment at the time was on a point on the west side of Ile à la Cross lake, where the Roman Catholic Mission is now situated.

Ross's account of this day's proceedings is as follows:—"Arrived at the Canadian House where Mr. Small was master; he received us very kindly, considering different interests but I believe that he had taken care to have all the Indians out of the way that could carry us any farther this year; he having offered us a house within his yard, which I rather would have declined, had it not been for several reasons:—first 3 men out of 5 is unfit for duty. Peter Brown with a cutt foot and soar throat; Rob^t Garrett a bruised heel; Hugh Leask with a gathering on his knee: —the 2nd we have no materials; only an auger & 4 chizzels: as for Hatchets I am afraid that we shall not be able to keep ourselves in firewood with them, having none but 9 trading Hatchets:—for the third reason, this place not being a proper good spot, as I understand very few Indians visits this place it only serves as a storehouse for the other detach settlements that is all round it."

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duty we found three Indians and their familys here but could hardly get a speach of them they seemed to be quite strangers to our People

1790

Oct^r 8th Friday Two Canadian Canoes with Seven men in each went for a Settlement in a small Lake up the Beaver River it lays on the south side of the river between it and the Sas-skash-e-wan and is called by the Indians A-quack-apew Sack-a-ha-gon this House is only kept up in the Winter and is only a detached post belonging to Isle-a-La Crosse the Beaver River¹ falls into this Lake which is called by the Indians (Min-nis-tick Pock-a-ha-twan Saskahagan) about 6 miles ENE of this place it is not a very large river but as I understand *braks off into several branches with Lakes at the head of them the Canadians have a settlement² in of them near NW from Manchester House³ in a lake called Moose Wau-chee Sack-a-ha-gan or Moose hill Lake* a M^r Shaw is Master at it he has four Canoes with him, they have another settlement to the Northward of this place in the Buffalo Lake it may called a part of this Lake but that *only a detached temporary House for a Winter and I belive only made to keep the Indians from us*

¹Beaver river is really the upper part of Churchill river, and it only bears that name above Ile à la Crosse lake. It rises in small streams near Lac la Biche, and flows at first eastward, and then northward to its mouth, having a length of 350 miles. Near the bend is Green lake, which is probably the A-quack-apew lake mentioned as the place on which there had been a trading post for a long time.

²In 1789 Angus Shaw of the North West Company had built a trading post on Moose Hill lake, one of the small lakes near the headwaters of Beaver river, situated in Tps. 60 and 61, Ranges 6 and 7, west of the 4th Meridian, and he was still in occupation of it. In 1792 he moved to the Saskatchewan river, where he and Hughes built Fort George in or about Section 19, Tp. 56, R. 5, west of the 4th Meridian, less than thirty miles south-south-eastward from his trading post on Moose Hill lake. Beside him the Hudson's Bay Company built a trading post which they named Buckingham House.

³The Hudson's Bay Company trading post of Manchester House, then in charge of William Tomison, was situated on a point on the north side of the North Saskatchewan river, about Sect. 18, Tp. 49, R. 21 west of the Third Meridian. It was distant 160 miles from Ile à la Crosse, and 100 miles from Shaw's post on Moose lake, and was 425 miles up the river above Cumberland House. It was built in 1786 by Robert Longmoor, with whom David Thompson was serving his first year inland. In the autumn of 1793 it was destroyed by the Fall, or Big Belly Indians. They plundered the buildings of all their contents, and the seven men occupying the place at the time barely escaped with the clothes they had on. The house on Buffalo lake is referred to later.

1790

Nov^r 27th Saturday two Chepawyans or Northern Indians arrived they came chiefly to see us they promised to bring us some provisions as soon as they can kill any, we now exist much better than we should have done had we been any where else near this spot for M^r Small seeing our situation unasked supplied us with net thread for two nets as with our own coarse twine it would have been with difficulty we should have preserved our lives I well knew before I came from Cumberland House that the twine would not answer but if I had waited untill we had been properly supplied I might have remained to the end of my Contract and never have stired this way but I was determined to proceed this way under any inconveniences

Dec^r 17th Friday an Indian arrived for People to fetch meat two of our People went with them as M^r M Ross has the management of the men vide his Journal¹

¹Ross' journal details the routine of life and the struggle to obtain provisions during the winter, but the following items from it may be of interest:—

"Oct. 8. We received the meat of 2 green Beaver from Mr. Small, our provisions being out & is not like to be helped here. The Canadians tell us that our twine is not fit for this fishery."

" 10. "Overhauled our nets & finds it to be but too true, what the Canadians tell us of our twine not catching any fish, 2 pike and 4 Ticka meg [white fish] and the Canadians is getting plenty of both sorts, they have them so plenty that they only use the best of them."

" 12. "I received 2 lbs of net thread from Mr. Small."

" 20. "They [Indians] brought a trifle of Provisions which they carried to the Canadians, but Mr. Small gave us half of it."

Nov. 4. "I received 2 lbs of net thread which will be another net & will be of the greatest service to us, as our twine does not catch any fish. had it not been for the 4 lbs of net thread that we received from Mr. Small we should have been very badly off."

" 14. "No success with the nets this day. had them brought home till the Lake sets fast, and what we are to live upon till then I do not know, for there is nothing but fish & a very small allowance of that, and smaller would have been had we not been supplid with net thread from Mr. Small."

" 21. "Our necessity is so that we must always go to the nets, before that we can get anything to eat."

Dec. 6. "8 partridges from that Industrious gentleman Mr. Turnor."

" 7. "The Canadians that arrived last night is come from a settlement to the Northward [on Buffalo lake], that they have made this summer, they give account of there not being able to live there for want of provisions."

" 23. "The Canadians set off this morning with a packet to Mr. Shaw [at Moose Hill lake]. Mr. Turnor sent a letter by them to the Chief at Manchester House, but I would send none as knowing those people

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1790

Dec^r 19th Sunday at 10 AM four Chipawyan and three women arrived with a few furs which they carried to M^r Small at 5 PM four Chepawyan men and three women arrived from the Gang our men are gone to for flesh, and a number of Canadians with them that had been for flesh some of which returned light 8 PM our men returned with two sledge loads of fresh moose flesh and three Canadians arrived from M^r Shaw at the Moose hill Lake they brought the news of his having lost two men being caught in the ice in a Lake in the fall of year by their own folly

21st Tuesday the Chepawyans went away and two Canadians with them

23rd Thursday early this morning the Canadians returned to M^r Shaw by whom I sent a letter to the Master of Manchester House, informing him of our safety and situation

28th Tuesday Six Chepawyans arrived with good sledge loads of fresh meat which they carried to M^r Small they did not know of our being here

is not to be trusted nor no man of them for they will stand at nothing that will stop our Proceeding."

Jan. 1. 1791. "It being a usual custom for the Canadians to salute their neighbors upon every New Years Day, after they had saluted their master they afterwards came to us which cost one Gallon of Brandy and 3 lbs of Brazil Tobacco. After consulting with Mr. Turnor we thought it advisable to give Mr. Small's Guide a Blanket, 3 yards of blue corded cloth, 2 lbs of Cutt Tobacco, 2 knives common clasp & some Brandy at times—for his great attention and kindness to us all the passage up; he did not only wait upon us at several bad Falls, and difficult parts of the road; but came back and assisted us, or else sent one of his countrymen; which is more than an Indian Pilot would have done, had we been able to procure one;—and I believe more than one of your Honor's Servants would have done for one another—however it is very certain, had it not been for Mr. Small, we should not have been able to have been here the last fall."

" 19. "At noon arrived 5 U-che-py-wy-an Indians—they pleaded very hard for some of our men to go along with them which I readily granted, as the fish is falling off, and no provisions coming in."

" 20. "I fitted out Peter Fidler and Hugh Leask to go with Indians they set off at 9 A.M. I also made the Indians small presents of Brandy, ammuniion, Tobacco and Knives."

Feb. 6. "6 Rabbits from that industrious Mr. Turnor."

" 26. "2 Canadians arrived with a packet from Mr. Shaw to Mr. Small which gives us the account of the arrival of Mr. Wm. Tomison at Manchester House last fall."

" 28. "The 2 Canadians that arrived on Friday set off again with another packet; Mr. Turnor and I sent some letters with them to try to get to Manchester House."

29th Wednesday the Chepawyans went away and as well as all the others of their country people seemed heighly pleased at hearing Your Honors Servants are coming this way to settle we got a small quantity of meat from them and they promised to return in a month with more

1791

Jan^y 19th Wednesday Five Chepawyans arrived and brought some fresh meat part of which they carried to M^r Small and part to us

20th Thursday the Chepawyans went away and as they particularly requested some of our people with them Peter Fidler and Hugh Lisk accompanied them well foreseeing that it was more than probable that they would not live well at the House as few fish are taken and they falling of fast

1791

Feb^y 25th Friday Two Canadians arrived with a packet from M^r Shaw from whom I received a letter informing me that M^r Will^m Tomieson was returned to Manchester House

26th Saturday Two Canadians sett of with a Packet to the Athapiscow Lake

28th Monday the Canadians of the 25th Ins^t returned to M^r Shaw by whom I sent some letters to get forwarded to Manchester House

1791

March 3rd Thursday Three Chepawyans arrived from the South and brought a few furs to M^r Small and with them five Canadians that have been with them all the Winter they belong to M^r Frazier¹ who is Master at the Settlement men-

¹Ross states that Alexander Fraser's post was established the previous summer. He was the son of Malcolm Fraser of the 78th Regiment (Fraser's Highlanders) who took part in the defence of Quebec in 1775, and served throughout the campaigns at Louisbourg and Quebec in 1758-60, was wounded at the battle of the Plains of Abraham, and in 1761 obtained from Governor Murray the seignior of Mount Murray on Murray Bay. Here his son Alexander was born about 1761, entered the service of the North West Company prior to 1789, and became a wintering partner about 1799. It was to his trading post that David Thompson went when he left the Hudson's Bay Company and entered the service of the North West Company in 1797. In 1802 he bought the seignior of Rivière-du-Loup, where he spent his later days, and died on June 14, 1837.

His sister Angélique married John McLoughlin, and their son John was born

tioned the 26th Sept last, they informed me that they got plenty of fish the first of the fall but could not get any after the Lake was froze over so was obliged to go with the Indians to live, one of the Chepawyans informed me that there is a River runs out of the Slave Lake on the East side to the Sea and says he was down it two years ago to war upon the Esquamays but meeting with some of them in the river they killed a few and returned he calls it the Trout River¹ and says it is bold River very deep and strong current but no falls or woods upon its banks he says the Indians he was with told him that the Sea was very near he seemed rather shy and is quite a Frenchified fellow

5th Saturday The Chepawyans returned to their tents and with them the five Canadians which came with them and Six others belonging to this place and two of our men Malcom Grot and Peter Brown to try to get some provisions

10th Thursday M. Grot and Peter Brown returned with some Provisions and the Canadians with some Provisions and also Six Bundles of Furrs

17th Thursday Two Chepawyans and a Canadian arrived with a Packet from M^r Frazier

21st Monday a Chepawyan arrived from the Northward in great distress for want of provisions

30th Wednesday a Chepawyan and a Canadian arrived from the Southward with a few furrs

1791

March 31st Thursday the Chepawyan and Canadian returned we got a little fresh provision from two Chepawyans that stay about the House hunting

April 1st Friday Four Chepawyans arrived with Furrs which they carried to M^r Small and brought a good quantity of Provision but do not seem in hast to part with it

at Rivière-du-Loup on October 19, 1784. He also joined the North West Company, and subsequently became a Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company. He is often referred to as the "father of Oregon," and he was one of the men who directed and influenced the early civilization on the western coast of America.

¹The river referred to here is probably the Great-fish or Back river which was explored by Sir George Back in 1834.

- 2nd Saturday some Provision was traded from the Chepawyans of yesterday
- 8th Friday a Canadian arrived from the Buffalo Lake¹ and in the evening he returned with five others with him which has wintered at this place not being able to get fish in the winter in the Buffalo Lake they are now going to haul all the things from the House to a narrow between that lake and Clear water lake as they can get plenty of fish at the narrow and most likely come here several days sooner as the Buffalo Lake often stands fast several days after this is clear
- 13th Wednesday 9 AM Peter Fidler and Hugh Lisk and Two Chepawyans that they had been living with arrived and with much pleasure I learned they had lived in plenty this spring they brought a little Provision with them and one of the Chepawyans has engaged to accompany us and stand Pilot to the Athapiscow Lake he is to return to night to his family which is a little distance from here waiting for part of his tribe
- 24th Sunday Nine Chepawyan men and Six lads with Furs which they carried to M^r Small their families is coming tomorrow amongst these are those that P. Fidler and H. Lisk has been with
- 25th Monday the Families of those that came yesterday arrived and brought some provision such as in appearance would rather have disgraced one of Your Honors Carrion trees being poor very dirty and not very sweet but we shall be glad to get a share of it²

¹Buffalo lake, which is situated northwest of Ile à la Crosse, and a little farther up Churchill river, has been renamed Peter Pond lake to avoid confusion with another Buffalo lake farther south. As stated under date of May 20, the post on this lake was in charge of Mr. Graham of the North West Company. He brought to Small, his chief, twenty packs of beaver skins, his trade for the winter, but Angus Shaw brought from Moose Hill lake one hundred and twenty-seven packs, practically all winter beaver.

²Ross has this to say:—"The familys of those that came yesterday arrived & brought some provisions, but the worst & filthiest that I ever saw. Traded 170 lbs of green meat, 70 lbs of beat meat, 10 lbs of dry do, 40 lbs of fat & 27 of beaver tails:—in all 317 lbs, which cost more than 6 times the quantity would have done in any part of the country I ever saw before. What they took in return for their provisions was Bayonets, Beads, Knives, ammunition & Brandy".

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1791

April 27th Wednesday Wind SW fresh Gale many Ducks seen this day

May 2nd Monday an Indian arrived from the Beaver River and gave us an account that the river is open he brought some Beavers flesh and Furrs we got the flesh of 2 Beaver from M^r Small

6th Friday an Indian and his wife and a Canadian and his wife came in they brought some provision from the Beaver River part of which we got

10th Tuesday the Ice moved a little in the Lake

15th Sunday at 9 AM 13 Canadians arrived from the Aquack-a-pew-Sack-a-ha-gan up the Beaver River they brought 22 Packs of Furrs and a good quantity of goods back with them no person stays at that House in the summer 3 PM 19 Canoes of Southern Indians arrived they brought no Furrs with them the 22 Packs brought by the Canadians being what they killed this Winter they are come here to be rewarded with presents

16th Monday at 6 PM M^r Shaw (by whom I had the pleasure of receiving the Honorable Committees Letter dated June 2nd 1790 as likewise my letters from England) & Twenty three Canadians in 5 Canoes arrived from the Moose hill Lake up the Beaver River with 127 Packs of Furrs and 9 Kegs of Castorum he informed me he had not 5 Packs of Wolves in his Cargoe and indeed I saw he had not his whole trade may be said to consist of Winter Beaver Skins he traded all his goods and could have got many more furrs if he had goods the Indians he traded with are called the Swampy ground Stone Indians

19th Thursday Wind Southerly heavy Gale the Lake appears clear of Ice

20th Friday 3 PM M^r Graham with Eleven Canadians in two

On the following day:—"Arrived Mr. Gream one of the Canadian Masters, from a settlement to the northward of us but in the same lake".

On April 28, Ross says:—"I engaged 2 U-che-py-wy-an Indian men to pilot us to the Tha pis cow, I fitted them out with knives, ammunition and some other necessarys to go and build canoes a little way from here at the Egg lake so called by the Indians. they are to send a canoe for us as soon as it is possible to get through the ice."

Canoes arrived from the Buffalo Lake where he wintered he brought 20 Packs of Winter Beaver traded from a gang of Southern Indians which this House was built to accommodate he likewise brought a good quantity of trading Goods with him¹

1791

May 23rd Monday Two Indians arrived from the Northward from whom we got a little fresh provision

An Old Indian informed me that he had heard that there is a passage out of the Slave lake on the East side which leads to the Sea that he was once at the Slave Lake to have accompanied the Chepawyan and Red Knife or Copper Indians to War against the Esquamays but did not proceed farther with them he said they informed him they were going down a River on the East side to the Sea but he was not certain that the River run out of the Lake . . . by what I can learn this Settlement will have about 50 Packs of Furrs besides Castor exclusive of its dependant Settlement

This place lays in Latitude $55^{\circ} 25\frac{3}{4}'$ North and Longitude $107^{\circ} 47\frac{3}{4}'$ West from Greenwich for particulars see book of Observations²

1791

May 30th Monday our Canoes being repaired and we being provided with about Nine days provision after returning Mr Small our thanks for his kindness to us and he taking charge of some Letters which he promised to forward as directed we embarked for to proceed to the Northward arranged in our Canoes the same as when we came here a Chepawyan or Northern Indian having appointed to meet us in this Lake at $7\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went in the Lake NNE 1 mile across a small bay about a mile deep to West then NWbW $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles this part of the Lake about the end of this course $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide bold land and good woods on

¹On this date Ross writes, "Mr. Shaw brought us the glad news of your Honors ship arriving safe at York Factory and also the safe arrival of Mr. Tomison at Manchester House last fall."

²The position given on the latest government maps is:— $55^{\circ} 26' N.$ and $107^{\circ} 53' 30'' W.$, only three miles and three-quarters farther west than the position determined by Turnor.

both sides went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ N 8 miles and WNW 6 miles the Lake then turns suddenly to about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide a small deep bay on W side, went in the narrow NW 3 miles NWbW 1 mile WNW 2 miles NWbW 2 miles WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ W $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile NW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and WNW $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile and to a lake called by the Southern Indians (Wash-a-cum-mow Sack-a-ha-gan or Clear water Lake) and by the Chepawyans Eg-ga-zah Too-ah Too-ah or Egg Lake) the land passed rather bold and mostly covered with asp &c put up on a point of the Lake on SW side at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind SSW fresh gale with showers of rain Sailed all this day we expected to have found the Indian here

- 31st Tuesday at 6 AM got underway with my Canoe to search out the way or to find the Indian that is to accompany us the other canoe waiting to prevent the Indian from missing us in case he should be looking for us I tryed into a bay with a broken shore on SW side as we understood from the Indians we was to turn into a narrow on our left hand as soon as we came to the part called clear water Lake, after we had examined the bay the Indian came to look for us and upon his appearing the other Canoe got underway and joined us went from where we lay last night NW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile across the mouth of the bay to SW which we had been (a Point on the South side of Clear water lake bears NNE 4 miles beyond that could not see the land) then went WNW 1 mile nearly along the SW shore a narrow Island about 2 mile long lays nearly WNW and SSE about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the shore then went WSW $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile leaving a small bay on our left and came to the mouth of a narrow which leads to another part of the Lake called the Buffalo Lake at this place the North side of Clear water Lake seems to run NNW no land to be seen to the South of it the Island before mentioned runs within $\frac{1}{2}$ mile of the North shore Double merid Alt of $\odot^s$ L.L. $112^{\circ} 8'$

18' 30''

111° 49' 30'' Lat. 55°49'39''N

At this place we found the Chepawyans or Northern Indians which intend accompanying us they 6 Canoes in number got underway in company with us entered the narrow which is about 200 yards wide with grassey sides went SE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to the part of the Lake called by the Southern Indians Mis-toose-Sask-a-ha-gan and by the Chepawyans A-gid-da Too-ah or Buffalo Lake it was to this narrow that M^r Graham had his goods hauled entered the Lake and went WbN 1 mile along the NE side and put on shore at 2 PM being to heavy a swell in the Lake at 5 PM the swell being a little abated we again got underway went SWbW 5 miles across a bay about 3 mile deep to NW the lake about 5 mile wide to SE and drawing to about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide one Island in the middle of the SE bay, then went NWbW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile along the NE side then NWbW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile across a small bay to NE low stony shore coverd with willows &^c then went NW $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to a point on SE [SW] shore the land on this side rather bold and well coverd with Pine Asp &^c went round the point and put up in a small sandy bay at the place M^r Graham wintered at, at 9 PM Wind Variable Westerly strong Gale with cloudy weather¹

¹The party embarked at Ile à la Crosse, ascended the long narrow arm that extends to Clearwater lake, now renamed Churchill lake, crossed it and passed through the Narrows into Buffalo lake, now Peter Pond lake. They crossed this lake to Old Fort Point where a house had been built the previous summer in which Graham had wintered. Fidler says that he was drowned out of a canoe at Ile à la Crosse the ensuing summer.

The following account by Ross fills in some particulars of the happenings during these first two days of their journey to Athabaska:—"embarked at 7 A.M. sail'd & padled 'till 7 P.M. and put up at the mouth of a Large Lake that we do not know the name of: but as we think is in the right road; as our Pilot not being at the place we expected to find; will oblige us to wait for some Indians that is to come from the House that is going our road to where the Indians that arrived yesterday being all Drunk this morning I was obliged to give them a Treat of Brandy & Tobacco to keep Friends with them. May 31st Tuesday. not knowing the right road to go, & would be glad to get forward: Mr. Turnor & his Canoe mates embarked to see if they could fall in with the Pilot; he had not been gone half an hour: before I saw the Pilot's Canoe coming from the north-west padling had seen Mr. Turnors Canoe and was approaching him; I fired 3 Guns which they answered & we embarked & padled to where Mr. Turnor & Pilot where, which had just before joined together; The man being the same that I had employed, the man & boy was in search of us: we went on about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles & came to some more that will accompany the Pilot, Viz. 4 Men and 4 Women they are employed fishing; we stoped untill Mr. Turnor observed a Meridian

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1791

June 1st Wednesday at 5¼ AM got underway and went along the West side of the Lake NWbW 1¼ mile a small double bay on left hand went WNW½W 3½ miles a shoal bay on left hand side turned a point the land then running SW about 3 mile a river then runs into the Lake called the Buffalo River, a hill appears WbS called by the Southern Indians Mis-ta-hay Mus-qua Wau-chu and by the Chepawyans Hot-hail-zaz-za Sheth or the Grizil Bear Hill went W¼N 8 miles to the shore the Land hanging in a easy sweep from the Buffalo River, a small creek falls into the Lake at this place

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. 112° 15'

— 18' 30''

111° 56' 30 Lat. 55°54'35''

Then went NNW 3½ miles close along the shore the land passed this day rather low and well covered with good pine and asp &^c fine sandy shore, went NWbN ¾ mile and WNW 1 mile land as before but stony shore went NNW 1½ mile sandy shore than NW½ mile and NNW 1 mile bold steep muddy bank covered with pine &^c went N ½ mile and NbE 1½ mile a creek then falls into the Lake went NNE 1½ mile an other creek falls into the Lake went NNE 1½ mile and came to river at the end of the Lake called by the Southern Indians Methy-a-Seepe by the Chepawyans Theent-hel-le Dez-za or the Methy River, the last part of this Lake passed low flat sandy shore thinly covered with small scrub Pine birch &^c as we passed along the Lake we could see the land upon the other side suppose the Lake to be about 10 miles wide but not knowing what height the land is I cannot well judge the north end of the lake runs EbS put up at the mouth of the River at 6½ PM Wind Westerly fresh breeze with Thunder and a

Altitude of the Sun: then embarked and went about 2½ mile & entered the Buffaloe Lake where we was obliged to put ashoar it being too much swell in the Lake for the Indians, to go with the Pilot Shot a Deer which I served out. at 3 P.M. we again embarked & went till 9 P.M. at the Canadian House where a Mr. Graham wintered this Last winter."

little rain in the afternoon at 7 PM *M^r Alex Mackensie*¹ the Master of the Athapiscow Lake settlement and its dependances arrived with one Canoe in which he had 20 Packs of furs besides his own things which is not common for a Canadian Master to have as they mostly keep their own Canoe for their own things he informed me that he had Fourteen Canoes more following him deeply loaded they only had twelve Canoes in he likewise informed me that they made a new Settlement up the Peace river near the Stony Mountain and got Sixty Packs of Beaver from Indians that never traded with Europeans or Canadians before but I have since learned that part of those Indians had traded with them before at an other Settlement they have in the Peace river

1791

June 2nd Thursday early this morning *M^r Mackensie* embarked as we would gladly have done but must wait the Indians pleasure and they seem very indolent beings at 9 AM

¹Coasting along the south-west and west shores of Peter Pond lake, they passed the mouth of Buffalo river, now known as Dillon river. They noticed Grizzly Bear Hills in the distance, and in the evening they camped at the mouth of Methy river at the north end of the lake. Half an hour after reaching their camping place they were joined by Alexander (afterwards Sir Alexander) Mackenzie. He was on his way from Athabaska lake to the Grand Portage, en route to London, England, where, in preparation for his intended journey up Peace river and across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean, he intended to make himself proficient in surveying and in the taking and calculating of astronomical observations.

Next morning Mackenzie wrote back to his cousin Roderic McKenzie at Chepewyan as follows:—

“Entrance of Lac des Boeufs, June 1st 1791.
“I met Mr. Turner here this morning. I find the intention of the expedition is discoveries only. I also find the party ill prepared for the undertaking. Mr. Ross wishes to obtain storage from you for some baggage, should the expedition proceed further than your place, where, they say, they intend to pass the winter.”

The statement that the party was “ill prepared” was probably intended to mean that it was ill-provisioned, though it may also have meant that the guns and fishing tackle with which they obtained their food were not of the best. Shortage of provisions was a very common source of trouble and suffering for men who endeavoured to travel through western Canada, as did many of those early fur traders, depending for their subsistence on the fish, wild birds and animals that could be killed from day to day as they went along. Doubtless Turnor and his men had not tasted any bread or imported food of any kind for months, and an absence of fish and game along their projected route would mean starvation to them all.

This letter evidently should have been dated June 2, as they camped together on the evening of June 1.

got underway in the Methy river went NNE to W 1 mile near NNW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WSW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NW 1 mile moderate current and came to a ripple then NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and passed an other small rapid

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $111^\circ 58\frac{1}{4}'$

— $18\frac{1}{2}'$

$111^\circ 39' 45''$ Lat. $56^\circ 10' 34''$

then NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and passed a small rapid NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile a small rapid NW to N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small rapid WNW to NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small rapid W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small rapid WNW to SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to the fork of the river the part passed about from 20 to 50 yards wide land rather low woods mostly burnt put up at 2 PM

The Indians being determined to hunt hereabouts this afternoon and we must submit at 5 PM three of M^r Mackensies Canoes arrived and put up a long side of us in one of which was a M^r Lerue¹ a French Clerk and likewise two Canoes of Southern Indians who accompany them to hunt for them M^r Mackenzie M^r Lerue and the Southern Indians all assured us that we should not be able to get any kind of provision beyond the Methy carrying place and that on this side we should only be able to get a few fish and we have not Seven days provision left M^r Lerue informed us that the Indians had told him that there was a better way to the west of the Methy carrying place and which parts off at this place the Southern Indians confirmed it and said both Buffalo and Moose are plenty in that track in which our Chepawyans concur and say they know most of the way being only part of one river

¹In 1785 Laurent Leroux was a clerk in the firm of Gregory, McLeod and Company, in which Alexander Mackenzie was a partner. In 1786 he was sent by John Ross to build a house on Great Slave lake, while Cuthbert Grant was sent by Peter Pond to build a house beside him. These houses are mentioned on a later page.

In 1789 he accompanied Alexander Mackenzie as far as Great Slave lake in his descent of the Mackenzie river, and here he is with Mackenzie's brigade of canoes on their way to Grand Portage. After leaving the service of the North West Company he retired to Lower Canada where he lived to a great age.

which they have not seen but know both ends of it and as we are to go before the current we cannot miss the way though if it should prove full of falls and no person knowing them it may prove tedious as well as dangerous but want of Provision will oblige us to try it¹ Wind Westerly stiff Gale clear and cloudy alternate

1791

June 3rd Friday early in the morning the Canadians got underway and directly afterwards two more Canadian Canoes passed by and at 7½ AM we got underway went up the West branch called by the Southern Indians Wa-pe-sue a See-pe by the Chepawyans Caw-coos a Dez-za or the Swan River²

¹Turnor and his party were now in a serious dilemma. In the evident expectation of obtaining their livelihood from the fish and game they would be able to secure on the way, they had set out from Ile à la Crosse with only nine days' provisions to accomplish a month's journey. Now, however, they heard from men who had just traversed the country through which they intended to go, that there was no available food in it; but that there was another, though longer route, on which they would probably be able to procure some game. They chose the longer, unknown route, and we have here the only known description of it.

The circumstances which decided them to take this route are told independently by both Fidler and Ross. On June 2, Fidler says: "The North Branch goes by the way of the Long Portage called the Methy carrying place upward of 12 miles over, & the South branch goes by the way of Swan Lake—this last Track has never been gone by any European before—the Indians debated amongst themselves which of the two tracks would be the most eligible to follow, all things considered they determined upon the South way, principally on account of the great number of both Buffalo & Moose that way—and the other way being very scarce—our Canoes being pretty light & the water seemingly good, besides our little Pemmican we had was now nearly all expended these causes stimulated us also to prefer the South way. The South way by the Indian report is considerably round about but then the Portages are few—and the water to the height of Land is rather less than it is the North way."

On the same day Ross writes: "3 Canadian Canoes arrived and put up with us they gave account of 12 Canoes more not yet arrived all loaded with 30 packs each & only 4 men to a Canoe. 2 Indians accompanied the Canadians, tells us the ground is all burnt upon the other side of the Theen't Nel ly Note Neth or; (Methy carrying place) where any provision was to be got, the Indians used to be there is all gone down to the Athapescow as they could live upon their own ground was the place where they thought of getting provisions to proceed with: what we shall do I do not know as every precaution has been taken to get the Indians out of our way; the Jepowyans has proposed another track where they say that there is a plenty of Buffalo & Moose and no European has ever gone that way before." And on the next day: "We embarked at 7½ A.M. after the Indians had consulted amongst themselves they came to me to acquaint us of their determination that they were going the new road, as provisions was not to be got the other way".

²This stream is now called Garson river, and Swan lake, which they reached on June 6, is now called Garson lake. It lies on the boundary line between the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta.

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which seems full as large as the other branch went SSW to NW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile passed a small creek on right hand side then S to NW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile good Woods on both sides then all round the compass 7 miles making $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile WSW along a willow swamp good woods about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distance from each other

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $112^\circ 9' 45''$
 — $18' 30''$

$111^\circ 51' 15''$ Lat. $56^\circ 11' 14''$

then continued 9 mile in same manner as before making about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile WSW and put up at 6 PM Wind Westerly fresh gale and Clear

4th Saturday at 7 AM got underway the river as yesterday went $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and came to the fork of the river followed the Northern or right one which is about 10 yards wide the one to the South or left hand being about 20 yards wide, went 7 miles more as before making in the whole this day about 3 miles WSW the woods then close on both sides, the river passed through the Willow swamp is as crooked as possible the breadth of the river will allow, the current moderate went near NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a small rapid and handed the Canoes up it then went NNW 1 mile and NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current then near N 2 miles and handed at ten rapids heigh hills on both sides then N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile easey current low land then NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile all a rapid NNE 1 mile passed three rapids then NE to E $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile all one shoal rapid NbE to W $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile making 1 mile NW good water and land low then NE to W $1\frac{1}{2}$ making $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NWbW then 6 mile moderate current making about 2 miles NNW through low land coverd with willows and put up at $7\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Northerly cloudy weather

5th Sunday at 6 AM got underway went $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile making $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SWbW easey current through grass and willows then SWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile woods on both sides near WSW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile passed one small rapid and strong current then SW to WNW 1 mile woods on both sides passed several small

rapids then 1 mile making $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W easy current with willows on both sides then $\frac{3}{4}$ mile making $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WbN woods on both sides passed a small rapid then W to NNE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile passed three small rapids woods on both sides then went 5 Miles making 2 miles W easy current and willows on both sides then 5 miles making 2 miles SW as before, a kind of creek on left hand side then 3 miles as before making $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile SW a kind of creek on right hand side then went 1 mile making $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SSW and came to a small rapid scrub woods on both sides then WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and N to W 1 mile mostly small rapids S to SW 1 mile SW 1 mile near S 1 mile and SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile mostly small rapids latter part of the river land low on both sides covered with scrub Pine &^c and came to willows and grass went 1 mile making $\frac{1}{2}$ mile S then ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile South westerly to N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile near SE 1 mile this latter part easy current and all this river except as before described from about 10 to 20 yards wide then went near SSW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and 2 miles making $\frac{3}{4}$ mile SSW the river increasing in this part to about 100 yards wide grassey sides with scrub Pine and Juniper about 100 yards from the side of the river then went SSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile the river increasing into a kind of small swampy lake a branch about 200 yards wide running to the South and another about 150 yards wide which we followed running NNW and a grassy marsh between them went NNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile small scrub Pine an Juniper on right hand side about 50 yards from the water and grass on the left hand went NW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile scrub woods on each side about 50 yards from the water swampy mossy ground put up at $8\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Easterly Cloudy weather with Thunder in the evening the Indians killed 4 Swans 2 Geese 1 Beaver and a few Ducks All this river where the woods grow upon the banks is very shoal and full of stony rapids and the stones cannot be seen except those that have ripples upon them but they are mostly smooth but where the banks are covered with willows and grass the water is deep and very easy current but exceeding crooked Buffalo seem to Winter about this river as much of their dung is laying about the banks

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1791

June 6th Monday

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $112^\circ 38' 15''$

— $19' 15''$
 $112^\circ 19'$ Lat. $56^\circ 18' 15''$

Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Double Altitudes	Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Distances	Longitude
+ 64	H	'	"	$\odot^s$ L L	+ 62	H	'	"	$\odot^s$ & $\oplus^s$ N L	
	2	19	55	95 39 45		1	31	55	56 23 30	
		20	24	34 15			32	30	23 45	
		20	52	27			23	56	24	
							33	22	24	
	2	20	23	95 33 40			33	47	24 15	
	—	1	18	— 19 15			34	18	24 30	
							34	40	24 45	
	2	19	5	95 14 25			35	25	24 45	
							35	52	25	
							36	22	25 15	
+ 64	H	'	"	$\odot$ U L						
	2	31	46	94 4 45		1	34	7	56 24 22	
		32	21	93 56 45		—	1	17	— 19 15	
		32	57	— 48 15						
	2	32	21	93 56 35		1	32	50	56 5 7	109°43½'
	—	1	16	— 19 15						
	2	31	5	93 37 20						

at 5 PM got underway went WbS $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and NNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile the river then about 30 yards wide went 3 mile making $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile NWbN and a $\frac{1}{4}$ mile near West the river as before and came to a kind of swampy Lake nearly round went SbW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile nearly across the middle of it then near SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in a part about 150 yards wide grassy sides and came to the Swan Lake and put up at 7 PM Wind SW forepart of the day a heavy gale with rain rather calm and clear in the evening

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Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Double Altitudes	Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Distances			Longitude
+ 48				Lyra	+ 50				Spica & D ^s F L			
	H	'	"			H	'	"				
	10	36	49			113	11	45	65	18	15	
		38	5				30			17	45	
		39	23				50				17	
										3	10	
										3	58	
										4	47	
										5	31	
										6	13	
10	38	6	113	30	35				16	15		
—	1	54	—	19	15				15	45		
									15	15		
10	36	12	113	11	20				14	30		
									14	30		
									14			

1791

June 7th Tuesday at 7 AM got underway on a Lake called by the Southern Indians Wa-pe-sue Sack-a-ha-gan & by the Chepawyans Caw-goos Too-ah or Swan Lake went SW½S. at 7¾ AM the Chepawyans killed a Moose on the east shore went in to them and found the one which was engaged as our pilot had burst a new 4 foot gun he had of M^r Malcolm Ross for Piloting us, about 18 inches from the breech it appeared the worst I ever saw bust it was not thicker than a very thin counterfit halfpenny was exceeding brittle and had never been close welded but appeared double it made the Indian very down hearted and it was with difficulty he was persuaded to proceed, about noon we got underway again and steered near SW about 5 miles to the end of the lake and waited there untill near 4 PM when one of the Indians came to fetch us back to the carrying place (they had been hunting for it only one of them knew any thing of it and he only saw it once) at 4½ PM we arrived at the carrying place which is on the SE

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side of the Lake and is nearly SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ W $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the entrance of the Lake, when following the right course the lake is about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide to SE and 3 miles wide to NW when at the carrying place a pine bluff on SE side bears NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ E a small round hill on high ground bears NbE $\frac{1}{4}$ E the north point of a burnt pine point on SE side bears WbS distance about 1 mile the sides of the lake which is rather bold land seems well covered with Pine Asp Birch &c the shore stony a good Country for Cattle and Beaver, Cleared the carrying place¹ and carried over the Canoes, the Carrying place is about 2350 yards very good through Asp woods except the last 350 yards which is through small Pines and swampy mossy ground this carrying place is South $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile upon a strait line out of one Lake into another small Lake the water of which runs into the Athapescow Lake Wind SW strong Gale and heavy showers of rain and light breezes and clear alternate

June 8th Wednesday at 5 AM began to carry at 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got all over the carrying place to the small Lake which is about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide and about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long, when at the carrying place a burnt point bears SSE distance $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a bluff point E $\frac{1}{2}$ N distance $\frac{1}{2}$ mile

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $113^\circ 7'$

— $19' 30''$

$112^\circ 47' 30''$ Lat. $56^\circ 15' 21''$

went in the Lake SW $\frac{1}{4}$ W 1 mile to the mouth of a small river or creek running out of the lake its about 40 yards wide very shoal with soft muddy bottom and little current our canoes dragged upon the mud most of the way then went between W & SSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile the creek deepening and drawing to about 5 yards wide the part passed swampy ground and burnt woods on both sides then went 8 miles constant short turning making 4 miles SWbW the creek deep and burnt woods on both sides and swampy ground

¹This carrying place would appear to have been from Garson lake to Formby lake, which is the source of one of the tributaries of Christina river, which flows into Clearwater river, which in turn flows into Athabaska river.

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put up at 9 PM wind SW fresh gale clear and cloudy
alternate with showers of rain and a show of Snow and hail
at 11 AM

June 9th Thursday at 4½ AM got underway went about 10 miles
making 5 miles WSW and came to a small Lake at 1¾ PM
the creek passed this day very narrow in places not 4 feet
wide, full of Beaver dams and the turning so short that we
was obliged to cut away the banks in many places but that
would have been very little trouble if we had had a spade
as the water is deep and the banks hanging over indeed the
land seems floating Buffalo seem to winter about this
creek much of their dung laying about the sides of it which
is covered with good grass and a few willows but this ground
is to soft for them to stay upon in the summer went in
the Lake NbW ¾ mile to the Indians and found one of
them was gone to look for a carrying place into a large
river which runs to the Athapescow Lake, I would have
gone to have looked at it but could not prevail upon any
of them to accompany me . . put up along side the Indians
at 2 PM Wind SW clear and cloudy alternate

Merid. Altitude	☉ ^s U L	34° 3' 15"	Land 1 mile distant	Eye 5 feet above the
	+	— 19' 15"		level of the water
Ther 70		33° 44'	Latitude	56°13'56"

Ther- mom- iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Double Altitudes	Ther- mom- iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Distances	Longitude
+ 70	H	'	"	☉ ^s L L	+ 70	H	'	"	☉ ^s & ☉ ^s N L ^s	
	5	53	50	39 19 30		5	25	29	94 24 15	
		54	23	11 15			25	55	24 30	
		54	49	4 30			26	21	24 45	
							26	53	25	
	5	54	21	39 11 45			27	14	25	
		+	30	— 19 15			27	36	25	
							28	4	25 15	
	5	54	51	38 52 30			28	31	25 15	
						5	27		94 24 52	
							+	30	— 19 15	
						5	27	30	94 5 37	110°27¾'

In the evening the Indian returned and reported the carrying place to be nearly as long as the Methy carrying place (which I am informed is eleven measurd miles) and he likewise represents it as very bad so we have determined to follow the river round got 5 Geese, 3 ducks and a swan from the Indians for an account of the carrying place see the 16th

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June 10th Friday at 6 AM got underway went in the small Lake S 2 miles this part of the lake nearly round then enterd a part about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and EbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the Lake drawing narrower and came to small river, the Lake passed fine bold land well covered with good pine &^c enterd the river which is about 80 yards wide at enterance, went ENE 1 mile the river then about 20 yards wide went $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles making $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile EbN then 3 miles making 1 mile SbW then 1 mile making $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SSE the last part of the river from 6 to 10 yards wide fine deep water easy current and grassy sides good woods at a little distance enterd a small Lake¹ nearly round went along the middle of it S $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile good woods round the Lake came to a grassy swamp through which a small river runs, enterd the river grassy and willow sides woods at $\frac{1}{4}$ mile distance went SbE, SSW & SSE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile then W to N & NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile then 2 miles making 1 mile East another small river or creek falls into this on the left hand side which comes from the Grizzil Bear Hill mentioned the 1st ins^t and is called by the Southern Indians Mis-ta-hay Mus-qua-Wa-chu-a-Seepe and by the Chepawyans Hot-hale-zag-za Sheth Dez-za or the Grizzle Bear Hill River,² went 7 miles making 2 miles South

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $113^{\circ} 43' 45''$

— $19' 15''$

$113^{\circ} 24' 30''$ Lat. $56^{\circ} 6' 27''$ N

¹Watchusk lake.

²Newby river, which flows westward from the west side of Grizzly Bear Hill.

then went S, SW&SE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile making $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SSE all this river passed easy current grassy and Willow sides came to a part with the woods growing on both banks went 2 miles making 1 mile South 4 miles making 2 miles SW and came to strong current went $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile making $\frac{1}{2}$ SW and handed the Canoes down 5 rapids and two small shoal ripples went 1 mile making $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SSW and handed down 3 rapids then 8 miles making $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles ESE the river passed except the rapids deep water and very good but extreemly crooked, the rapids are not dangerous but shoal and high woods on both sides which makes them dark put up at $6\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Westerly fresh breeze and clear many fresh tracks of Buffalo seen this day got 1 Beaver, 1 swan & 1 Goose from the Chepawyans

1791

June 11th Saturday

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $113^\circ 58'$

— $19' 15''$

$113^\circ 38' 45''$ Lat. $56^\circ 3' 30''$

The Chepawyans went after a Buffalo that one of them wounded last night but returned without finding him at $2\frac{1}{4}$ PM got underway went 4 miles very short turnings making 1 mile W the river about from 15 to 20 yards wide easy current willows on both sides and good woods on both sides at about $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile distance from each other continued 3 miles making $\frac{3}{4}$ mile W, 1 mile making $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW, 4 miles making $\frac{3}{4}$ mile W, 6 miles making $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile SSW and 2 miles making 1 mile SSW the river as before and came to a grassy swamp or kind of Lake went near SSW 1 mile and put up at $7^h 40'$ PM all the woods passed this day is Fir Pine & Juniper we put on shore this day from $3\frac{1}{4}$ PM untill 4 PM to stop the leaks in my canoe Wind Southerly light breeze showery weather The Chepawyans killed a Moose and some Geese and swans at this place

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12th Sunday

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. 114° 9'

— 19' 15''

113° 49' 45'' Lat. 56° 1' 57'' N

Variation 18° 7' E

at 2^h 50' PM got underway went S $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to the end of the Lake which is about 1 mile wide a small bay on East side and full of grassy swamps fine harbour for Swans Geese Ducks &^c good Woods all round it, entered a small river about 80 yards broad went SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the river then about 30 yards broad at this place an other river falls¹ into this as large as the one we came down it rises at the Grizzle Bear Hill and is called by the same name as that mention on the 10th ins^t a range of hills lay nearly E & W about 2 miles south of this place went W to S $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the river about 40 yards broad went N to NE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SW to S $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W to S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, WNW to SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile Nth easterly to SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SE&SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile S to SE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, ENE to S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W to NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W, S & SE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W, N&SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W, N, W&N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile the part of the river passed easy current deep water the points very short and willows on both sides & good Woods about a mile apart came to a part with good pine woods on both banks went W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile E to NWbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile ESE&E $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N NW&N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile WSW, SW&W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WSW&N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WSW, W&NW 2 miles and came to the junction of a river rather larger than the one we came down it opens South on our left hand it called by the Southern Indians Mith-quap-pim-a-Seepe and by the Chepawyans Ky-qoz-zae Dez-za or the red willow River² which name the whole River takes untill it joins the Pillicon River put up at 6^h 20' PM at the point of junction Wind West fresh breeze with showers of rain *in the winter the Indians informed me that there is a way out of the Beaver River to the Athapescow therefore think this river rises some where near it* the Chepawyans hunting, one of them killed a poor Bull Buffalo

¹Winefred river.

²Now Christina river.

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which our people fetchd here by $\frac{1}{2}$ AM and the others killed some Beaver & Geese *this is a fine country for Cattle Beaver Geese &c*

June 13th Monday Wind variable all round the compass with showery weather the people drying meat which though poor is better than none

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $114^{\circ} 16'$

— $19' 15''$

$113^{\circ} 46' 45''$ Lat. $56^{\circ} 1' 46''$

at 2 PM the Chepawyans went ahead to hunt

14th Tuesday at $4\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway and went down the river which is about 70 yards wide went NbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NNW to NbE $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile N, WNW&N 1 mile a small creek on west side went NW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile near NNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to part of the Chepawyans they had killed two Moose staid with them an hour and got some flesh from them, then went N to NEbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NE 1 mile NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW&N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NE 1 mile NNE easterly to S 1 mile, SSW easterly to N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NEbE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile the river passed deep water and moderate current land on both sides rather low and well coverd with Pine Poplar Birch Asp &c then came to fresh current and shoal ridges went NNE to N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to two Canoes of the Chepawyans they had just killed a Bull Buffalo put up at 7^h 20' AM and fetched the flesh which was $\frac{1}{4}$ mile within the woods one of the Chepawyans went a little way down the side of the river an directly killed an other Bull Buffalo about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile below us with the people immediately fetched all hands employed splitting and drying the meat about Noon another Canoe which was ahead came back they had killed a Moose Wind SW fresh gale with showery weather in the evening the Chepawyans went forward to hunt

June 15th Wednesday Wind Westerly fresh gale with showers of rain lay by this day drying meat

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Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $114^\circ 13' 30''$

— $19' 15''$

$113^\circ 54' 15''$ Lat. $58^\circ 8' 33''$

16th Thursday at 4^h 17' AM got underway went NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW&WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a small Island in the middle of the river went NW to NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current at the end of this reach went NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N^bE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NE 1 mile NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNW &NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NE 1 mile E $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NE to N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and E $\frac{1}{8}$ mile and came to part of the Chepawyans at 6^h 22' AM and staid untill 6^h 42' AM they had killed a Bull Buffalo and was drying part of it went NNE to NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile a small creek on East or right hand side which the carrying place mentioned the 9th ins^t comes into of the small Lake went NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W^bS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and mett one Canoe of Chepawyans who had been down the river hunting they had killed a young Moose they crossed from us and directly killed a bull Buffalo we crossed and put on shore at 7 AM to skin and bring the meat to the shore where we pitched our tents and set to work to dry the meat the Indians went back to those we passed this morning, about Noon three Canoes of Chepawyans came to us and the others joined us in the evening

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $114^\circ 5'$

— $19' 15''$

$113^\circ 45' 45''$ Lat. $56^\circ 15'$

Wind Westerly fresh breeze Clear and Cloudy alternately. At 2 PM sent Peter Fidler to examin the Carrying place I having no English shoes and my feet being very tender at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM he returned with the following account he went up the creek NE^bE 1 mile and N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile upon a strait line the creek very crooked with small rapids in it but thinks Canoes might pass up it the woods about 300 yards

apart then landed on the right hand side and carry 1050 yards swampy mossy ground and small thick Pines and Junipers then 970 yards dry deep moss woods larger but must be cleared before Canoes could be carried along it then 4950 yards good sound ground and open Firs with 420 yards of bad swamps interspersed in the good in Seven places then 580 yards dry mossy ground but much wind fallen wood came to the Lake the river we entered the lake at base N75E the course over the carrying place E by compass very strait

June 17th Friday at 18' PM got underway went N to NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile steep Sandy red bank on W^t side 60 feet heigh and 100 yards long with small Firrs &^c at top and good Pines on E^t side went SW to N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a ripple at the top of the reach went W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{8}$ mile NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a little ripple towards the bottom NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current all the land passed in this river rather low and coverd with fine Pine Poplar Asp Birch &^c with fine grassy places and plenty of Buffalo Moose Beaver Geese &^c then NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile heigh land then SWbS $\frac{3}{8}$ mile all a rapid and steep heigh banks handed the Canoes then W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile all a rapid steep bank on South side went SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current heigh bank on NW side then NW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile a strong ripple NbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile very strong current NbE westerly to SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a strong rapid NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile easy current N&ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile very strong current NNW, NE&N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and W northerly to NE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current W $\frac{1}{8}$ mile a rapid W $\frac{1}{8}$ mile moderate current and came to a large creek on E^t side white water a strong rapid in the mouth of it, stop'd from 4^h 40' PM to 5^h 52' PM the Chepawyans having killed two Buffalo a little way back went NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, moderate current WNW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile a ripple SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N&NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N to W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile S $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile all very strong current W to N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile moderate current WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current a small creek on South side NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and N to NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile

very strong current NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile moderate current W $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W to NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile S $\frac{1}{8}$ mile WSW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile N $\frac{3}{8}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SSW $\frac{3}{8}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W to SW $\frac{3}{8}$ mile NNW to W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile N to NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and N to WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current W to S $\frac{3}{8}$ mile strong rapid NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile very strong current a small Island on SE side coverd with Pine and Poplar WNW to SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile very strong current W $\frac{1}{8}$ mile and N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile very strong current W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile more moderate current put up at 8^h 15' PM Wind Easterly cloudy weather with a little rain in the forepart of the day the Chepawyans behind with the Buffalo and a Moose which they killed about a mile up the river this last part of the river is from 60 to 80 yards wide has very heigh banks and exceeding steep mostly coverd with Pine Asp &^c we should have come this distance to day in two hours less time if we had known the river but it is to dangerous to turn a Point in a rapid without knowing what is below and none of the Indians know this part of the river at 10 PM M^r Malcom Ross and Hugh Lish killed a poor doe Moose

June 18th Saturday at 11^h 25' AM got underway the Chepawyans still behind went NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile moderate current NNW & N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile rapid at top and very strong current below W $\frac{3}{8}$ mile very strong current WNW 1 mile strong current NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile moderate current WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile moderate current and came to the head of a fall at Noon stoped on E^t side M^r Malcom Ross and Hugh Lisk went about a mile down the fall along the shore found it not practicable to shoot it on the E^t side we then crossed to the West side and they went about 2 mile down the side of the fall and found it still bad they returned and we crossed to the East side and put up at 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM and Rob^t Garroch and Malcom Grott went down the East side they returned at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM and reported it to be very bad but did not see the end of it about 6 PM the Chepawyans arrived but they are as strange here as our selves they wanted us to return and go round by the Methy carrying place for which I laughed at them they then proposed to us

to throw away our Canoes and carry our things to the Pillicon River and said if we would not that they would I told them the fall must have an end and we must see it the Chepawyans are rather strangers in Canoes not being used to go in bad road with them Wind SE strong Gale cloudy weather with showers of rain

June 19th Sunday having had no satisfactory account of the river and thinking it to dangerous to proceed in a fall without some knowledge of it having prevailed upon two of the Chepawyans at 7 AM two of them set of to see the end of the fall Peter Fidler and Hugh Lisk set of along the shore at 6½ PM the Chepawyan returned and said they had been far down it but seen no end or amendment of it and again tried to prevail upon us to return by the way we came¹ at 8^h 25' PM Peter Fidler and Hugh Lisk returned

¹They were now in the southern portion of Township 86, Range 5, and they had the worst part of the river ahead of them. Their Indian guides knew nothing of the country and were a hindrance rather than a help to them. Ross says: "June 19th. I did not think it prudent to go any farther before a proper out Look is taken, for that purpose I sent of Peter Fidler & Hugh Leask to survey the falls & 2 Indians to go to the end of the bad road if possible, but the Lazy dogs of Indians shortly returned, sayd that it is impossible to proceed any farther by water, they had not seen the end of the rapids, so they talk of throwing away their Canoes and going by Land which they are well accustomed too, & are to build Canoes at the end of this River, and so we may shift for ourselves as we can either go back or forward which we chuse, such the consequence of undertaking such an expedition without proper precaution, such has been the Cause in this, for had a trading party been settled first, there would have been an opportunity of procuring proper Indians for the purpose, at this crisis not acquainted with them, I am necessitated to employ any ragamuffin that offers his service and very few of any sort else amongst that Nation; at 8.26 P.M. Peter Fidler & Hugh Leask returned brought the joyful tydings of having been beyond the Heavyist of the falls."

On the same day Fidler writes: "June 19th. The Indians now tell us that it is absolutely impossible the Way we have to go on account of the great number of rapids which circumstance They did not in the least hint to us, when we first undertook this new Track by their unanimous consent & approbation—they are well known to be very timerous in Canoes & whether the real cause is that they wish us to return, is on account of their fear of the rapid for their Personal safety or whether it arises thro' a real wish they have for our safety—Mr. Ross sent me along with Hugh Leask down the river, to examine it, & to know whether or not it will be prudent to proceed forward down this river—to turn back would delay us many Days, & probably might detain us so much that it would be impossible to have time to visit the Slave Lake, as it is the Companys particular wish that Mr. Turner should visit those posts—at 6½ A.M. we went down the river, along there, & at 8½ P.M. we returned back to own people—& found that it is very bad to go down, being nearly all the way we have seen which is upward of 12 miles, a continued rapid, & that at some points it will be necessary to carry everything for safety—altho there are no perpendicular falls, the water is very

and said they had been about 10 miles down the river which was two miles further than the Chepawyans had been and are of opinion that it is practicable to go down it and that the first 4 or 5 miles is the worst of it but they think by making a few carrying places we shall be able to manage it they gave a very particular and good account of it they found much betumin or kind of Tar in the banks at the end of their journey and several Mineral and Salt springs the turnings are very short and banks exceeding heigh and so steep that its impossible to climb them which makes them appear very dangerous Wind SE strong Gale clear and cloudy alternate

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $113^\circ 49'$

— $19' 45''$

$113^\circ 29' 15''$ Lat. $56^\circ 27' 16''$

June 20th Monday at 5 AM got underway crossed and run the head of the fall then carried 50 yards on W^t or left hand side under the bank making NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then run SWbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W&NWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W $\frac{1}{8}$ mile N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW $\frac{3}{8}$ mile WbN $\frac{1}{8}$ mile and NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and brought up on W^t or left hand side and carried part Cargoe 110 yards under the bank then run NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a creek with a fall in

rough rising in great waves that would very much endanger a Canoe to attempt to shoot them even light—Found great quantities of Bitumen a Kind of liquid Tar oosing out of the Banks on both sides the river, in many places which has a very sulphurous smell & quite black like real Tar, & in my opinion would be a very good substitute for that useful Mineral—Hugh Leask returned back along shore, & I thro the wood on N. side but got bewildered amongst the great number of Buffalo Tracks, that I did not arrive back till near day set, very much fatigued & my shoes quite worn out & my feet very much bruised, so much so that I had some difficulty before I got back.—Saw along the Northern shore of the river several Salt springs, some of an exceeding salt taste, that in my opinion it would require but a little while to evaporate, before it became pure good Salt, in one or 2 places in particular, 2 springs would spring up not more than 8 feet from each other—and one would be exceedingly salt & the other quite fresh & pure water, singular!—We also found particularly in a deep bay in the river, that the waters in former ages has scooped out & now left dry, several curious kind of shells, some in the middle of Solid Stone & several in hard earth, the exact figure remaining and some appeared as if they had been petrified to a solid stone, such as Cockles, Muscles, and other kind of Shells frequently found in the interior parts of this Country. Altho the road is difficult, we shall attempt it tomorrow in preference to our returning back—which would be mortifying to the highest degree”.

the mouth of it on W^t or left hand side continued running NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and EbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and brought up on E^t side and carried under the bank across a point under the bank 250 yards then crossed directly over to W^t or left hand side and carried 170 yards under the bank got all over at 10^h 37' AM went down along the shore to look at the fall found the wind and swell too much to proceed with at 5 PM the wind having abated we got underway again carried half cargoe 450 yards along the W^t side shot the Canoes with part in NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and W^t $\frac{1}{4}$ mile then landed what they had in the E^t or right hand side and crossed back to W^t side and took in the remainder of their Cargoe and crossed over again to the place they landed the rest at and landed all and carried 80 yards across a point then shot with all in NbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the bed of the river seems to have been 30 feet above the surface of the present river and several small bluffs stand on the right hand side which has been Islands and many petrified shells such as Cockles &^c continued on NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile EbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and put up on W^t or left hand side at 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM Wind SE fresh gale and clear the Chepawyans put up two reaches above us they upset one Canoe this day and lost all their goods that was in her

1791

June 21st Tuesday at 6 AM got underway carried half the Cargoe 200 yards on W^t or left hand side shot the Canoes WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile all the river passed yesterday and this peice one intire fall then went NbE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and passed 3 rapids NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile passed one ripple then W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile & N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile more moderate current went WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NWbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNW 1 mile passed a stony Island in this reach continued W^t $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the banks begin to turn lower and current easier WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile all the river passed below the carrying places is full of rapids and strong current alternately then went WNW $\frac{1}{4}$

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mile NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NWbN $\frac{3}{8}$ mile moderate
current SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $113^\circ 33'$

— $19' 45''$

$113^\circ 13' 15''$ Lat. $56^\circ 35' 55''$

then went WNW to NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a strong ripple and passed all the falls in this river, this river seems to have undergone great and frequent changes, amongst the carrying places the banks which are 100 yards high or upwards and as steep as earth can well hang together seems to make frequent shoots and to fill up the River and oblige it to break its way again the banks seems to have broke the most about the last carrying place but one where the shells appear, followed the river NW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile and WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile moderate current the river which we have passed is from 40 to 80 yards wide but opens here to 150 yards wide went W $\frac{1}{2}$ N $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile smooth fresh current the banks not so high as before but very high a little way within about this part and three or four miles back the banks seem full of Tar went SW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to an Island $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long covered with good poplar and pine went on E^t side W^t 1 mile the banks low and covered mostly with large poplar high land within went N $\frac{1}{8}$ mile and joined the river that comes from the methy carrying place at 5^h 25' PM *this river is called in M^r Dalrymple's chart the Pillicon river*¹ it opens from NE with very high land on North side covered mostly with berry bushes by the way we came we have missed the Methy carrying place which is reported to be 11 measured miles and three others not so little as 3 miles, by all the accounts I have heard the methy river has 76 rapids in it and many rapids in the Pillicon River which seems about the size of the one we came down, went down the Pillicon River which when joined by the red willow

¹This river has always been called Clearwater river. A few miles up Clearwater river, and on its south side, is the town of Waterways, the northern terminus of the Northern Alberta Railway.

river makes a large river went WbS $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the land on South side rather low and covered with good Poplar, heigh land on North side mostly covered with berry bushes went W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to an Island mid river covered mostly with poplars went WbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WSW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile scrub asps on both sides, W 1 mile SW byS $\frac{3}{4}$ mile SW to WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SWbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SW to W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a small creek on south side NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W to S $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a pine and poplar Island went on South side SWbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WSW to W 1 mile this last part of the river low banks covered with Poplar and Pine, came to good pine woods on South side went WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile (W to WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a willow Island on North side) N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small river falls in on the south side about the middle of the reach, WNW 1 mile the woods burnt on North side good medow on South side went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a river on South side about 100 yards wide very little current it opens from WSW suppose it to be a branch of the great river that comes from the Southward, then went NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to a Canadian House¹ on the North side of the river at $5\frac{1}{2}$ PM, but the people have left it M^r Mackensie informed me on the 1st ins that it was left on account of the country being burnt but I do not see that burnt appearance but it may be burnt within but I rather think he wanted the Men to carry out his Furrs they have Birch rind, Pimecon &^c locked up in their warehouse and a Garden planted with Potatoes which are in a thriving condition there is an Island mid river below the House went on South side W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came the Athapiscow River, the River passed from 150 to 200 yards wide moderate current banks rather low but heigh land within there seems to be a very heigh Hill or kind of

¹This house is spoken of by Fidler as McLeod's house, which "has been built about 3 or 4 years back". It is marked on his sketch on the northwest bank just above the mouth of a little creek. Fort McMurray of the Hudson's Bay Company was afterwards built on the opposite or south side of the river, at the foot of a poplar-covered hill. From here stern-wheeled steamers run northward down Athabaska river, across lake Athabaska, and down Slave river to the rapids at Fitzgerald, a distance of 195 miles.

Mountain running a great distance nearly from E^t to West through which the falls we came down in the red willow river passes and I am informed that the Athapescow River comes through it much in the same manner, this part of the Athapescow River where the Pillicon River falls into it appears like a kind of Lake¹ and is upwards of a mile wide with several Islands in it covered mostly with small asp it opens from South by Compass and seems to turn to SW . . went down the river NW $\frac{1}{4}$ N 4 miles strong current and deep water put up on an Island at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM the river nearly keeps its breadth to this place the banks on E^t side is about 100 yards high and so steep that it would be impossible to climb it the bank on West side rather low and covered with small Asp &^c Wind Easterly strong gale fore part of the day latter part light breeze with clear weather sailed part of the Pillicon River

The Chepawyan Indians still behind they being fearfull of running the falls but lead their canoes along the side of the river and their Women and children walk through the woods and carry their things

Double Merid. Alt. D^s U.L. 63° 38'

— 19' 52''

63° 18' 8'' Lat. 56° 45' 23''

Ther	Time	Doub. Alt ^s ☉ ^s L L	Ther	Time	☉ ^s L L Doub. Alt ^s
+ 50	18 3 32 4 12 4 37	39 54 40 5 40 11 15	+ 57	20 16 28 17 17 30	75 54 76 3 11
Error	18 4 7 + 39	40 3 25 — 19 52		20 16 59 + 38	76 2 40 — 19 52
	18 4 46	39 43 33		20 17 37	75 42 48

¹While the Athabaska river above the forks is much larger than the Clear-water, the valley of the latter is much the wider, the stream winding through wooded or grassy alluvial flats.

Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Distances	Longi-tude	Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Distances	Longi-tude
+ 55	H	'	"	☉ & ☽ N L		+ 57	H	'	"	☉ & ☽ N L	
	19	34	4	98 15 30			20	23	43	97 55 15	
		34	31	15 15				24	2	55	
		34	52	15				24	30	55	
		35	18	15				24	51	54 45	
		35	42	14 45				25	18	54 30	
		36	8	14 30				25	45	54 30	
		36	32	14 15				26	5	54	
		37	10	14				26	29	53 45	
		37	37	13 45				26	50	53 45	
		38	14	13 30				27	10	53 30	
	19	36	1	98 14 33			20	25	28	97 54 24	
	+	38	—	19 52			+	38	—	19 52	
	19	36	39	97 54 41	111°13'		20	26	6	97 34 32	111°28¼'

1791

June 22nd Wednesday

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. 113° 13' 45"

— 19' 52"

112° 53' 53" Lat. 56°45'20"

Took an Observation for the Variation of the Compass by which I made the Variation 14½ E but discovered it to be an error occasioned by setting the compass upon a small box the Lock and hinges of which attracted the needle

At 4½ PM the Chepawyans came at 5^h 7' PM we got underway went NNW ¾ mile the river then about ¼ mile wide bank on east side very high and steep, on West side low and covered with Poplars &^c heigh land about ¼ mile from the river went NNW 1¾ mile low land both sides and came to a Poplar Island ¼ mile long mid river went on E^t side NNW ¾ mile steep heigh bank on east side and low on West side went NW½N 2 miles banks as before NNW½N 1 mile low banks and burnt woods on W^t side passed to West of a small went N 1¼ mile NW 1 mile NW½N 2 miles and passed to east of an Island covered

with Asp and to west of a willow Island this latter part the banks low and covered with Asp & Poplar heigh Land with went NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NbE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and NW 1 mile on East side of a large Island covered with Pine Poplar & Birch went NW 1 mile and WNW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile and put up at 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM on a Island mid river, the river passed this day moderate current and deep water interspersed with sandy ridges Wind SE fresh Gale clear and flying clouds alternate P. Fidlers feet very bad from the bruises he got in going along the shore to look at the falls the 19th inst they have been swelled and painful to him ever since but he is now unable to walk

1791

June 23rd Thursday at 3^h 40' AM got underway, a large creek on east side, went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ N 3 miles a Pine Island on east side and a Poplar and willow Island on west side at this place a large hill called Birch hill bears W^t by compass about 3 or 4 miles from the river *upon and about which there is a great quantity of good Birch Rind fit for building large Canoes*, the hill appears about 2 mile wide North and South but its a great length East and West *a fine Country for Buffalo and Moose* went WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ N 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles passed a pine Island on West side NWbW 1 mile an old Canadian House¹ on East side which was left when they built the one at the mouth of the Pillicon River it was a Winter trading House for the Southern Indians and dependant on the Athapescow Lake House went NW 1 mile a creek on West side runs from the birch hill went NW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile passed several asp Islands East of us went NWbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a small river or large creek about 40 yards wide on West side the main river about 300 yards broad went NbW 2 miles passed two large Islands on East side and one Island on West side went NNW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to two Islands went between them NW 1 mile and NWbN 1 mile and came to the end of the Island on East side went NW $\frac{1}{2}$

¹This old house, which would appear to have been in about north latitude 57° 3', is said by Fidler to have been built by Saint Germain or Buffalo head, the Canadian guide who, as we have already seen, was going to winter at Beaver lake in 1778.

mile and came to the end of the Island on West side continued NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then NWbN $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile within an Island on East side then NWbN 1 mile passed a small Island on W^t side, NW 1 mile a large creek on West side and an Island on East side, NbW $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles passed one small and one large Island,¹ the land passed this day rather low and coverd chiefly with Asp with some Pine and Birch through it, came to heigh land several Islands at this part went NNE 2 miles a Poplar Island close on the point on West side went to East of it NbE $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles a creek on W^t side

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $111^\circ 44'$

— $19' 52''$

$111^\circ 24' 8''$ Lat. $57^\circ 29' 26''$

Went N $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile NbE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to an Island mid river one mile long went on W^t side N 1 mile NbE 2 miles many willow and other Islands about this part went on East side NNE 2 miles and N 1 mile passed several Islands went 4 Miles and NbW 5 miles and passed several Islands East of us went NNW 5 miles and passed several Islands and came to a short peice of heigh white bank on East side and a Pine Island before it went NW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile NWbW 4 miles NW 2 miles and N 3 miles and passed many Islands (the Birch Hill here appears SWbS) went NbE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and put up on an Island at 8^h 45' PM, the river passed this day as before mostly moderate current and from 400 to 600 yards wide banks mostly low with heigh patches and mostly coverd with small Asp and good Pine bluffs Wind SE fresh breeze cloudy weather only two Canoes of the Chepawyans seen this day suppose the others to be ahead

¹In this stretch, according to Peter Fidler, they passed the place where a house was afterwards built by Clark in 1802, doubtless the house known as *Pierre au Calumet*, which was visited by Sir John Franklin in March, 1820, when he was entertained by John Stuart. He says that it "is built on the summit of a steep bank, rising almost perpendicular to the height of one hundred and eighty feet, commands an extensive prospect along this fine river, and over the plains which stretch out several miles at the back of it". (Sir John Franklin, *Journey to the shores of the polar sea*. London, 1829. P. 136-7).

mile SSE 1 mile and came to a part where two small rivers join this branch on right hand side went EbS&NE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile EbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile it here parts into many small branches went in one of them NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and enterd a small swampy Lake went ESE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile then enterd a small river went SE to NNE $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to two branches the one running NNE the other which we followed SSW went SSW $\frac{3}{8}$ mile SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and East $\frac{1}{2}$ mile an other branch then joins on right hand or south side about 50 yards wide the one we came down is about 30 yards wide then went SE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NE&N $\frac{1}{8}$ mile ESE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a small Lake but the weather being very thick we took it for the Athapescow Lake but have since learnd it is called the Jack Lake all this small river from the place where the two small rivers join on the right hand runs through swampy lakes and when the water is heigh it makes it all one lake with willows for boundaries of the Channel went in the Lake SbE $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles EbN $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and NNE 4 miles and put up at 1 PM not being able to see any distance Wind Westerly strong Gale with rain from 8 AM . . Peter Fidler much as yesterday

1791

June 27th Monday rain in the morning at 7 AM nearly clear when we got underway and found it to be only a swampy small Lake and not the proper track so returned to the first small Lake as soon as we came to it found a small river which runs near North followed it N 1 mile

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $109^{\circ} 39' 45''$

— 20'

$109^{\circ} 19' 45''$ Lat. $58^{\circ} 24' 46''$

Followed the river which is about 30 yards wide and about 12 feet water fresh current went EbN 2 miles and came to two branches followed the right hand one SSE 1 mile and came to the Jack Lake again heigh land appears from NE to E at about 10 miles distance not knowing properly which way to proceed and all the others being desirous of return-

ing into the great river the way we came I concented . . in returning found a strong current against us in crossing the swampy lake and when we came to the small river which leads to the great branch found the current very strong though easy yesterday at $5\frac{1}{4}$ PM arrived at the great branch and found the water had raised 3 feet perpendicular and the current twice as strong as when we left it yesterday the small lakes we have been amongst are very grassy and all willows about the side except the Jack Lake which has bold land on NE side many geese are in these Lakes and ducks rise out of them like clouds went down the large branch EbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile NbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile EbN 1 mile ENE 1 mile E $\frac{3}{4}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a branch runs out NW and an other which we followed ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile E $\frac{1}{2}$ mile ESE 1 mile and put up at 7 PM to dry our things Wind variable Westerly light airs with rain in the morning and flying clouds the remainder of the day this part of the river the banks low and covered with willows and a few stragling Poplars with swamps and small lakes close within

June 28th Tuesday at 3^h 10' AM got underway went NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile E $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a branch breaks of to North went in the Eastern branch NbE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NEbE 1 mile a branch opens on right hand side SW about 80 yards wide which runs into the Jack Lake which is about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from this place the water having suddenly risen in the river above the level of the swampy Lakes the water now runs out of the river into the swampy Lakes through all the avenues the water has been upon the rise all the way we came down this river but as we went faster than the current we did not greatly perceive it this Water Is much the same as the Water in the Sas-skash-a-wan river and comes from the stony mountain, a broad swamp close on the North side the branch which runs into the Jack lake which seems to join it but not much current running up it continued down the river NNE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a branch runs to the river on the left hand side went ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NEbN $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile a branch opens West went NE 1 mile NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a large

branch runs NW went NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile at 6^h 40' AM came to four of the Canoes the Chepawyans which had accompanied us went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to the Athapescow Lake at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM all the last part of this river very low banks covered with willows, fresh current swampy hind Lakes on both sides, the Lake opens W^t beyond sight went across a small bay on right hand side NNW 2 miles to a point then NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a long the shore then went across a deep bay N58E 6 miles the land on East side very heigh and is the same that we saw from the swampy lakes and came to the Canadian



—P. Fidler, June 28, 1791.
South shore of Athabaska lake, from the mouth of Athabaska river to old Fort Chipewyan.

Settlement called Fort Chepawyan an Island was about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile within us as we crossed for the Settlement the House stands upon a heigh sandy point with but little woods round it when we arrived we found two Familys of Beaver River Indians which we had seen at Isle-a-la-Crosse and another Family of Southern Indians which belong to these parts and two Families of Chepawyans besides those which came with us we were very kindly received by M^r Roderick Mackensie¹ who is head clerk in

¹Roderick McKenzie was a cousin of Sir Alexander Mackenzie. He came to Canada in 1784, and entered the service of Gregory, McTavish and Company. In 1785 he was sent to the far west. He became a partner in the North West Company, and after about twenty years in the fur trade in the west he retired to Montreal. He died at Terrebonne, Quebec, in 1844.

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these parts and stays as summer Master of all these parts, in the evening four Canoes of Southern Indians Arrived with Provision for the Canadians Wind Northerly fresh Gale flying clouds which made a very heavy swell in the Lake . . Peter Fidler in a mending condition

1791

June 29th Wednesday

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $109^\circ 2' 15''$
 — $20'$

$108^\circ 42' 15''$ Lat. $58^\circ 37' 34''$

The Indians drinking . . I think *this the compleatest Inland House I have seen in the Country this is the Grand Magazine of the Athapiscow Country¹ and I am informed they have a sufficient quantity of Trading Goods in this Country for at least two years to come . .* Wind variable flying with Thunder in the evening . . Peter Fidler's feet upon the mend

¹Ross was even more emphatic than Turnor in his estimation of the merits of Fort Chipewyan. "This is the compleatest best House I have seen in the interior parts of Hudsons Bay; it is built upon a high elevated point with a deep bay upon each side; that to the N.E. the larger, these two bays nearly makes it an island, a pretty lofty hill about 1/3 mile east from the house."

Fidler's sketch shows that the house was on the west side of the point, since known as Old Fort Point.

Ross expresses his want of confidence in the Canadians thus:—"There is not any Indians at this place that can pilot us any farther than the Slave Lake (or Thlee chag gah too ah) neither did I expect to find any at this season of the year, for pretty good care has been taken by the Canadians to have any body out of the way that they imagine would afford us any intelligence or information. In my humble opinion nothing will be made of this expedition, so much at your Honor's heart, untill a Trading party takes place, and that at 2 diff't settlements; this is the place of Intelligence but not for provisions. The Canadians carries on their trade in a very orderly method; they have 5 settlements upon this side of the Methy Carrying: Viz 2 up the Peace river, one very near Stony Mountain the make great returns from that place, as also a vast quantity of provisions from the lower settlements". On June 30, he wrote, "I proposed to Mr. Turnor and his canoe mates to proceed forward to survey the Slave Lake as far as the pilot knows that I have now agreed; and the other two men with myself to stay here to endeavour to procure a little provisions, and to build our winter habitation, but he did not think it prudent for one canoe to go alone; so I was necessitated to go too". On July 1 he says, "Mr. Turnor wrote some letters for Churchill to send with an Indian that says he is going there, I did not write as I was not certain of his going."

30th Thursday

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $108^\circ 55'$

— $20'$

$108^\circ 35'$

Lat. $58^\circ 37' 30''$

The Indians still drinking . . Wind variable all round the
Compass with clear Weather . . Peter Fidlers feet much
better

1791

July 1st Friday Wind Westerly fresh Gale with heavy rain in the
evening . . Peter Fidlers feet mending fast

2nd Saturday M^r Malcom Ross having engaged a Chepawyan
we found at this place to Pilot us to the Slave Lake called
by the Southern Indians (the Arch-a-thin-nu or Wau-con
Sack-a-ha-gan or Slave Lake and by the Chepawyans
Thlee-chaug-a Too-a or Dog Rib Lake), at $8\frac{1}{2}$ PM we got
underway for the Slave Lake with our new Pilot and like-
wise our old Pilot and his Brother in Law went across the
Lake WSW 10 miles to an Island called the Goose Island¹
where we found a Southern Indian belonging to the Beaver
River stoped at $11\frac{3}{4}$ PM Wind Westerly fresh breeze
with rain all the forepart of the day calm in the
evening . . P. Fidler feet nearly well

1791

July 3rd Sunday at 6^h 25' got underway again it having blowed to
hard in the morning the Indian we found here having
joined us all the other *Southern Indians are going to War
upon the Indians to Westward of the Slave Lake* and this
Indian says he is going with them, went $W\frac{1}{2}N$ 9 miles and
came to the main shore on NW side which is an intire rock
and many rocky Islands laying to South from which this
part of the Lake is called *the Lake of the paps* from their
appearing heigh and round at a distance and no land seen

¹Goose Island is a low island in Athabaska lake, lying north of the delta of
Athabaska river. It was a favorite place for hunting geese in the autumn.
Ross says of this day "We took some Brandy, Tobacco, Bayonets, Knives, and
a little ammuniton with us, and left the remainder in the Canadian House,
as we are to return there again, please God."

beyond them in the Southern Indian tongue Too-toos Sack-a-ha-gan in the Chepawyan tongue Thew Too-ah or the Paps Lake, Thew is pronounced by pressing the tongue very hard against the upper teeth, this part runs about 7 or 8 miles to South low swampy ground on South side with a few willows growing upon it, from which the Lake in general takes its name Athapescow in the Southern Indian tongue signifies open country such as lakes with Willows and grass growing about them or swampy land without woods Kyte-hel-le-ca in the Chepawyan tongue implies the same meaning but that name does not properly belong or is applied to any part but the South end, went nearly along the shore W 2 mile an open bay then appears to South clear of Islands but seems full of shoals some where out of this part a small river runs to the Peace River entered a narrow between the main shore and an other range of rocky Islands running away SW went between the Island and main shore NbE 1 mile and came a bay clear of Islands to SW and seems to run 4 or 5 miles that way the land to southward low and covered with willows this bay seems very shoal, high rocky land on SE and NW side with a few Scrub Pines & Asps &c seemingly growing out of the cliffs in the rocks and many rocky Islands along the shore went across the bay NWbW 3 miles very shoal left two bays on right hand side and came to the Slave River called by the Southern Indians Arch-a-thin-nu Seepe or Wau-con See-pe or Slave Indian River by the Che-pa-wy-ans Bess-chow Dez-za or Great Knife River, entered the Slave River which is full of rocky Islands in the mouth and no appearance of a river went NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W $\frac{1}{16}$ mile two other branches join on left hand side went NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile then W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile an Island close on right hand side then WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the river about 200 yards wide a large branch joins on left hand side went NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small branch falls in on left hand side went NbW 3 miles a branch falls in on left hand side went NbW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile a river on right hand side which runs out of a lake went NbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NEbN 1 mile NE $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile a rock on the

shore in the bay went N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NbW $2\frac{1}{2}$ mile, then WbN 1 mile an Island all along the right hand side went WbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a small river on left hand side opens from South went WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a rocky Island on right hand side coverd with pine asp &^c then went WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and put up at $7\frac{1}{2}$ PM found we had left the Sextant at the Canadian House though I had particularly enquired and was assured it was in the Canoe Wind Southerly strong breeze in the morning light breeze the remainder of the day with flying clouds the river passed this day easy current and from 200 to 350 yards wide low banks and coverd with small Poplar Asp & Willows P. Fidlers feet recoved

July 4th Monday at $4\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway with my own Canoe to return for the Sextant at $9\frac{1}{4}$ AM got to the Lake at 11^h 50' AM set sail amongst the rocky Islands at 3^h 10' PM was off the goose island at 5^h 30' PM arrived at the Canadian House found the Sextant safe in the room where we had put our things for safety while we staid at the Settlement at 7^h 12' PM embarked again at 10 PM was off the Goose Island continued on Wind SW strong gale fore part of the day light breeze at night clear weather

July 5th Tuesday Continued underway at 1 AM arrived at the rocky Islands at 4^h 10' AM enterd the Slave river at 8^h 53' AM arrived at the place we returned from, at this place a small creek on left hand side, continued down the river WbN $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the river passed about 250 yards wide low banks coverd with small Poplars and Willows easy current then went WbN $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile river 400 yards wide small Pines on East side Poplars on West side *here the Peace river falls into this river* on the West or left hand side its about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide with very strong current in the mouth of it it is said to come from the stony Mountain its called by the Chepawyans the Chaw hot-e-na Dez-za or Beaver Indian river up which the Canadians have two settlements which are the Support of this Country its there they get all their dried provision for their journeys and without a settlement in this river they

would not be able to get their Furs out, continued down the river NW 1 mile and N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile an other branch of the Peace River falls in on the West side went N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile an Island laying on E^t side N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile an Island laying on W^t side at the end of which an other branch of the Peace River falls in on West side went NbW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile passed a small rapid three small Islands lying on W^t side

Double Merid. Alt. of the

☉ ^a L.L. Aug 10	92° 35' 30''
—	19' 30''

92° 16'	Lat. 59° 4' 6'
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went NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile passed a small rapid mid reach and an Island on West side, then went NbW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile a small rapid mid reach went N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a small Island on east side and an Island in a bay on west side went N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to the end of an Island on east side lying in a bay went NNW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile and passed two kind of openings into a small shoal Lake called the drift wood lake from the great quantity of wood which drives out of the river into it when the water is very high in the river continued NNE 2 miles and passed a round small willow Island mid channel and came to the end of the Island on east side then went WbS $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles NWbN $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles a large Island on left hand side about a mile long at the uper end of the reach a large opening at the tail of it which goes up to the drift wood lake and makes this last land passed on West side an Island put up at $6\frac{1}{4}$ PM¹ Wind SW fresh breeze and mostly clear a Thunder storm at noon the river passed below where the Peace River falls in is about $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide land rather low and covered with good woods

1791

July 6th Wednesday at 2^h 5' AM got underway went NEbN 2 miles N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NWbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile two small Islands on right hand

¹Turnor had returned to Fort Chipewyan, a distance of forty-five miles, obtained his sextant, and had then followed after Ross's canoe for about seventy-five miles before he stopped to camp, travelling in all in the two days and one night about 120 miles. He camped on Slave river, five miles above Demicharge rapids, while Ross and Fidler were camped four miles below him.

side the river passed this day from 600 to 700 yards wide at this place we found the other Canoe and the Indians who immediately got underway and joined us went West 1 mile and run a strong rapid on the left hand side the river two Islands in the rapid on the North or right hand side a point of rocks projects into the river which makes a bay above and below the rapid went NNW 5 miles several Islands close on the east side of the river which is about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile broad strong current banks low and covered with small pine and Asp at this place it draws to about 300 yards wide a small creek in the bay on left hand side, a bold grassy point on East side (near West of this last reach is a place reported by some to be a salt Hill where salt is dug out but by others to be a place where the salt dries upon grass by the side of a Lake and Salt springs. I have used of it and have eat meat cured with it and think it very good, the Canadians get great quantities of it from the Indians) went N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile very strong current or rather a rapid a creek on right hand side in the bay below and two bold rocky Islands mid river went NWbW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile a creek on left hand suppose it to come from the one above the rapid and to make the point on left hand side an Island the river widens again went NWbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile then NWbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile a large Island all along on right hand side the river passed near about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide then N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the river about 400 yards wide and came to end of a large low Island on east side it then suddenly opens to upwards of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide rocky shore on west side went NNW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to the end of a low Island on west side continued NNW $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to the end of both Islands went NNW 1 mile and came to the end of a bold rocky Island on west side went NNW 1 mile and came to the end of the Island another rocky Island $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long lying on east side opposite to the other went NNW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to the end of an other rocky Island rather on east side and a small rocky Island behind it went N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to the end of the Island went NNW 1 mile and NW $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles the river drawing narrower to about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide

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went WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to a heigh rocky Island in a bay on right hand side

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $105^\circ 52' 45''$

— 20'

$105^\circ 32' 45''$ Lat. $59^\circ 38' 38''$

The land passed below the rapid deep water and strong current mostly rocky bold land coverd with Pine Asp &^c went WNW 1 mile NWbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile WNW 1 mile this last part land low and coverd with small Asps and Willows, came to a small heigh rocky Island with small pines upon it and an heigh rocky Island with burnt woods upon it the right hand point bold and rocky and coverd with scrub Asp the Channel between the Islands and the East shore about 100 yards wide the main river about 500 yards broad running round the Islands went along the narrow part NNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile passed four Islands on left hand side narrow channels between them then NWbN 2 miles the river about 400 yards wide continued NWbN 2 miles the river opening wider then went behind an Island on East side NbE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile, N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and WbN 1 mile and came to the end of the Island kept on East side and went WNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and N $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to the head of the falls a small river at this place close above the head of the falls, this last part of the river the current much as before land rather low and coverd with pine Asp &^c put up at 5 PM¹ wind Northerly fresh breeze and hazy weather got 1 swan, 8 old and 24 young Geese from the Indians

July 7th Thursday wind variable Easterly Strong Gale with Thunder and showers of rain lay by being to much wind to proceed in the falls with

¹They were now on the east side of Slave river at the mouth of Dog river, and at the head of the rapids. The position given by Turnor as determined by latitude and longitude is half a mile too far south and two miles and a half too far east.

The road which has since been built past the rapids is on the west side of the river, Fitzgerald being at its upper end, opposite where they were camped, and Fort Smith at its lower end.

Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Double Altitudes			Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Distances			Longitude		
+ 67	H	'	"	⊙ ^s	L	L	+ 67	H	'	"	⊙ & D ^s N L					
	4	19	32	63	30	15		3	54	29	77	14	30			
		20	8		20	45			55			14	30			
		20	31		14	15			55	22		14	45			
									55	37		15				
	4	20	4	63	21	45			56			15				
		+	33	—	19	15			56	22		15				
									56	49		15	15			
	4	20	37	63	2	30			57	7		15	15			
									57	26		15	45			
									57	52		16				
									3	56	28	77	15	6		
										+	33	—	19	15		
									3	57	1	76	55	51	111°30'	

8th Friday

Doub. Merid. Alt. ⊙^s L.L. 105°

— 19' 15"

104° 40' 45" Lat. 59°51'29"

At 2 PM got underway entered the fall went close on east side N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile shot three strong shoots then went WNW $\frac{3}{8}$ mile and entered a narrow about 30 yards wide left the main river which runs west about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide and very full of small Islands, went N $\frac{1}{8}$ mile passed a fall on our left hand which runs for the main river continued NNE&N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile near SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a Carrying place on the main shore carried near NW 410 yards across a point good carrying severall other branches joins in the fall then went N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile easy current WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile strong current and rocky sides and W 1 mile moderate current the river here all joins and is about 1 mile wide heigh banks and burnt woods on left hand or West side the Land on East side rather bold and well coverd with Pine Asp &^c kept close on the right hand side went NWbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile moderate current two Islands off this part passed a small creek black water went WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile moderate current N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile strong current several Islands off this part went NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to a narrow full of drift wood the main

river running SW went up to the dritt wood then carried on the right hand side on the main shore 1000 yards nearly West middling good carrying nearly along the side of the river, at the end of the carrying place several falls join went in a narrow part between N&NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a branch runs in and another out of this narrow which is about from 15 to 20 yards wide came to a fall and carried 250 yards on the main shore then went NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile then carried 300 yards on the main shore three branches join in this fall went near W $\frac{3}{4}$ mile WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile another branch then joins went WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and joined the main river went WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the head of a large fall A Canadian and an Indian drowned here some years ago carried on the main shore over a hill 150 yards and carried the goods 200 yards farther the fall about 20 feet nearly perpendicular and very heavy brakens in the main channel put up at 9 PM Wind SW fresh breeze with rain in the fore part of the day latter part cloudy with misty showers

July 9th Saturday at 6^h 20' AM got underway went WbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile shot two shoots went behind an Island W $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and brought up on the main shore about 30 yards above the fall and carried 750 yards near W^t on the main shore good carrying but bad Getting up the bank my Steersman Hugh Lisk who is a very carefull good Servant was guilty of so great a neglect as to tie his Canoe to willow under the bank not being able to get her up the bank without more assistance than what was at hand, while he went over the carrying place with a load by some means she broke adrift but by great good luck she was caught by Malcom Grott upon the very head of the fall if she had been one yard further down or $\frac{1}{2}$ a foot farther out she would have been totally lost, carried all over the carrying place then went NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile shot a strong shoot went NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a creek on right hand side went NW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile passed three small Islands two of them near mid river the other on East side went behind an Island W $\frac{1}{8}$ mile and came to a carrying place 450 yards near NW good carrying a few years since at this fall the Canadians Totally lost two Canoes and had 5 men drowend¹

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Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $104^{\circ} 28' 45''$

— $19' 30''$

$104^{\circ} 9' 15''$ Lat. $60^{\circ} 0' 3''$

Passing these falls it is proper always to keep to the East shore all the carrying places is on the main shore and head of them good to come at except the last but one and that is not bad but must bring up in good time close to the shore as the suction is strong and sly, the falls are from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 mile wide full of Islands, high lands on West side the woods burnt but on East side the land is rather low and covered with Pine Firrs &^c went down the river W 2 miles WSW $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and came to a large Island nearly round and well covered with good pine the river below the falls about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide, went on West side the Island SSW 1 mile and W^t 1 mile and came to the end of the Island went SW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a large Island on West or left hand side went on East side NW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and West 1 mile and came the end of the Island then NWbN 2 miles and came to a river about 20 yards wide on West or left hand side went NW 4 miles and passed a narrow willow Island on right hand side continued NW 8 miles and passed two narrow willow Islands on W^t or left hand side went WNW $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles and passed a narrow willow Island on right hand side and put up at 8 PM¹ Wind SW fresh breeze and clear in the forepart of the day, strong gale and cloudy latter part and calm with Thunder and rain in the evening. . . . The last part of the river about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide fresh current land low and mostly covered with good woods got 15 young and 6 Old Geese from the Indians

10th Sunday at 6^h 20' AM got underway went WNW 3 miles passed two long narrow willow Islands continued WNW $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles WSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile a long Island on left hand or West side went NW 1 mile a large Island on right hand or East side and N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the end of the Island went N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile two large Islands in a bay on left hand side and a carrying

¹Fidler says that this accident happened in 1786. They were now at the foot of the Grand rapids, opposite where Fort Smith is now located.

²This day they passed the mouth of Salt river, and camped beside the river in about North Latitude $60^{\circ} 18'$.

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place out of the bay to a river that falls into the slave Lake
to the SW of this river went EbN 5 miles

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $103^\circ 31' 15''$

— 20'

$103^\circ 11' 15''$ Lat. $60^\circ 21' 37''$

Went $2\frac{1}{2}$ North an Island in mid river $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long covered
with Pine Poplar and Willows went NW 2 miles WbN $2\frac{1}{2}$
miles NE 3 miles NNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile NWbW 2 miles WSW $2\frac{1}{2}$
miles and put up at the uper end of an Island covered with
poplar and Asp at $4\frac{3}{4}$ PM to wait for the Indians to hunt
the Chepawyans having stoped behind this day for that
purpose¹ Wind SW light breeze flying cloud

Variation 26° East

Thermom- iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent	Double Altitudes	Thermom- iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent	Distances	Longitude
+ 61	H ' '' 6 19 55 1 23	$\odot^s$ L L 38 17 15 7 45 1 15	+ 61	H ' '' 6 10 58 11 36 11 59 12 29 12 51 13 8 13 40 13 58	$\odot$ & $\odot^s$ N L 117 30 30 31 31 31 15 31 15 31 30 31 45 31 45	
	6 — 52 — 24	38 8 45 — 20 15		6 12 35 — 24	117 31 15 — 20 15	
	6 — 28	37 48 30		6 12 11	117 11	
+ 58	H ' '' 20 21 36 21 57 22 27	$\odot^s$ L L 72 20 25 31 30	+ 46	H ' '' 10 50 45 52 23 53 2 54 11 55 11 56 32 57 11 58 59 8 59 42	Aquilae & $\odot^s$ F L 72 30 45 30 29 30 28 30 27 45 27 45 27 30 27 15 26 45 26	112°42'
	20 22 — 8	72 25 30 — 20 15		10 55 36 — 20	72 28 10 — 20 15	
	20 21 52	72 5 15		10 55 16	72 7 55	

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July 11th Monday

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $102^\circ 55' 30''$

— $20' 15''$

$102^\circ 35' 15''$ Lat. $60^\circ 31' 35''$

At 6 AM the Southern Indians went ahunting at 2 PM the Chepawyans came up but had not killed any Cattle at 6 PM the Southern Indian returned he had killed one Moose Wind Southerly fresh breeze a few flying clouds got 1 swan 21 young and 11 old Geese from the Chepawyans

12th Tuesday at 3^h55' AM got underway went on East side the Island NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the end of it then NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the end of an other Island coverd with pine poplar Asp &^c went on East side NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and put on shore at 4^h10' AM for the People to fetch the Moose killed yesterday at 9 AM the People returned with the flesh erected a stage to dry it a little at 4^h35' PM the meat being a little dried and the Indian having taken the hair of the skin we again got underway went NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile

Aug 2

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $94^\circ 3'$

— $19'$

$93^\circ 44'$ Lat. $60^\circ 33' 10''$

Went SbW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to the end of the Island which Is nearly W $\frac{1}{2}$ S $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from where came from in the morning then went WSW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile W 1 mile WbN 4 miles and came to the end of a poplar Island went WNW 1 mile and came to the Chepawyans and put up along side of them upon the Island at 7 PM Wind Northerly fresh breeze and clear the river passed much as before the land

¹They went round what is known as Le Grand Detour at the north-west angle of which is a portage about six miles long leading across country to Little Buffalo river. After passing the portage they continued down stream and camped on the north side of Pointe Brulée.

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rather low bank on East side hanging over being undermined by the current the Chepawyans had been hunting and has killed a Buffalo

Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Double Altitudes		Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent			Distances	Longitude
+ 64	H	'	"	☉ ^s	U L	+ 54	H	'	"	Aquilae & ☉ ^s F L	
	7	31	47	17	48		10	32	58	47	13
		32	12		42			34	3		12
		32	36		36			35	8		11
								35	54		11
								36	42		10
	7	32	12	17	42			37	37		10
		+	49		19			38	18		9
								39	7		9
	7	33	1	17	22			39	54		9
								40	40		8
							10	37	2	47	10
								+	49		19
											45
							10	37	51	46	50
											40
											112°23'

July 13th Wednesday

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. 102° 12' 45"

— 19' 45"

101° 53'

Lat. 60°35'40"

At 6¼ AM Five of our People went with a Chepawyan to fetch the flesh of the Buffalo killed yesterday and the Southern Indian went hunting at 8 AM the other Chepawyans went up the river to a buffalo they had killed yesterday at 1 PM our People returned with the buffalo flesh and the Chepawyan went after the others who are to hunt and if they prove successful they are to send for us to fetch the meat when dried at 7½ PM the Southern Indian returned he said he had killed a Bull Buffalo but it was so far from the river that he took no care of it our People employed drying meat Wind NE fresh Gale with flying clouds

1791

July 14th Thursday Wind SE fresh Gale fore part of the day hazy clouds latter part more cloudy with Thunder and rain at night lay by this day drying and beating the meat The water rising fast

15th Friday at 9 AM M^r Malcom Ross got underway with his Canoe accompanied by the Southern Indian who is going down the river to hunt self waiting for the Chepawyans

Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $101^\circ 35'$

— $19' 45''$

$101^\circ 15' 15''$ Lat. $60^\circ 35' 54''$

heard several Guns this evening suppose them to be fired by the Chepawyans Wind SE fresh breeze with Thunder-like cloud

16th Saturday at 6½ PM the three Canoes of Chepawyans came and at 6.56' PM we got underway went NWbW 1½ mile passed a small willow Island mid river went NWbN 3½ miles NNW 1¼ mile a kind of river on right hand side went NWbW 1 mile and W 1 mile broken Islands on East side came to the others that went ahead at 8.25' PM and put up Wind fore part of the day SE with Thunderlike weather at 6½ PM wind variable with Thunder Got some half dried buffalo Flesh from the Chepawyans

17th Sunday at 6.23' AM got underway crossed to East side NNW 3/8 mile left the main branch running West and went in a branch about 100 yards behind an Island NEbN ½ mile ENE 1 mile NE ¼ mile N ¼ mile NWbW ¾ mile W ½ mile SWbS ½ mile WSW ½ mile and NNW ¾ mile and came to the end of the Island then went NNW 1½ mile WNW ¾ mile WSW ½ mile SW 1 mile and SbW 1 mile and came to a large Island went on right hand side WbS ¾ mile SSW ¾ mile W ½ mile NWbN 2 miles NW bW 1 mile and WbN 1 mile and came to the end of the Island two small Islands laying at the tail of it and an other upon the West side the river in this part about ½ mile

wide banks bold and on East side covered with good Pine but few trees on West side but good meadows within and *a good part for buffalo* went NW 1 mile and came to the end of a Poplar Island went on West side NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NWbN 1 mile NNW 1 mile and came to the end of the Island went NNW 3 miles clear of Islands NbW 1 mile NNE 4 miles passed a small Island mid river and mid reach and came to large Island went on East side NNE 1 mile N 1 mile NW 1 mile and WbS 1 mile and came to end of the Island this Island is in a half moon shape and we came round the out side of it . . Put up at 7^h40' PM¹ Wind in the fore part of the day Westerly light breeze and inclining to rain calm in the evening with rather heavy rain the river passed much as before good woods upon both sides at this part and likewise upon the large Islands Got 27 young and 8 old Geese from the Indians

July 18th Monday at 9 AM got underway went WSW 1 mile NW 1 mile then NbW 1 mile along the side of a Poplar Island on left hand side then N $\frac{1}{2}$ W $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile two Poplar Islands on right hand continued on NNE 2 miles NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile WbS $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile WNW 2 miles NW 1 mile
Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $99^\circ 24'$

— $19' 45''$

$99^\circ 4' 15''$ Lat. $61^\circ 11' 5''$

Went N 1 mile and came to end of an Island $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long in a bay on West side went N $\frac{1}{2}$ W $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile an opening about 200 yards wide on east side from a kind of Lake a favourite haunt of Swans stoped at $1\frac{1}{4}$ PM one Chepawayan went up it the others being behind at $4\frac{1}{2}$ PM he returned with 5 Swans of which we got Four the other Chepawyan being come up at 5 PM we got underway again went NW 1 mile²

¹They had been descending the river, hunting for provisions as they went, and at the same time Turnor jotted down a minute description of the character of the islands and banks as he passed. This evening they camped on the lower end of a large island now called McConnell Island after R. G. McConnell, a former director of the Geological Survey of Canada.

²There appears to have been a trading post here belonging to the North West Company, for Fidler remarks in passing "The present French house is now

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Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $95^\circ 37\frac{1}{4}'$

July 27 — 19'

$95^\circ 18' 15''$ Lat. $61^\circ 13' 42''$

July 18th Continued on W 1 mile SSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and WSW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to an Island the river here braking into different branches followed the left hand branch WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and SSW 1 mile and put up on the Island at 7^h 40' PM Wind fore part of day easterly inclining to rain middle of the day flying Clouds the latter part of the day Wind North with misty Fog Got 4 Swans 30 young and 5 old Geese from the Indians

July 19th Tuesday at 2^h 50' PM got underway went NW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NW 1 mile W $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SWbS 1 mile W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile this branch is from 200 to 300 yards wide the current much as the rest of the river below the Falls, good Woods on both sides went WbN $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles along the left hand side of a large bay or kind of Lake then SW 1 mile in a part about 300 yards wide at the entrance and opening to near $\frac{1}{2}$ mile broad the Lake¹ then opens ahead entered a narrow part on right hand side and went between NW and WSW about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and put up at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM at the mouth of the river at this part the Land is very low and coverd with willows and Grass Wind NNW heavy Gale with misty Weather fore part of the day latter part Cloudy

This River below the falls has rather a strong current but at present the water is very heigh the Summer flush being now coming down all the rivers which come from the Stony Mountain have a great flush of Water in them which comes suddenly as if a head had been penned and opened all at once which I suppose must be occasioned by

in the narrow, just above described [connecting the river and the lake], but on account of its low situation they run great risks every spring of the houses being overwhelmed by the breaking up of the river ice, which at times rises to a prodigious height above its ordinary level, by its stopping on the sholes and islands below."

¹The mouth of Slave river through which they left the delta and entered Great Slave lake is six or seven miles north of the present site of Fort Resolution.

the snow laying so long upon the Mountain before it melts and then comes so sudden from the top that it washes the snow in the low parts before it the greatest part of this water seems to come down the Peace River the water which comes down Athapiscow River having so large a lake to fill before it makes much alteration in this River, all the banks in this river below the Falls seems to undergo great changes as they are wearing fast upon one side and gathering upon the other in places where the banks are breaking away both upon the main Land and Islands large trees are standing out from underneath upwards of Twenty Feet of earth the banks are of a sandy nature and are undermined in some places 30 feet and keep falling as they thaw and in some places large pieces of the bank comes down together and the Trees stand upon it as if they had grown from the bottom of the river Pines upwards of 60 feet long not having 10 feet of their tops above the water The land within seems level mostly good woods near the River and am informed that there are fine Grassy Plains with ledges of woods about which there are plenty of Buffalo and Moose, great quantities of Geese¹ breed about this river and in the Plains the Cranes blue brown and white are Plenty beyond belief This would be a fine country for Provision was the Chepawyans who inhabit this part willing to part with it but it is not easy to get it from them

For Observations at this place see book of Observations
 July 20th Wednesday at 7 AM we got underway the Chepawyans went to the Southward expecting to find the Canadian House that way but I would not accompany them they went the direction of their countrymen that they saw at the Athapescow and I in part followed M^r Mackensies direction which was to have gone down the Eastern branch

¹Fidler writes as follows of the great number of geese in the river:—"2 days before we entered Slave lake, one part of the river which was nearly 1/3 mile wide, were full from bank to bank quite across the river and upwards of 70 yards wide, all of young geese that could not fly, with the old ones in the same predicament, that they appeared at a little distance as if the river was quite choked up with floating drift wood—that we had nothing else to do but paddle the canoe into the middle of them, and kill as many as we pleased with a stick. All the way below the rapids we found great quantities, but in the vicinity of the lake their number was innumerable."

of the river and then turn to our left hand and we should find the House about 2 miles from the mouth of river but the Indians persisted in keeping the West branch and all our People was inclined to think that the Indians knew best, we went along the side of the Lake NW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile another branch of the river then falls into the Lake went NNW 3 miles then a large branch of the River falls into the Lake went NNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to the point of a grassy Island appearing like the main shore the Island about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long then went NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 2 miles to a small low Island in a bay about 2 mile deep

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^4$ L.L. $98^{\circ} 15' 30''$

— 19'

$97^{\circ} 56' 30''$ Lat. $61^{\circ} 22' 51''$

Then went NNE 3 miles to a rocky Island about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the shore and put up at 3 PM to wait for the Chepawyans All the first land we came along is very low and coverd with Grass and Willows it seems to be gaining upon the Lake which is very shoal of these parts there seems to be good woods about a mile from the Lake the bay we passed seems terminate in a point about a mile from this place from the Point along the North shore is coverd with good Pine to the waters edge but very low land at 7 PM a Chepawyan arrived from the Canadian House which he says is a little way to the North of us at 8 PM the Chepawyans which accompanied us arrived Wind NNW fresh breeze flying clouds set a net got 4 Geese from the Southern Indian

21st Thursday

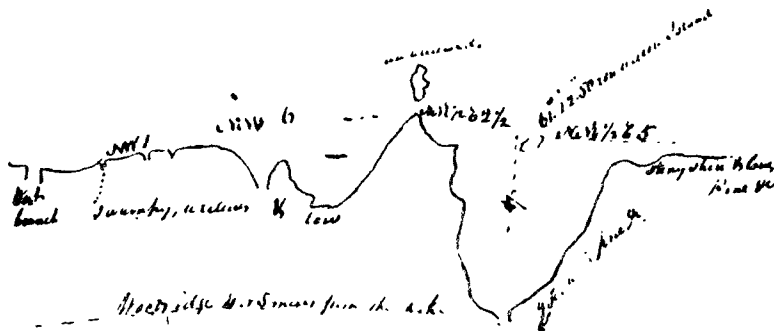
Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^8$ L.L. $97^{\circ} 48' 30''$

— 19'

$97^{\circ} 29' 30''$ Lat. $61^{\circ} 24' 51''$

At 6 AM the Chepawyans set of to the Canadian House but we stoped in hopes of geting a good distance of the Sun

& Moon but the weather did not prove clear and Wind sprung up at NE and blowed to hard for us to proceed fore part of the day cloudy and rain in the afternoon in the evening took up the net got 4 fish of a kind unknown to us and the Southern Indian but called by the Chepawyans Beg-goo-hoo-la or No Teeth¹ they are a kind of white Fish



—P. Fidler, July 20, 1791

Mouth of Slave river, flowing into Great Slave lake through several channels.

with a large head and the mouth when open is nearly square, they are said to be very good eating when fatt but very bad when poor as they are at present I am informed that they are caught upwards of 40 pounds weight each they are shaped in the body much like a dace

1791

22nd Friday at 6½ AM got underway went NE½N 3 miles and came to a point of woods where the Canadians are building² put on shore at 7½ AM found three Canadians here one of which has been near three years with the Chepawyans he was once within three days walk of Churchill but was afraid of going to it as he is charged with having killed a M^r Ross up the Athapescow River

¹Commonly known as "inconnus" or "connies."

²Fidler says they have the house "all framed, up and ready for covering." The position of this house was two miles west of the mouth of the east branch of Slave river, where there is now a little Indian village opposite Stony Island. It is shown on Fidler's sketch on page 420.

near to Peter Ponds House¹ he was in the Interest of and Servant to Peter Pond and M^r Ross was in charge of goods indeed a Partner with Peter Pangman Alex^r Mackensie and others, the dispute was about some Chepaw-yans as they were coming to the Houses to trade P. Pond and his men being more numerous then M^r Rosses they were taking the Indians by force which M^r Ross opposed and in the dispute was shot which made the other company who was most powerfull readily join them in Partnership to prevent to great inquiry into the affair if it had not hapned M^r Ross's party would soon have been ruined but they now trade as they please having no opposers this man is now in charge of the goods at this place, he informed me that when he was with the Chepaw-yans he saw a very large lake to the Eastward called the Dock-an from their killing Deer in it by sticking them in the water but I have since learned that it is a name given to many Lakes in those parts he says that Country is full of Lakes and of rivers that run to the Eastward but does not know the rise of them as the Chepawyans do not follow them but only cross them he says he saw one very large river which runs to the Eastward which by his discription I suppose to be a branch of the Wager, in the evening two Canoes arrived from SW they came for Tobacco for a Gang of Indians which are coming with provisions M^r Malcom Ross sent some Tobacco with Wind NE fresh breeze with rain

¹The Master of the three Canadians was evidently Piché. Fidler's reference to him is as follows:—"The Canadian Master, (the same man that shot Mr. Ross at Peter Pond's fort a few years back, he then absconded with the Chepewyans and remained with them 3 winters and 3 summers, before he could venture back,—frightened of the Gallows, he is the only person in the Canadian employ that understands the Chepewyan language)."

In the spring of 1800, Piché was at Fort Chipewyan, and James McKenzie speaks of him in several places in his journal as follows:—"A little crack brained, and as variable as the wind." "Piché always complains of the hardship of having the molly gripes continually, owing to eating fish, a common food, he says, at this *Morne endroit*. He often curses from the bottom of his heart both the place and the food, and, I dare say, the Bourgeois, though I do not hear him. It is with regret he reflects on the fine times he used to have of it during the summer season at Slave Lake, where he was his own master and chose his own meat, while here he is neither his own master nor chooses his own meat". (L. R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest*. Quebec, 1890. Second series, pp. 392-6).

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July 23rd Saturday Wind variable from NE to NW heavy Gale with rain all day a very heavy swell in the Lake

24th Sunday Wind NW strong Gale with showers of rain in the evening 9 Canoes of Chepawyans arrived with some provisions they went to the Canadian House but did not stop long but returned to our tents where staid smoaking most of the night they beged very hard for us to come and settle at this Lake

25th Monday Wind NW fresh gale fore part of the day cloudy latter part flying clouds two more Canoes of Chepawyans arrived with provisions they are part of the gang which came yesterday from the SW M^r Ross traded a good quantity of provision from them

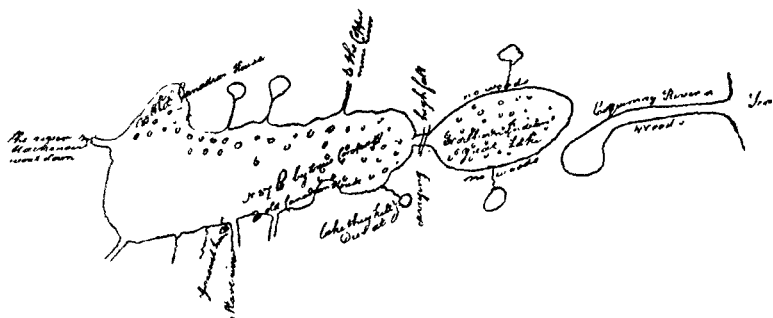
For Observations for Latitude and Longitude see book of Observations

Latitude 61°26'25" North Longitude 112°59' West

An Indian called Shew-dethe-da informed me that at the NE corner of this Lake a fall falls out of an other large lake called Din-na-ne-tha Too-ah or Northern Indian great Lake and a carrying place out of it into an other Lake out of which a large River runs to the Sea¹ but he refused to accompany us as he said the season was to far advanced for us to return and we have not a sufficient quantity of provision for to proceed without fishing indeed the lateness of the Season and our having no place to return to bears the greatest weight, he says that the NE corner of this Lake runs very far and is full of Islands the carrying he says is not long he says the Northern Indian great lake is very long but not very wide and is very full of Islands which have woods upon them but none upon the shore being all rocky Barren land he likewise says the carrying place out of the Lake into the one which runs to the Sea is not long and that River which he calls the Esquimay River and says it is a bold deep River without any falls in it but

¹The route here indicated from the end of Great Slave lake, would seem to be over Pike's portages past the falls on Lockhart river to Artillery lake. From Artillery lake it was probably through Aylmer lake to Back (Great Fish or Thlewey choh) river which would correspond to the description of Esquimay river. Hanbury river, a tributary of Doobaunt river, may have been meant, but it has timber on its banks in parts of its course.

rather strong current and no woods growing about it the under is his discription of it



—Philip Turnor, July 25, 1791.

Shew dithe da's map of Great Slave lake, Northern Indian lake and Esquimaux river to the sea.

The Indian pointed out the course NbE or about N37E by true Compass but am doubtfull and even hope he only meant the Slave Lake run that course but he did not understand the Southern Indian tongue and the one that stood interpetor between us did not understand it well but they always say they understand what is said to them, at first I supposed the Esquimaux River to be part of the Wager but the same course that would lead to the part of the Wager discribed by M^r Dalrymple would likewise hit the end of Chesterfields Inlet at least about one degree difference would fully do it and his persisting in the river being short rather inclines me to think it must be Chesterfields Inlet this account of the river nearly coinsides with what I heard at Isle a la Crosse but that Chepawyan called it the Trout River . . . Not perceiving any great advantage to be derived from proceeding farther this way at present the Season being to far advanced to go any distance and to return to any place of safety to Winter have resolved to return to the Athapescow Lake and examin the extent of her Eastward as *I am informed that there is a way out of the East end of it to Churchill* and its laying so near the same parallel of Latitude makes me think that there

is a much greater chance of find a way to Churchill from it than to Chesterfields Inlet well knowing the Honorable Committee ground their expectation of such a passage upon the supposition that the Athapiscow Lake laid in a much heigher Latitude than what it does

July 26th Tuesday having been employed untill near 3 PM taking Observations at 3^h 20' got underway to return to the Athapiscow Lake the Southern Indian in company, the Chepawyans not intending to return went along the side of the Lake NEbN 2 miles and came to the Eastern branch of the Slave river *I should suppose this Lake by what I have heard may be near 200 miles to the East and about 100 mile to west and to be near about 60 mile broad¹ a large River runs out on West side of the Lake which M^r Alex^r Mackensie went down to the Sea which is the only river which I hear of that runs out of it* entered East branch of the Slave river which is about 40 yards broad Willows on both sides went SE $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile willows on right hand side Pine &^c woods on left then woods on both sides land low went E to SE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile S $\frac{3}{4}$ mile SSE to ESE $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile SE to SSW $\frac{3}{8}$ mile SWbW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile SW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile SSW to WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile S $\frac{3}{4}$ mile SSW to W $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and near SE $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile the river passed moderate current land low coverd with good Pine burnt in patches on East side but standing went S $\frac{1}{2}$ mile large willows on both sides no woods put up at 8^h 20' PM Wind NW fore part of the day moderate breeze and cloudy latter part light airs and clear



—P. Fidler, July 16, 1791.

Mouth of east branch of Slave river, showing the new Canadian house on the west, and the old houses of Grant and Leroux on the east.

¹Turnor had formed a good estimate of the size of Great Slave lake, for it extends 175 miles eastward and 110 miles westward from the Canadian house where he was at the time.

1791

July 27th Wednesday at 3^h 30' AM got underway went SSW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile large Willows both sides and joined a main branch the one we came up about from 30 to 40 yards wide and the branch we have joined is about 400 yards broad went E^t 1 mile ESE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile SSE 2 mile S 2 mile and SSE 2 miles and joined another branch about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile above where we put up the 18th ins^t the river then all joined went up the River 4 miles and came to some Chepawyans viz^t two men two lads and some Women stoped with them $1\frac{1}{2}$ hour got a little moose flesh from them, took a Mirid Altitude of the Sun see the 18th ins^t, then went on untill 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM and put up about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles below where we lay the 17th ins^t Wind SE fresh breeze in the middle of the day morning and evening calm with clear weather got 3 young and 6 old Geese from the Indian and killed 13 ourselves

28th Thursday at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway at 2 PM M^r Ross had the misfortune to break his Canoe by a small stick which was laying under water runing up through the bottom of his Canoe I do not think they would have been able to have got her of without help as it was with difficulty she was got of the stick it being far up through her but we were luckily close behind them we got the Canoe ashore, this river below the falls is very full of sunken wood with their roots fast at the bottom of the river and their heads pointing down the current in some places large trees lay 40 yards from the shore with their green tops above the water they having shot out from the bank since the Ice went down and many others with their head well scubed by the Ice, having given the Canoe a triffling mend we got underway again at 3^h 20' PM went about 1 mile and put up at 3.40' PM on the tail of a narrow Poplar Island to dry their things and repair the Canoe Wind NW moderate breeze and flying clouds got 2 old Geese from the Indian

1791

July 29th Friday at 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM the Canoe being repaired we got underway went untill 2 PM and put up on West side about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile above the second large Island passed the 17th ins^t

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for the Indian to hunt Buffaloe but he had no success he said they were to far from the river Wind NW fresh Gale with rain in the fore part of the day the latter part fine weather

30th Saturday at 3½ AM got underway went on West side of the Island (this is called by the Canadians the long Island)¹ went from the tail of the Island SE 2½ miles ESE 2 miles EbN ½ mile and NE ¾ mile and came to the end of the Island continued on to the next great Island went on West side SW 1½ mile S ½ mile SSE ¾ mile SE 1 mile and E ¼ mile and came to the end of the Island continued on until 2 PM then put up opposite the place we lay at on the 16th inst^t the Indian being behind hunting Wind NW light breeze flying clouds fine weather set a net in the evening the Indian brought 1 swan and 7 Geese got 6 fish from the net

31st Sunday

Double Merid. Alt, ☉^s L.L. 94° 45'

— 19'

94° 26' Lat. 60°42'40''

This day lay by for the Indian to hunt in the evening took up our net got 12 Fish the same kind we got at the slave lake they were from 27 to 32 inches long and not bad eating the Indian returned without success Wind SW fresh breeze fine clear weather

Aug^t 1st Monday at 5^h 10' AM got underway at 9^h 20' AM passed the Island we lay at waiting for the Chepawyans on July 15th and at 2 PM put up on the East shore the Indian Hunting at 11 PM the Indian came and informed us he had killed a Bull Buffaloe Wind Southerly fresh breeze and clear we killed a few old and some young Geese

1791

Aug^t 2nd Tuesday at 5½ AM all except myself went to dry the Buffaloe flesh and bring it to the Canoes and the Indian to try for more Wind Easterly light Airs and Clear

¹This is still known as Long Island.

3rd Wednesday at 9^h 20' PM the People returned with the meat of two Bull Buffalo Wind variable Westerly light breeze and clear

4th Thursday at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway at 10 AM stoped on West side to give our beat meat a little sun and the dried meat a little fire the Indian went after a Moose but did not get him at 2^h 20' PM got underway again went to the upper end of the Island passed July 10th and put up at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind SW fresh breeze and clear

5th Friday at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM the Indian killed a young Buck Moose, after much altercation with my Canoe mates I persuaded my steersman Hugh Lisk and likewise Robert Garrock to proceed up the river, they disliking and being fearfull of going up the falls with a single Canoe which certainly is not good, took Peter Fidler into my Canoe in the place of Peter Brown M^r Mackensie at the Athapiscow having offerd to give him a passage in one of their Canoes up the Peace River if we returned by the 14th ins as he was then going to send a Canoe for dry Provision from the Peace river House, took most of the dried Provision out of the other Canoe and got underway again at 8 AM at 7 PM put up 3 miles above where we lay the 9th July Wind SW a strong Gale which made it very heavy padling for the first 5 miles but Sailed afterwards fine clear weather

6th Saturday at 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway and padled untill 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM then set sail and at 1 PM arrived at the first carrying place and at 3 PM we got from it and at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM got to the next carrying place at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM got over the second carrying place and put up¹ Wind NW a strong Gale middle of the day calm morning and evening fine Weather got great help from the Sail between the Carrying places

Aug^t 7th Sunday at 4 AM got underway and at 7 PM we got to the head of the Falls and put up we carried at all the places we carried at in going down but only the short way

¹They had ascended the river to a point opposite to the place where Fort Smith is now situated, a distance of two hundred miles from Great Slave lake.

of the hill carrying place at the great fall, and lightned the Canoe at a Shoot about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile below this place¹ Wind SW light airs and clear

8th Monday at 4 AM got underway at 4 PM we killed a year old black Bear which was fine meat stoped until $5\frac{1}{2}$ PM to skin and bring him to the Canoe then went on untill 7 PM and put up having gone about 22 miles Wind SW fresh breeze and clear a little Thunder and lightning at night

9th Tuesday at 3^h 55' AM got underway at $\frac{1}{2}$ PM came to the place where we joined M^r Ross at on the morning of the 6th July

H	'	"	Doub. Alt.			H	'	"	Doub. Alt.		
			⊙ ^s	L	L				⊙ ^s	L	L
0	38	13	90	54	30	1	28	26	85	29	15
	38	49		52			28	49		25	30
							29	16		22	15
	38	31	90	53	15	1	28	50	85	25	40
			—	19	10				—	19	10
			90	34	5				85	6	30

Lat. 59°17'30"

Went about 9 miles further and put up at $7\frac{1}{2}$ PM this day calm and Thunderlike clouds and exceeding hot in morning and evening the Muschetoes mad

10th Wednesday at $6\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway went about 6 miles above the Peace River and put up at 7 PM Wind Westerly light breeze and clear untill 5 PM when it came on a squall and Shower of rain

11th Thursday at $4\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway at 7 AM put on shore for heavy rain at $10\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway again and $1\frac{3}{4}$ PM put on shore at the heigh rocky on NW shore of the Athapescow Lake about 19 mile from the House at 5 PM got underway again and at $5\frac{3}{4}$ PM put up on a rocky Island the nearest to the Athapiscow House Wind Variable Westerly fresh breeze and squally with Thunder and showers of rain

¹They had ascended the rapids, a distance of twenty-one miles by the river, and had reached the site of Fitzgerald. The total fall in the river in all these rapids taken together throughout the twenty-one miles, is one hundred and nine feet.

Aug^t 12th Friday at 3½ AM got underway with a fine breeze at NW at 5½ AM it shifted to West and at 8½ AM we arrived at the Canadian Settlement¹ much swell in the lake in the morning Calm in the evening and Clear Weather set one net

M^r Mackensie informed me that his Canoe had been gone to the Peace river several days one Canoe had been and returned loaded with Pimmecon while we were away

13th Saturday This day employed in looking for a place to build a House upon but found no Particular place so shall leave it to M^r Ross to chuse the place² got 3 small fish from our net Wind SW fresh breeze and Clear

14th Sunday Wind West fresh breeze and Clear at 5 PM four Canoes of Southern Indians arrived with a small quantity of provision for the Canadians presented them a little Tobacco one of them called Mus-qua-May-e or the Bear Dung has been frequently at York Factory took up our net got no fish

15th Monday this morning I left all our provision &^c which we thought we should not stand in need of at the Canadian Settlement and at 8 AM embarked to examine the extent of the Lake to Eastward³ sailed NbE½E 11 miles across a bay about 7 or 8 mile deep with heigh land round it the shore at first breaks of suddenly ENE for 3 miles a narrow point 2 miles long then runs into the bay round which it falls as far South as the first part and then hangs round to the North point of the bay a small river in the bottom of the bay the north side of the bay a Sandy and stony shore then went NbE 2 miles close along the shore which is rocky with a stony beach the land coverd with very small scrub Asp and Fir

¹They had reached the North West Company's trading post on Old Fort Point on the south side of Lake Athabaska, one hundred and thirty-three miles from Fort Smith, or three hundred and thirty-three miles from Great Slave lake.

Fidler says "We found the Canadians one day wrong in their accounts, having this for the 13th instead of the 12th, a thing frequently happening with them, who seldom keep any journal—I have known them 2 days wrong."

²Fidler says, "Went to look for a convenient situation for building a house at to winter in, & found one about 600 yards S S E. of the Canadian House."

³The party consisted of Philip Turnor, Peter Fidler, Hugh Lisk and Robert Garroch in one canoe.

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Double Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $90^\circ 5'$
 — $19' 30''$

$89^\circ 45' 30''$ Lat. $58^\circ 47' 56''$

Went NbE 1 mile the North end of M^r Hearns long Island¹ then bearing WSW continued NbE 1 mile the land as before hanging in a bay about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile deep and coming round to the point then NbE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 3 miles a small bay dropping suddenly round the point $\frac{1}{4}$ mile deep and coming directly round up to $\frac{1}{8}$ mile from our course then continuing nearly strait to the Point the shore sandy and land rocky in places, a bare rock hill about 2 mile long and 1 mile within went along the shore NNE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile heigh sandy muddy bank coverd with small Pine the lake very shoal and flat sandy bottom went NE $\frac{3}{4}$ N 14 miles to a Point the bay about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile deep heigh sandy ridge of bank coverd with small Pine the lake shoal with fat sandy bottom put up at 7 PM fore part of the day Wind SW light breeze Clear fine weather sailed most of this day

Doub. Merid. Aet. Aquilae $79^\circ 1'$
 — $19' 30''$

$78^\circ 41' 30''$ Lat. 59°

Aug^t 16th Tuesday at 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway went close along shore NEbN 1 mile NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N $3\frac{1}{2}$ mile An Island apparently

¹When Turnor left England in 1789 he doubtless had with him a copy of Hearne's map of the route which he had travelled from Churchill to Coppermine river and back in the years 1770-72, and he would naturally believe that "Arathapescow" or "Athapuscow" lake which Hearne crossed in 1772, was the Athabaska lake of the Canadian traders. Hearne crossed the lake at an island or chain of islands to the vicinity of the mouth of a river on its south shore, and this island was the one that was most nearly in the right place. Therefore Turnor would seem to have assumed that this was the island passed by his predecessor eighteen years before, and perhaps on account of its shape called it "Hearne's long island". Peter Fidler, his assistant, in a sketch made on June 28, 1791 (reproduced on page 397), when they first arrived at lake Athabaska, also called it "Hearne's Island or Fishing Isd., called by the Jepewyans *Bit chid da noo a*".

Whether he ever realized that Hearne's "Athapuscow" lake was really Great Slave lake or not is not known, but it is significant that in the two general maps that he afterwards made of northern Canada he did not include any of Hearne's surveys.

coverd with Pine bears N8°W it has a round appearance and seems about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile diameter the land upon the other side appearing low the land yesterday appeared very high on that side continued NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N 2 miles heigh sandy banks and flat shore went NE $\frac{1}{2}$ N 6 miles across a bay $\frac{1}{2}$ mile deep heigh sandy bank and came to the mouth of a small river with a very deep bed but very little water coming down it willows growing about the mouth of it, it comes out of a Sandy desert which seems to run East of this place went up the bank could then see about 3 miles East and round to SSW all a rising sandy desert of a yellowish white Colour with a chance scub pine standing singly the Island set before bearing N57W continued nearly along the shore NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 1 mile then across a bay $\frac{3}{4}$ mile deep NNE 4 miles Lat. by Observation 59°7'47" continued on 3 mile more to the Point of the bay, bottom of the bay sandy bank and then woods and willows and close behind a Sandy desert went along the point which is low and mostly willows and scrub Asp &^c N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a small river¹ at the point which seems to be formed of the sand washed down by the current out of the desert a small Island laying close of the mouth of the river went along the point NE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and E 1 mile low sandy shore point coverd with willows then crossed a bay 4 mile deep ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ E 12 miles to the point the sandy hill comes strait from the bottom of the last bay to within 2 mile of the Point in this bay all the bottom of this bay and as far as we could see all a sandy desert under the bank are a few patches of Pines about 40 or 50 feet heigh and close to them drift sand banks with very little of the tops of large pines peeping out the Point crossed to is very heigh with some good Pines at the foot of the hill and small Firrs upon it put up at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM wind Westerly gentle breeze and Clear sailed all this last bay which has 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ fathom Water nearly all across it, A high point on the other side of the Lake bearing NW $\frac{1}{2}$ N no land to be seen to the South of it but appears like a heigh rocky mountain to NE of it

¹William river.

17th Wednesday at 9½ AM got underway went across a bay ENE¼E 10 miles Latitude by Observation 59°9'22" continued ENE¼E 3 miles and came to a low sandy Point with good Pines upon it the bay 3 mile deep all the bay a heigh sandy bank and Sandy desert within with a few spots of woods, 13 fathoms Water across this bay, then went across a bay about 1 mile deep the bay falling suddenly in round the point a round hill about a mile Diamiter and 1 mile from the Lake seems well coverd with large Pine went ENE 8 miles to the Point the first part of the bay heigh bank and Pine woods the last half heigh sandy bank and a large creek about 2 mile from the Point went ENE ¾ mile along the Point which is low and good Pines upon it then ENE 5 miles across a small bay ½ mile deep sandy bold shore good woods first part of the bay the latter part a sand bank, a small creek about a mile from the Point which is low with some good Pines &c upon it and a large creek on the Point put up at 3½ PM fore part of the day Wind SW with heavy rain untill 9 AM at 3 PM the wind came to NW a heavy Gale and cloudy which raised so much swell in the Lake that we was obliged to put on shore shoal of this and all the Points we have passed Sailed this day

18th Thursday at 10¼ AM got underway went NE ½ E 6 miles across a small bay heigh steep sandy banks and Sandy hills drifted like snow drifts in ridges 20 feet in the face went along the point NE½E 1 mile low land and coverd with willows then ENE½N 3 miles across the mouth of a River¹ in the bay the sides of the bay runing West and NNE from the mouth of the river which is about 100 yards wide and 12 feet water easy current it opens

¹The names I was given for this river were Beaver, or Grand Rapid river, but on the latest official maps it is named McFarlane river. Fidler calls it "Black river", and says, "The black river is one of the Indian communications betwixt this place & the Isle a la Crosse by the way of the Deers (Mudjatick) river, but the water is too shoal for large loaded canoes, but it is a very near way." The distance in a straight line between Athabaska lake at the mouth of this river, and Churchill river at the mouth of Mudjatick river, is 220 miles, and the direction is 5° east of south. In 1892, when I ascended the Mudjatick (Deer) river, and descended Cree river to Black lake and thence by Stone river to Lake Athabaska, I heard nothing of this route by McFarlane river.

from SE through heigh sandy hills which when seen off the mouth of this river looks like fields of ripe corn between ledges of woods such as are seen in the Hill countrys of England the Sandy desert is not seen from the Lake above 4 or 5 mile beyond this River *the Chepawyans who are not without their Fables call this River the Great Beaver or Giant Beaver River a species of Beaver which formerly was at this part and which turned up all this sand but their was a Species of Giant Indians who killed all those Beaver and whose Race is likewise extinct*, went nearly along the Shore ENE 2 miles low wet land coverd with willows for about a mile then heigh sandy Hills went down to the bottom of a grassy bay ESE $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles the bay is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide when within it and low land coverd with willows returned back to the North point of it which is N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from the other point three small off the point went N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile across a little bay on right hand side low stony land coverd with Willows two little Islands close on the shore & two others off the Point went NbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile across another little bay to a low Stony Point coverd with willows and good Firrs within put up at $5\frac{1}{2}$ PM being to much swell in the Lake to proceed with Wind NW fresh Gale untill about 9 AM afterwards moderate breeze with Cloudy Weather

Doub. Merid. Alt. of Aquilae $78^{\circ} 32' 30''$

— $19' 10''$

$78^{\circ} 13' 20''$ Lat. $59^{\circ} 14' 7''$

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot$ U.L. $82^{\circ} 19' 45''$

Ther. $48'$ — $19' 10''$

$82^{\circ} 35''$ Lat. $59^{\circ} 14' 14''$

Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent	Double Altitudes	Thermom-iter	Time by Watch and reduced to apparent	Distances	Longitude
+ 53	H ' " $\odot$ U L	$\odot$ U L	+ 49	H ' " Aldeb & $\odot$ N L		
	17 36 17	21 22 30		14 46 25	35 40 15	
	37 3	37 30		49	39 15	
	37 52	49 30		50 26	38 45	
				51 43	37 45	
	17 37 1	21 36 30		53 7	36 15	
	+ 18 9	- 19 10		54 32	35 30	
	17 55 10	21 17 20		55 44	35 15	
				57 1	34 45	
				58 13	34 15	
	H ' " $\odot$ L L	$\odot$ L L	+ 49	59 25	33 30	
	17 38 56	21 30		14 53 40	35 36 31	
	39 37	12 45		+ 18 8	- 19 10	
	40 24	25 15		15 11 48	35 12 21	107°17 $\frac{3}{4}$
	17 39 39	21 12 50				
	+ 18 7	- 19 10				
	17 57 46	20 53 40				
			+ 52	H ' " $\odot$ & $\odot$ N L		
				17 12 48	112 48	
				13 50	47 15	
				14 48	46 45	
				15 43	46 45	
				16 53	46	
				17 47	45 30	
				18 38	45	
				19 32	44 30	
				20 37	44 15	
				21 22	44 15	
				17 17 12	112 45 49	
				+ 18 8	- 19 10	
				17 35 20	112 26 39	106°46'

1791

Aug^t 19th Friday at 6 AM got underway went NNE 2 miles across bay to a point the bay about 1 mile deep with a small Island in it and two small Islands of the Point¹ went WNW 2 miles across a bay to a stony gravelly point the bay about 2 mile deep the land round both bays low stony ground with willows at the Waters edge and small Firrs within turned the Point and went nearly along the shore NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile stony gravelly land heigh rocky land on the other side of the Lake went NE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to a rocky point a small bay on right hand side and four rocky gravelly Islands on left hand side went ENE 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile three small broken bays on right hand and three small Islands on left hand went ESE 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile nearly along the shore which is low and rocky coverd with Scrub Pine Asp &^c then E 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a bay falls suddenly in about 3 mile deep and at the end of the course the Land about a mile from us a low Pine Island laying all along the left hand side went EbN 4 miles to the point of the bay then ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 3 miles across a bay $\frac{1}{4}$ mile deep the land or rather rocks bold and coverd with scrub Pine &^c the Lake then about 2 miles wide went NEbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile along then ENE 2 mile the land hanging into a kind of bay the Lake then about 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide land on right hand side low and coverd with small pine, heigh land within the land or rocks on left hand or North side very bold and heigh and coverd in places with small scrub pine went EbN 7 Miles a bay falling suddenly in on South side about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ deep and draw out with an easy sweep to the point we went to opposite this point the Lake is about 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles wide, the land on South side bold and coverd with small Pine &^c North shore bold rocks with a few scrub pines the shore appears nearly straight put up at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ PM Wind Westerly light breeze and clear until 4 PM then strong Gale with Thunder and Rain sciled all day

¹They rounded Poplar Point and entered the long, narrow eastern arm of Athabaska lake which extends for forty-five miles to the mouth of Stone river. Thence they travelled eastward along the south shore of the lake to a point a few miles past the place on the north shore where the trading post of Fond du Lac was afterwards built.

1791

Aug^t 20th Saturday at 4 AM got underway went ENE 5 miles a bay on South side about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile deep an Island about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile long and another at the end of it about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long and a small Island between but a little to the North of them and two small Islands at the East end of them upon the small Island that appears between the two I took Observations for Longitude on the 23rd Ins^t the first of them lays at the begining of the last mentioned course and close to the North of it but nearest to the South side of the Lake they have very stony shores but not steep and composed of large raged stones or rocks upon which is timber fit for building and firewood, then went across a bay falling suddenly in about a mile deep on the South side, EbN 4 miles a low Woody Island in the bay continued on EbN $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile (a cluster of small rocky Islands on the North side) and came the point of the bay, went ENE 6 Miles a low gravelly Island about 2 miles long and another about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile long with good woods upon them and many small Islands joining in a chain with the cluster before mentioned, on the South side the shore is sandy with willows at the waters edge but rocky a little distance in coverd with small pine asp &^c the Lake about 2 miles wide, went FNE 5 miles a small bay on South side with fine rising ground low at the bank and coverd with pine &^c, then went ENE 5 miles nearly along the shore, EbN $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles the lake still about 2 mile wide then ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ E 4 miles and came to the end of the Lake at which place it is about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide having drawn in for this last 4 miles the land on the South side rising and as last described, on the North side rocky as before but not so heigh a small Island near the end of the lake well coverd with woods *a River runs into the end of the Lake nearest the North side and is called the stone River*, entered the river at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM went up it ENE 1 mile EbS $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile and E 1 mile then returned to within about 1 mile of the Lake and set a net *this river is about 300 yards wide deep and moderate current* near the mouth it is full of grassy small bay surrounded with willows the river seems to come

through gentle rising hills covered with small pine & the Indians say their is a near way to the Churchill water by proceeding up this river and through a chain of small Lakes to the Deer Lake and the Canadians have been at that Lake and winterd in it some years back and mean to Winter there again next year. When they get into the Churchill water at A-thake-a-sake-a-pitch-e-con they proceed down the river to the mouth of a River called the Deer River which runs out of the deer Lake I have been informed the navigation of that River is not bad¹ Set our net and put up at 4 PM Wind Westerly fresh gale fine weather Sailed all this day

Doub. Alt. ☉ ^s L L	☉ ^s Bearing	Thermom- iter	Time by Watch and re- duced to apparent	Double Altitudes ☉ ^s L L	Thermom- iter	Time by Watch and re- duced to apparent	Double Altitudes ☉ ^s U L
PM 34 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ 4	S 69 $\frac{1}{2}$ W 70 70 $\frac{1}{4}$	+ 62	H ' " 21 20 11 20 38 21 1	69 37 45 43 47	+ 62	H ' " 21 29 4 30 17 31 7	72 19 45 33 40
34 19 15 — 19 10	69 55		21 20 37 + 7 13	69 42 33 — 19 10		21 30 9 + 7 15	72 30 55 — 19 10
34 5	69 55		21 27 50	69 23 23		21 37 24	72 11 45
Variation 16°5'	East						

Thermom- iter	Time by Watch and re- duced to apparent	Distances observed	Thermom- iter	Time by Watch and re- duced to apparent	Distances observed	Thermom- iter	Time by Watch and re- duced to apparent	Distances observed
+ 65	H ' " 22 8 8 8 34 9 6 11 59 14 7 14 36	☉ & ☽ ^s NL 89 59 30 59 15 59 58 30 57 56 30	+ 66	H ' " 22 23 38 24 7 24 40 25 2 25 32 31 41 32 17	☉ & ☽ ^s NL 89 53 15 53 52 45 52 15 51 45 49 15 48 45	+ 67	H ' " 22 36 16 36 43 37 14 37 31 38 1 38 31 39 1 39 41	☉ & ☽ ^s NL 89 47 30 47 30 47 15 47 15 46 45 46 45 46 30 46 15
	22 11 8 + 7 14	89 58 17 — 19 10		22 26 42 + 7 14	89 51 34 — 19 10		22 37 52 + 7 14	89 46 58 — 19 10
	22 18 19	89 39 7		22 33 56	89 32 24		22 45 6	89 27 48
	Longitude 105°20'			Longitude 105°29'			Longitude 105°29'	

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1791

Aug^t 21st Sunday

Doub. Merid. Alt. of ☉^s L.L. 85° 14' 45"

Thermomiter 66' — 19' 10"

84° 55' 35" Lat. 59° 16' 22"

at 8 AM took up the net, got 3 Jack fish W about 24 lbs
at 1 PM got underway to return to the Canadian Settlement to meet the other Canoe at 4 PM set sail at 7½ PM put up having gone about 18 miles Wind Easterly moderate breeze, fore part of the day Cloudy with Thunder, latter part clear killed 3 Geese at the mouth of the river¹

22nd Monday at 4^h 40' AM got underway with the Wind at East sailed untill near 7 AM at which time the wind came Westerly a heavy gale at 9½ AM got under the lee of the Islands opposite where we lay the 19th Ins^t at night at 5 PM moved to a small Island nearly between the two large ones and found no place to pitch our tent except over an old Swans nest which made us a comfortable bed

(P. 433). Fidler says—"Put up about 1 mile up the river that falls into this lake which Mr. Dalrymple calls in his map the Stone river. Pretty high hills on both sides of the river about 1½ mile asunder—below the hills low swampy willowy and wet. This river falls out of the Hatchet and Black lakes—here it is about 200 yards wide, and as far as we saw good current and deep—but a little farther from the lake the rapids commence, and there are 4 or 5 portages some of which are 4 or 5 miles over and much windfall wood: The river thro' out, exclusive of the long portages, is dangerous. Mr. David Thompson, in 1796 or 5 passed this way in a canoe with John Harper Sen'r from Deers Lake, near the Missinnipee where Mr. Ross wintered."

Fidler is in error when he says that Thompson was accompanied on his journey to Lake Athabaska in 1796 by John Harper, for his only companions were two Chepewyan Indians named Kosdaw and Paddy. Thompson reached Lake Athabaska on July 2 and terminated his survey of Stone (Black) river at the Lopt pine which Turnor had left as a mark.

On Stone river, between Athabaska and Black lakes, are heavy rapids and falls, which are usually passed by canoe men on three portages respectivley about 660 yards, two miles, and three and a half miles in length. The upper and longest of the three I called Elizabeth portage as we crossed it on the birthday of my sister Elizabeth.

An airport called Stony Rapids has recently been established near the lower rapids in this river.

¹They camped on the north shore, somewhere near the mouth of Grease river, up which the Indians say that there is a passable canoe route to one of the tributaries of Doobauna river, flowing northward and eastward into Chesterfield Inlet.

435

23rd Tuesday

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $93^{\circ} 43' 30''$

Thermomiter 60' — 12' 40"

83° 30' 50'' Lat. 59°18'10''N

[illegible]

Lay by this day the Lake being to rough Wind West heavy gale fore part of the day cloudy latter part clear and cloudy alternate

1791

Aug^t 24th Wednesday at 3.45' got underway Wind Easterly sailed
untill 6^h 10' AM the Wind then came to WNW at 6.45'
AM came to a part of the Lake 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide at the West
end of the Bay along which we went 7 miles EbN went on
North side the Lake W $\frac{1}{2}$ S 3 miles close along the side of
a cluster of rocky Islands¹ in a bay $\frac{3}{4}$ mile deep, then WbS

¹They travelled westward along the north shore, past the place where Fond du Lac was afterwards built, and camped on a group of rocky islands.

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1 mile close along the main land $W\frac{3}{4}S$ 4 miles and put on shore at 9 AM it blowing to hard to proceed in the afternoon it began to moderate and at $3\frac{3}{4}$ PM got underway again went $W\frac{3}{4}S$ 1 mile along the land and $W\frac{3}{4}S$ 1 mile along the side of rocky Islands in a bay on North side and put up at 6 PM not being able to get ahead for the swell & Wind which continued WNW cloudy Weather

1791

Aug^t 25th Thursday at $6\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway went $W\frac{3}{4}S$ 4 miles to a point of a bay on North side about 1 mile deep, came to a part full of rocky small Islands went South $\frac{1}{2}$ mile along the end of them then WbS $1\frac{3}{4}$ mile along the side of them the main land about 2 mile to North continued along the side of the Islands WNW $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles and stoped upon one of them at $11\frac{3}{4}$ AM

Merid. Alt. $\odot$ L.L. Eye 5 feet above the Water

$$\begin{array}{r} 41^{\circ} 15' 45'' \\ \text{Err} \quad 12' 40'' \\ \hline 41^{\circ} 3' 5'' \text{ Lat. } 59^{\circ} 21' 23'' \text{N} \end{array}$$

The stony gravelly point around which we passed on the 19th ins^t bearing S25E

at $1\frac{1}{2}$ PM got underway again went along the side of the Islands West $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles left two small Islands to south of us near the end of the course the mainland about 1 mile North of us went $SW\frac{1}{2}W$ 3 miles to a heigh point only a few small Islands along the shore went $WSW\frac{1}{2}S$ 8 miles to a very heigh rocky point a rocky Island off the point put up at $8\frac{1}{4}$ PM Wind Westerly fresh breeze clear and cloudy alternate much swell in the forepart of the day,

When at Fond du Lac in 1892, I was told the following story, which is here given for what it is worth:—

A good open track, or great road, leads north from Fond du Lac to and across Lake Traverse, which can be reached in a walk of an hour and a half. Across the lake, in a southeasterly direction from the place where the track reaches it, is a point where the Hudson's Bay Company had a trading post long ago. It was in charge of a black (or dark) man, and there were with him a fisherman and an interpreter. They were all killed by Chepewyan Indians from Fort Churchill. At the same time, the North West Company had a post on the north side of the lake under a clerk named Davis (?). When the Hudson's Bay Company's men were killed, the North West Company moved to the point opposite, which is on the line of the great road above mentioned.

the main land passed this day or rather rocks are very heigh and coverd with small scrub pine &^c in patches the Islands are bold rocks with small scrub pines &^c growing upon them

26th Friday at 4^h 10' AM got underway in a bay which falls suddenly back to North about 1 mile went WSW $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles and came to an Island close on the south side of the course about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long mainland about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile North went WSW $\frac{1}{2}$ S $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles three small Islands close to the shore which is about 1 mile within us and an Island about 1 mile on our left hand and an other about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile south of it continued on the same course $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile another Island then 1 mile on our left hand continued on $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles the E^t end of a long low Island bearing S $\frac{1}{2}$ W went SWbW $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles the same end of the Island then bore SEbE continued on $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the W^t end of the Island then bore SSW the Island seems narrow and runs parallel with our course two small Islands lays between the east end and our track the main Land laying $\frac{3}{4}$ mile within us went SWbW 3 miles a small bay with one Island in it on North side four Islands close to each other lays SEbE the two middle ones very small, went SW $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile a bay on right hand side with several Islands in it then went SW $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles along a narrow about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide between a Island the main shore on the mainland side the rocks are about 40 yards perpendicular and in some places hanging over having passed the narrow continued SW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a low Island then bearing ESE continued SW 2 miles the same Island then bore EbS and an other a little larger bearing SSE these two Islands was set from the heigh point we lay at on the 17th ins^t at night the two ends of the first mentioned Islands NbE $\frac{1}{2}$ E and N $\frac{3}{4}$ E the other N $\frac{1}{2}$ E and NbW went SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a bay on right hand with a small Island¹ in it the bottom of the

¹They had travelled along the northern, island-skirted shore, and had now reached one of the islands off Crackingstone Point.

In the afternoon they crossed Black bay and camped near the mouth of Cypress river, near the place where my brother and I camped one hundred and two years afterwards on our way eastward to Black lake, Doobaunt river and Chesterfield Inlet.

While in this vicinity, Charlot and Alick, two Chipewyan Indians, drew me

bay low which makes the point appear like an Island when
seen from the other side of the lake

Merid. Alt. ☉ L.L. Eye 5 feet above the Water

$$\begin{array}{r} 41^{\circ} \\ \text{Err} \quad 12' 40'' \\ \hline 40^{\circ} 47' 20'' \text{ Lat. } 59^{\circ} 16' 12'' \text{N} \end{array}$$

Went W^t ½ mile a small Island off the point went NWbW
1½ mile a small deep bay on the right hand and a small
Island off the point went NNW 2 miles to the point of an
Island on right hand side the main land 2 miles to the right
in broken bays very land or rather rocks then went N 60
W 25 miles into a large bay the main land about 12 miles
to the right hand very rocks and broken bays a large
low willow Island near the North shore which we left about
5 or 6 miles on our right hand in crossing the bay sounded
several times with 30 fathom but found no bottom after
crossing the bay we put up on the main shore at 8.20 PM
wind variable light airs until 2 PM then calm and mostly
clear untill night then cloudy with a fresh gale at NW
got an eagle this day

27th Saturday at 5½ AM got underway went South ¾ mile
a small bay on right hand side low land coverd with pine &^c
rocky shore went SbW 1 mile land as before then went
SSW ½S 6 miles a sweep of a bay on right hand side the
land low with a gravelly sandy shore and coverd with small
firrs a small Island near the end of the bay came to a
point with an Island close off it and three others of the
point well coverd with good pine went between the Island
and the point ¼ mile then SSW 2½ miles to low point
coming out into the bay the part passed about 1 mile deep
with one Island near the shore then went SEbE 3 miles
to the point of the bay the land round this bay low and
well coverd with small Firrs sandy soil the last part of the
bay about 2 mile deep with 2 small Islands in it *this bay*

a map of a canoe route from this lake northward to Great Slave lake by Tazin
lake and river, and I therefore called the river in the vicinity of the portage from
this lake, Charlot river. This canoe route from Athabaska lake to Great Slave
lake was surveyed and explored by Dr. Charles Camsell in 1914.

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is shoal and seems a fine place for Geese and ducks we saw many in it and several Swans

Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. Eye 5 feet above the surface of the
Water 40° 32'

Err — 13' 15"

40° 18' 45'' Lat. 59°23'45''N

went along the South side of the point SWbS 2 miles and put up at 2½ PM¹ Wind variable Westerly fresh Gale untill about 2 PM it then blew a heavy gale at South with clear weather

28th Sunday

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^t$ L.L. 80° 3' 00''

Err — 13' 15"

79° 49' 45'' Lat. 59°24'15''N

The Island far out in the Lake which was set on the 16th inst^t bearing by Compass SEbS

$\odot$ S71¼W Doub. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. 17° 12' 30''

Err 13' 15"

16° 59' 15'' Var. 18°30' East

lay by all this day upon a fine sandy point thinly covered with good Timber Wind South strong gale fine clear weather a very heavy swell in the Lake

29th Monday at 4 AM got underway went S1½E 5 miles a sandy bay hanging in round the point and comes round with a sweep to a low rocky point a small low rocky Island lays a little off the point, went across a bay SW 6 miles to an other point the bay about 2 mile deep, a low pine Island off the Point,² the Island set lay in the middle of the Lake bearing ESE¾E, went SSW 2 miles to a low sandy point the bay about ½ mile deep bold land in the bay covered

¹This day they passed Lobstick Point island and camped two miles south of Spring Point

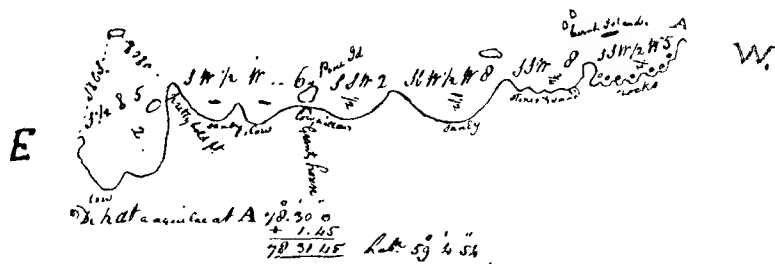
²Beartooth Island.

with small Firrs, then went SbW $\frac{1}{2}$ W 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles across a bay hanging in with a gentle sweep land low and sandy and coverd with small Firrs went SSW 8 miles nearly along a sandy shore which has a small sweep and some rocky spots land bold and thinly coverd with small Firrs, then went SWbS 4 miles across a shoal bay with a row of rocky Islands laying along the shore which is sandy in some parts and others rocky rather low and a few small firrs growing upon it, put up on a point at 7 PM¹ fore part of the day wind South with cloudy weather at 4 PM the wind came to the West with clear weather P. Fidler and H. Leask killed a young black Bear and when it was laid with its head down hill more than a quart of clear berry juice run out of its mouth

Doub. Merid. Alt. of Aquilae 78° 44' 45''

Err — 13' 15''

78° 31' Lat. 59° 5' 16'' N



—P. Fidler, August 29, 1791.

North shore of Athabaska lake, showing position of Cuthbert Grant's house at Singed Dog Point.

30th Tuesday three Islands bearing one S3°E one S $\frac{1}{2}$ W and the other S $\frac{3}{4}$ W at 5 AM got underway went SSW 7 miles

¹This day they travelled along the north shore, past Maurice Point, and Singed Dog Island, which Fidler calls Pine Island, on a point behind which he marks on his map "Grant's house", though when the house was built or occupied is not stated. Doubtless it was built by Cuthbert Grant. Two miles farther south is Gray Willow Point, and thence they continued on to a prominent point which has been named Fidler Point (Big Point) where they camped.

the land or rather heigh rocks about 4 miles to our right and coming to a point about SSE distance 11 miles, the Islands before mentioned bearing S32°E one SSE and the North end of the other which is about 7 mile long bearing SbE½E went to the middle Island SSE 2½ miles (*these Islands are pretty well coverd with small Fir and Pine Timber some of the Canadians fish at them most winters the Chief fish caught at this place is a very fine kind of trout the largest many of which weighs upwards of thirty pounds are caught upon hooks set under the Ice but the greatest number are Angled but they seldom exceed about five pounds each but some of them are very good they do not eat well after they have been froze a few days but have a strong oily flavour*) then crossed SE 10 miles to the South side of the lake 2½ miles NbE from where I observed the Latitude 58°47'56"N on the 15th ins^t we then took some stones into the Canoe for ballast and set sail for the Canadian Settlement¹ when about half over the large bay to NE of the Canadian Settlement the gale came on so strong that it was with difficulty we reached the shore luckily for us we came in under very heigh land and though the wind was dead upon shore we found very little of it the heigh land having blocked the wind and turned it into an edy we could not gain the point of the bay though not half a mile without us but was forced to keep steady before the wind but when we came in with the land we lowerd the sail and padled round without danger contrary to our expectation we then set sail and run round the point to land and found M^r Malcom Ross² building a House about 600 yards SSE

¹From Fidler Point they continued southward to Burntwood Islands, crossed the lake to Stone Point, and followed the southeast shore to the North West Company's trading post.

²Malchom Ross had arrived on August 18, during their absence, and the following are some extracts from his journal showing how he spent the time:—

"Aug. 18th. I spent most of the day in looking out for a convenient place to build the House upon but to no purpose, I could not find any convenient situation, for being nigh to the Fishing or in the way of Indians, there was no wood there, and where the wood is plenty, far from the fishery and no mud for the chimneys and house.

" 20th. I fixed upon a place this day, about 600 or 700 yards S.E. from the Canadian House, which was the most commodious place that I could meet with, we pitched a leather tent to live in till the house is finished.

of the Canadian Settlement on the side of a bay well shelter'd from the Northerly Wind fore part of this day Wind Northerly light airs with cloudy weather at 10 AM Wind ENE fresh breeze and cloudy latter part heavy gale and clear

31st Wednesday M^r Malcom Ross informed me that had I been back sooner he should have proposed proceeding up the Beaver River to Winter at first I thought of adopting that skeem notwithstanding the lateness of the season as it would be some satisfaction to know the Navigation of that river out of which the Canadians carry so valuable a trade as well as to have the opportunity of consulting M^r Will^m Tomison about farther proceedings in these parts but it seemed rather over ballanced by the considering that the men must be kept upon meat at that place whereas at this place they can keep themselves upon fish at this Lake, and likewise expect to gain more intelligence of these parts by Wintering here and doubt not but we shall be able to turn the few trading goods left to better account at this place

Sept^r 2nd Friday PM *four Canoes of Chepawyans arrived with a little provision from the Slave river one of them Piloted us to the Slave Lake they request Peter Fidler to winter with them and he likewise seems very desirous of accompnaying them it was therefore agreed that he should go with them for the winter*¹

" 22nd. Employed helving our hatchets and clearing a place for the foundation of the house.

" 25th. Employed laying the foundation of the house which is 24 foot long by 15 wide, standing East & West; this is for Mr. Turnor and the rest of the people, Viz:—10 foot partitioned off at the west end for Mr. Turnor, the remainder for the people. I also had another separate place 18 foot by 15 & stands N. & South with the door to the Westward:—this latter is for myself a little goods, and provisions if I get any—7 foot at the north and divided off for the warehouse or trading room.

Aug. 29th. I paid off the Hunter for hunting up and down the Slave river for us. I also gave him a little debt upon account of his promising to pilot us out from the Beaver river to the Saskatchewan a little below Hudson's House, which will be a nearer way to bring goods into the Beaver river."

This would probably be along practically the same road which now runs from Green lake on Beaver river to Prince Albert on the Saskatchewan river.

4th Sunday PM Peter Fidler embarked with the Chepe-wy-ans or Northern Indians with intent to spend the Winter with them¹

21st Wednesday Twenty four Canoes of Southern Indians arrived at this place which I take to be nearly all that belong to this place and they have a settlement on purpose for them every Winter up the Athapiscow River they brought some dried provision the greatest share of which they brought to us

1791

Sept^r 30th Friday in the evening two of the Canadians Clerks or Masters of Settlements a M^r Macleod and a M^r Mackensie^c a new comer to these parts arrived they walked from the mouth of the river the Canoes being weather bound they informed us that M^r Tomison had lost a Canoe and Cargoe and one man upon the great rapid above the Lake Winepeg they informed me that they have had a very bad passage since they came into the Churchill water it having proved exceeding shoal they found plenty of water to the Southward but did not receive a single line from M^r Tomison though he was with them several days at the great rapid above the Winepeg

Oct^r 1st Saturday Two Canoes arrived at the Canadian Settlement as being the Masters Canoes they according to the rule of their trade came in empty, most of the men came to see

¹Ross says:—"I am going to send Peter Fidler with them (4 Chipewyans) partly at his own desire, he is very fond of learning their language, which will be very necessary if your Honours settles in this Quarter, he is a very fit man for surveying in this quarter, as he can put up with any sort of living, that is in eating and drinking, he is also a very steady sober young man." He was twenty-two years old on the sixteenth of the previous August.

On the following day he says:—"I fitted out Peter Fidler for the winter." But, as we shall see later, his outfit was exceedingly scanty.

²On September 8 Ross says:—"7 young men (Chipewyans)—enquired very earnestly if your Honours was going to have a settlement in this Quarter. I told them that the very next summer there would be one built." And on September 23, he says, "The Indians pressed me very much to give a true account if your Honours intended to have a settlement amongst them or not. I told them that it was your Honours intention next summer, without knowing the truth of it."

Such statements are repeated many times, but no trading post was established by the Hudson's Bay Company on this lake until Peter Fidler built Nottingham House in 1802.

²Alexander McLeod, who had been in the Athabaska country for some time, and Daniel Mackenzie, who was a new arrival from the east.

us in our little Houses or huts which was built with round logs laid one upon the other and the seams filled with mud the roof was covered with mud and sand upon the top of that if they had been built in the Summer that the mud might have had time to have dried they would have been very warm but it is now froze and the best fires we can make will not dry them this winter, two of the Canadians accompanied M^r Alex^r MacKensie¹ to the North Sea they say they went down a very large river which falls out of the Slave Lake that they was fifteen days going down it to the Sea and in that distance neither met with fall or rapid but a strong current when they came within four days of the Sea the current began to Slacken and the mountains which had run along both sides of the *River from the Lake began to grow gradually lower all the sides of the river was well coverd with Pine &c* untill within a day of the Sea and then only Willows and grass and very little current in their journey down they saw several gangs of Indians who were living upon fish but had several Beaver skins with them they saw no Women they having all taken to the woods at the first sight of them they say the Country is full of Beaver, Martins and Moose untill you come near the Sea but that they saw only grey Deer and wild Fowl upon the flat country and that M^r Mackensie was out upon some of the Islands off the Mouth of the river and seeing the Ice so near the Land he attempted to go to it to examine wether it was a Solid body or broken Ice but the wind rising he was glad to return with out accomplishing his design returning up the river as soon as they came to the strong current they began to track and continued tracking untill they arrived at the Lake they were Forty five days in coming up the river they did not see a single Indian on their return and they suppose they should not have seen any in going down could they have got their things away but in going before the current they came upon them to quick to give them an oportunity of geting

¹The four Canadians who accompanied Sir Alexander Mackenzie down the Mackenzie river were François Barribeau, Charles Ducette, Joseph Landry and Pierre De Lorme, but which of these are here referred to is uncertain.

away Mr Mackensie intended to have traded with them on his return but would not take a skin from them on his passage down

1791

Oct^r 3^d Monday *Twelve Canadian Canoes arrived with goods but as they have a great Stock in this Country they have no occasion to bring in above Fifteen peices to a Canoe to keep up their Stock fishing tackle and all included and they carry out Twenty five Packs of Furrs to each*

6th Thursday this day *the Canadians departed for their different Wintering ground Six to the Peace river Three to the Slave Lake and one up the Athapescow River to the place where Peter Pond formerly winterd* (for the purpose of accommodating the Southern Indians) the Settlement in this Lake called Fort Chepawyan is intended for the Chepawyans only the Canadians would have set of a day or two sooner if the weather would have permitted but it has blowd and snowd these two days past with sharp Frost

14th Friday in the evening about a Dozen of the men belonging to the Peace River Canoes arrived upon the Ice with intention of Wintering at this Lake having been set fast by the Ice upon an Island about 11 miles out in the Lake at which place they left their Canoes and goods, on the 15th in the morning Roderick Mackensie who has the command¹

¹Ross writes:—"Mr. [Roderick] McKenzie sent his waiting man to our house with the following Provision, viz:—18 lbs of Pork, 28 lbs of Flour & 9 lbs of white sugar. I am very sorry that any of your Honours servants should be at the necessity of receiving such things. The above Gentleman offered to assist us in netts ready worked, or twine to work for ourselves.—I accepted the twine to work for ourselves—had no way of recompensing him but by thanking him."

Ross kept the usual daily journal throughout the winter. Most of the entries record the number of fish caught, the occupations of the men, and the occasional arrival of Indians, but the following are of interest:—

"Jan. 7th 1792. Mr. T[urnor] set up a ☉ [sun] dial.

Feb. 1st. We heard from Peter Fidler by the Canadians as they passed by him in their passage from the Slave Lake.

Mar. 12th. A Jepewyan young man arrived. He brought 2 Fox skins and a letter from P. Fidler gave us account of his being well &c.—I sent a little tobacco as a present to some of the Indians that is along with Peter Fidler, as encouragement to bring in provisions, as he says they have got some.

" 21st. A paquet arrived from Isle a la Crosse to the Canadian House. They brought a letter for Mr. Turnor from Mr. Tomison, a quire of writing paper, and a marble-covered book of one quire. I did

of all the Canadian Settlements this year and stays at this place set of with his men back again to set on the journey with the Canoes again if possible on the 17th ins^t M^r Mackensie returned having sent of all his Canoes except one which was destroyed by the Ice in landing upon the Island they hauled their Canoes almost to the Slave River then went down it to the mouth of the Peace River and reached their first settlement in about twelve days the men belonging to the broken Canoe returned to this place and are to haul up goods to the Peace River Settlement as soon as the Rivers are fast

1792

March 12th Monday this day we heard from Peter Fidler who is with some Chepawyans near the Rapids in the Slave river two of the Chepawyans belonging to the tribe he is with came for a supply accompanied by five Indians of the red knife tribe their Country lays upon the North of the Slave

not receive a letter or any paper notwithstanding I requested it by letter. I am obliged to Mr. McKenzie for most of what I used this winter.

- " 29th. We had a letter from Mr. McKenzie accused us for trading so near his settlement and a long preamble of such stuff, as is not worth giving a place to.
- " 30th. We took the covering from off the canoes & to our great surprise was almost split useless, and what we will do I do not know, as no birch rind is to be got near here.
- Apr. 6th. The men that went for birch rind arrived, brought about 3 fathoms.
- " 10th. Peter Fidler arrived at 3 P.M.
- " 14th. Peter Fidler copying my journal.
- " 28th. The Jepowyan Indians complains very much of the injustice done them by the Canadians in taking their women from them by force; some of the Canadians keeps no less than 3 women & several 2.—an instance happened this day of the injustice of the Canadians in the traffic of the Fair Sex.—A Canadian that had 2 women before, went to their tents and took a young woman away by force, which was the only support of her aged Parents: The old Indian her Father, interfered, he was knocked down & dragged some distance by the hair of his head, altho so infirm with age that he is obliged to walk with a stick to support himself—such is the goings on in this Quarter, all this is encouraged by their masters, who often stand as Pimps to procure women for their men, all to get the mens wages from them.—The summer masters sole employ is in taking care of the mens women, which is, in my humble opinion, a very immodest employ, but be it as it will they make great profit, the Masters in the Traffic of the Females for the mens uses.
- " 29th. Being in want of powder, I was obliged to apply to Mr McKenzie for a little."

Lake they brought very little with them the red knife Indians did not come to our House but I heard they did not think it worth their trouble to hunt as the return they receive from the Canadians for their skins is not worth their notice I understand Peter Fidler is living amongst plenty of Buffalo but they have no kettle to render fatt so that only a little beat meat can be expected from them

21st Wednesday by a Packet arrived from Isle-a-la-Cross I received a letter from M^r Will^m Tomison dated Cumberland House Sept^r 10th, 1791 and with it a Marble covered Book and a quire of paper both of which I stood in great need of. I was very sorry to find a confirmation of the loss of a Man and Canoe upon the great rapid above the lake Winnipeg and *likewise of the disagreement between M^r Charles Isham and his Men but that was what I expected after seeing the Anarchy which Pervade the Interior parts above York Factory where the Men act nearly as they please the causes of which are complicated and have more than one origin a great increase of Men with proper Officers will be the only means of bringing that Country into a necessary steady Subordination*

April 10th Tuesday *Peter Fidler arrived in good health* he says his living since he has been away has been in general very good but has seen some bad times with them, as will mostly be the case in an Indian life, he is a very fit hand for the Country as he stands hunger and the Weather well and can eat anything that the Indians will, he says he has never been farther North than we were last summer that last fall they was a little to the Westward of the slave Lake in fine plains full of Buffalo, and as soon as the Ice would bear them to walk upon they went to the Canadian Settlement they having come down a small river about twenty miles to the Westward and thirty to South of the Canadian Settlement before that river set fast which was the farthest West they were the whole winter, at the Canadian Settlement as usual he was *treated with politeness* after staying there two days they went about twenty miles along the side of the lake nearly East then went up a small river

which runs Northerly nearly parallel with the Slave River in those parts *he says Beaver are very plenty* and many of them so strongly secured by rocks that they cannot be taken in the Winter and as the Indians cannot afford to shoot them in the summer they may stand a chance to remain plenty, low swampy ground is likewise a good defence for them in Winter as they secure so many retreats from their houses that they are very hard to find, after they had lived amongst the Beaver about two Months they were joined by some Chepawyans in a starving condition they had been to the small lakes to the Eastward of the Slave lake to kill deer in Summer but they had proved so scarce that they were in distress for both provision and cloathing and several had starved on their journey back, they being relations of those he was with it threw them into despair upon which occasion they destroyed many of their things and then went for the plains near the side of the slave river to kill Buffalo which are chiefly on the West side of the river they then continued near the sides of the river and at times moving a little up untill the beginning of April when he and the Indian Men came to the Houses leaving the Women behind for fear of their being taken from them by the Canadians who make a common practice of it one of the Indians had his Gun taken from him under pretence of the Indian having taken a Woman clandestinely from him two years ago which the Indian did not seem to deny but said it was what the Canadians frequently did to them but that had little effect as he said he never did such an act

1792

April 30th Monday this morning began to haul the Furs &^c to within about 6½ mile of the mouth of the Athapescow river to be in readiness to proceed up the river so soon as it is clear of Ice in hopes to reach York Factory before M^r Will^m Tomison leaves that place that we may give him such a favourable account of this Country as we think will induce him to send a few Canoes with goods to this Country as soon as possible, if we had remained at the House

in expectation of going out of the Lake by water we might have been detained many days by the wind setting the Ice from the Westward in upon this shore which cannot happen at the place that we are now moving to it being so well defended by sands

May 1st Tuesday in the cool of this morning the people hauling more of our goods near the river

2nd Wednesday this morning the people made two trips with the Canoes &^c to the place near the river and took up the nets I went my self to take care of the goods and sent the men back to do the necessary duties of the House soon after I was gone Captⁿ Mis-ta-poose a leading Indian who went to the North Sea with Alex Mackensie¹ and Eighteen men with him passed by our House with Guns and a Woman with a hatchet vowing vengeance against the Canadians on account of their fetching some Women from them which had run away with them from the Canadians but they left their Guns in the woods and went to the Canadian House without them they disputed a little but did not get the Women one of them had been from the Canadians two years *the method by which they get most of the Che-pa-wy-an Women is by the Masters seizin them for their Husbands or Fathers debts and then selling them to their men from five hundred to two thousand Livres and if the Father or Husband or any of them resist the only satisfaction they get is a beating and they are frequently not satisfied with taking the Woman but their Gun and Tent likewise the Canadians say the Che-pa-wy-ans never behaved so insolent to them before as they have done this year but they impute it to our being in this Country which fills the Indian with expectation of our returning with goods this Year or next and so Anxious are they for our coming that it was with difficulty we could prevail upon them not to accompany us we first excused ourselves as having no Gun Powder upon which one of them went and killed a few Beaver brought us the flesh of two and carried the skins and several both skins and flesh to the Canadians and traded Gun Powder*

¹This would be the Indian spoken of by Mackenzie as the "English Chief".

with them then came and offered it to M^r Malcom Ross and asked what objection we then could have upon which we told them our real objection was our apprehension that we should not be able to return this Summer as M^r Tomison returned no answer to my proposal of sending goods to meet us if we should return that way and if we did not it would serve as a supply for Cumberland or Manchester I did expect that M^r Tomison would have left two Canoes at Cumberland House to have brought down such letters as was sent out by the Canadians by which some light might be thrown upon our expedition as he well knew letters would be sent by them and if none had been sent he would have been informed of our situation and the rout we had taken and the Men might as well have staid there as loiter their time at York Factory but the conduct of M^r Will^m Walker the year we went to the North and of M^r Will^m Tomison since fully proves that they never intended that a Trade should be carried into that part of the Country the Canadians always told the Indians that we should not be able to return this year and by the measures already persued it is very evident that they will not be able to return next year the demands of the men was made a pretext but I could not learn that any man was asked to return or others to undertake it if so I cannot see by what means the Mens demands were known but as my duty I made some inquiry and shall communicate my information in its due place In my opinion the neglecting to send to the Northern parts after such repeated promises must lessen the Hon^{ble} Company in the Eyes of the Indians and greatly discredit their Servants to the no small satisfaction of the Canadians and greatly injure those poor Indians that dared shew themselves as our Friends they all agree that they are well used at Churchill and get plenty for their furs but that the distance is so very great that it fatigues them very much occasions great loss of time that they live very hard upon the journey and frequently many of them starve to death particularly if they go in winter and if they go in Summer

they have a great number of rivers to pass near the factory the crossing of which puts them to great inconvenience and they do not know the way by the rivers as untill within this few years the Indians that inhabited the low countries was at war with them which obliged them to take a more Northern rout and instead of navigating the rivers only to cross them, several of them has expressed a desire of a settlement being made at the Mountain river they say their is good wood and deep water at the mouth but they do not seem to have any idea of a navigation up it, they say it is very full of falls but they are no judges of what a Canoe can do, they are unanimous in their request that a Settlement may be made amongst them the Number of Hunting Indians that trade at this Lake is about Three Hundred but in General they are badly gooded they say it is not worth troubling themselves with hunting furs for they cannot buy Cloth with them unless they go to Churchill the low manner in which they are kept seems to destroy all emulation the three that depended upon trading with us killed a good quantity of furs as being fully assured they would sell them worth their trouble; that we may not appear to have been unnecessarily partial it may not be improper to observe that they were our Pilots last Summer and that Peter Fidler wintered with them it was from one of those that the Canadian took the Gun before mentioned

The Canadians trade nearly as follows

	Athapescow made Beaver	Peace River made Beaver	Slave Lake made Beaver
Liquor mixed to the consistency of English Brandy at 1 pint of Brandy to 2 pints of Water..	Pr Pint 2	3	3
Gun... ..N ^o 1	20	30	30
Powder... ..Pr lb	5	6	6
Shot... ..	1	1¼	1¼
Ball... ..N ^o	10	5	5
Knives... ..N ^o 1	1	2	2
Blankets 3 point	10	12 or 14	12 or 14
Cloth... ..Pr yard	6	8	8

and every thing in proportion and notwithstanding the

Indians meet with such hard treatment they will not travel so far as Churchill untill necessity obliges them, the Chepawyan tribe will not trade Liquor consiquently are not fond of parting with their provision, but powder and shot will draw it from them the Slave Lake Indians are of the Chepawyan tribe but the Peace River Indians are as fond of Liquor as any tribe and part with their provision as freely it consists of Buffalo flesh both fresh and cured such as beat meat and renderd fatt its from that River that the Canadians procure all their dried provision for their different purposes its at the first settlement up the Peace River¹ where they procure the provision I am informed that they go to it in fourteen days from the Athapescow Settlement and from that Settlement to the next in twelve days at which place Buffalo is fully as plenty as at the other the navigation up this river is exceeding good it cannot be bad as the Canadians send a single large Canoe up it with only three men and fetch down two Tons of dried Provision at a time and this Canoe keeps working most of the Summer on purpose to Supply the Athapescow Settlement which is the grand Magazine of those parts from which the Slave Lake, Peace River and Athapescow River Canoes are supplied in the fall of the year and reserve a stock of provision for the Spring and they have a two Years Stock of the most material Trading Goods, Birch rind fitt for building large Canoes is very plentiful both in the Athapiscow and Peace Rivers and the finest Pine that I have seen in the Country grows near the lower part of the Athapescow River nothing is wanting in these parts but Cedar for building Canoes the Canadians build of the largest size used in the North out of Pine but they never bring them in again this year they built two of them and rebuilt twelve Cedar ones the two new ones was built up the Peace River and likewise six of the Cedar ones rebuilt at that place they always have occasion for

¹Sir Alexander Mackenzie went up the Peace river that same autumn on his way to the Pacific Ocean, and he mentions first the Old Establishment above the falls, about where Vermilion is now situated, and above that was McLeod's Fort, about thirty miles in a direct line below the forks.

more Canoes to come down that River than what they take up

1792

May 3rd Thursday this evening *Captⁿ Too-toose and five young men came to our tent they seemed to have a great quantity of fine Beaver I suppose not less than five Hundred upon the standard* he is the greatest Warr Chief they have amongst them he led a party last Summer to North Sea against the Esquamaux and killed several of them he seems very dissatisfied and at a distance threatens vengeance against the Canadians their seems a settled dislike to the Canadians amongst the whole of them which would most likely manifest it self if once the Hon^{ble} Company had good Settlements amongst them some few of the Chepawyans begin to love liquor and though they would not trade their Furrs or Provision for it I saw them trade their Ice Chizels, Guns, Blankets and Coats with the Canadian Master for Rum he said they would get them in debt again in the fall and that they would pay well for their drink

1792

May 4th Friday this morning the Indians that came to my tent last night went to the Canadian Settlement he said he had not brought all his furrs but had laid part of them up as does most of their tribe in hopes of a better market in their own country or to carry them to Churchill when they can form a party to undertake the journey they seem the most politic Indians I have met with in the Country, AM M^r Malcom Ross and men arrived with the last of our goods the Indians kept round the shore and M^r Ross crossing the bay upon the ice they did not meet we remained at this place untill the 9th ins^t during which time I killed a Swan a few Geese and Ducks which was acceptable to us as we was living upon our small stock of dried provision which was intended to serve us upon our Journey out I was the only hunter as none of the others would trust their powder and shot at Geese flying and indeed we had not a single good Gun amongst us and our powder and shot being so scarce made me very cautious this lake

is an exceeding fine place for Geese in the fall of the year at which time great numbers might be cured for the winter as they are then killed setting as they come to the sands at the rate of two or three at a shot and they keep flying backwards and forwards the whole day as there is no tide to cover the sands and that material article salt is very plenty at this place the Indians bringing great quantities of it which they trade at a very easy rate, the Geese at this place consists of a greater proportion of the large Grey kind than at any place upon the Sea coast the white Wa-ways are exceedingly plentiful and a great number of fine Geese preferable to the white Wa-way called the Jackap-a-shish its rather larger than the Wa-way of a brown grey colour and spotted breast its called by the English the laughing Goose there is likewise a small kind of Grey Geese called the Pist-a-skish but they are so small that two of them is not better than three ducks they exactly resemble the large grey goose in colour¹ *This Lake has a verry fine fishery for about three weeks after the Ice first sets fast in which time as many may be taken as would serve four Months* they run chiefly upon a kind of white fish by the Indians called Tickameg with a good number of fine Perch and Pike we lay them by froze and use them as occasion requires all Winter they are but poor food we should not have used so much of them but we was short of nets both in number and length we had only Six nets of Seventy yards each and of course could only keep four of them set as every day one of them was taken up and an other put in its place the net taken up was always washed in scalding water and then dried by a good fire which took the whole day the next day I always mended it and at night it was prepared to go down the next morning we had not only the inconvenience of to small a number of nets to combat with but some of them was of a bad kind

¹The geese mentioned here are the Gray Goose, *Branta Canadensis* (Linn); the Waway, Wavey, White or Snow Goose, *Chen hyperboreus nivalis* (Forster); the Laughing Goose (Jackap a shish), *Anser albifrons gambeli* (Hartl); and the Canada Goose (Pist a shish), *Branta Canadensis hutchinsi* (Richardson).

of twine as well as to short but bad as they was they were of great use though M^r Will^m Walker ordered two of them to be secreted from us at Cumberland House when he knew they was the only two nets we had to take with us into the North the reason we had our nets regularly Seventy Yards proceeded from a want of line to haul them under the Ice otherwise one hundred and twenty yards is little enough as there is little difference between overhaling a long net and a short one the method used to set a net under the Ice is by cutting holes at such a distance from each other that a long stick passed under the ice fully reaches from one hole to the other which is readily passed along with forked sticks by which likewise its direction from hole to hole is preserved a line is made fast to the end of the stick which when reaved under the ice to the full length of the net the net is made fast to and hauled under the ice one taking care that the sticks and stones which are put for floats and weights instead of leads and corks pass clear in at the hole in the ice and if that is done they will not foul afterwards the best and common method of setting nets is one at the end of the other where the fishery will allow it both with respect to making a longer wall in case the fish should make a small sheer besides the trouble saved in cutting holes in the ice as in that case the ends of two nets stands at the same hole and only one hole more than the number of nets is required, at this Lake the nets stand all the winter at the same place and a few fish is constantly taken in them but the white fish turns very soft after the begining of December the Perch likewise turn poor the Pike continues good and some times a trout is taken in the nets but not of a very good quality in the middle of the Winter we had some hooks set under the ice and caught a few trout of about twenty-five pounds each some of them the finest fish I ever tasted and others as bad, towards the spring we angled a good number of Trout about four to Six pounds each some very good and others very ordinary but neither the trout or Sturgeon are good after they have been froze the white fish, Perch and Pike

bear it much better the latter is very good when made into a kind of forcemeat balls with the inside fatt of the Moose or Buffalo In the spring the Indians brought us a little fresh meat and a few fresh Buffalo tongues a small quantity of fat and a little pounded meat which they traded with us in very small quantities for Powder and Shot so long as we had any powder or could spare a grain of shot when that was done we got a little for knives but they are not very fond of parting with their provision their furs they part with freely after we had parted with all our Gun powder M^r Malcom Ross traded some of the Canadian Master for our going out, Upon the whole I am of opinion that this Lake will be found a good place for trade chiefly in fine Beaver and that the people would live tolerably well by exerting them selves in fishing and the Meat that might be procured from the Natives through a little encouragement given to them the Natives say if two men was stationed at the rapids in the slave river with powder shot and Tobacco they would bring them plenty of Buffalo meat and it would be worth bringing provision of the best kind a little dried that distance

1792 According to the best information I have been able to gain the Trade of this Country this Year is nearly as follows

Slave Lake..... 54 Packs and much more expected this trade is about half Martins

Peace River about.....150 Packs little except Beaver

Athapescow Lake about 90 Packs mostly Beaver

D^o River..... 25 Packs D^o

From good authority I can venture to say that the whole Expence of Trading Goods and provisions Annually sent to that Country with 25 P^r Cent upon the English Invoice does not exceed 700 Pounds and the Total Wages paid to Servants of all denominations does not exceed 500 Pounds in this is included all the expences after they leave Lake Superiour so that I should suppose that for upwards of Twenty Thousand made Beaver in prime furs their Total

expenſe to the Port of London does not much exceed three Thouſand Pounds, and from the Waters which run to Churchill and Port Nelson they carry out a trade greater than from the Athapescow Country but not quite ſo advantageous as they are obliged to trade with the natives upon more liberal terms but ſtill their profit muſt be very great they carry from the North of Cumberland Houſe between Forty and Fifty Thouſand made Beaver every year and the oppoſition they meet with is Chatham Houſe up Port Nelson River and while the Canadians can keep this part they need not fear an oppoſition in any other part and I have heard ſome of them declare that while they can draw the attention of the Hon^{ble} Companies Servants up the Saſk-aſh-a-wan or to Southern parts they can afford to oppoſe them at a trifling loſs ſo long as they can keep the North to themſelves

1792

May 9th Wednesday having been informed by the Canadians that ſome of them had been up the river hunting and had found it clear of Ice for about twelve miles at 11 AM we got underway and at 1½ PM entered the mouth of the river having been obliged to lead our Canoes a conſiderable diſtance over flats to get into the proper channel in the evening we met a Canoe with two Canadians going to the Athapiſcow Lake from the Houſe at the forks of the river they informed us that the river had been clear of ice from the 2nd inſ^t great numbers of Geese chiefly white Wa-ways croſſed the river this day ſeveral of which we killed they ſeem as plenty in the marſhes on both ſides of this river as I ever ſaw them in Hudson Bay at 8½ PM we put up for the night Wind Eaſterly cloudy Weather

10th Thursday at 5½ AM got underway and at 1 PM we arrived at the Canadian Settlement and as uſual was politely received by a Young Man an Apprentice to the Canadian Company,¹ there was only four Indian men at

¹This young man was Duncan Livingſton. Fidler ſpeaks of him as follows:—“At preſent a Mr. Leviſon, Maſter, who liberally ſupplied us with the meat of 2 old beaver & 4 geese.—This man in the year 1799 with 4 other Canadians unfortunately was maſſacred in McKenzie river being every perſon in the canoe

the House the others were building Canoes at a small distance from this place and are dayly expected in we remained all this day in hopes of seeing them and particularly one of them who owes a considerable debt and promised to meet us in this river and pay it part in furs part in provisions and the Remainder in provision he expected to kill on his journey with us to Isle-a-la Cross we much wished an Indian with us as we never had seen the great or Methy Portage at the turn of the waters and was informed that it is difficult to find but we learned the Canadian Linguist was sent to the Indians so soon as we arrived as we suppose to prevent their coming to the House and to secure all their furs all the Indians that belong to this House is of the Ne-hea-tha-way or Southern Indian tribe and like all others of the same tribe are very fond of Liquor one great and sufficient reason for keeping this Settlement is to keep the Southern and Northern Indians apart otherwise when they are drinking the Southern Indians are sure to insult the Northern Indians though they should be much inferiour in numbers through a supposed superiority in rank both as Warriours and hunters they are most undoubtedly the most elert but the Northern Indians are the stoutest hardiest race of Indians and claim the same superiority over the Esquamaux as the Southern Indians does over them and those Southern Indians stand in as much awe of the Indians towards the borders of Lake Superior and *I believe it has been found that the farther North the more Peaceable the Indians* this day Wind Northerly cold raw Weather

May 11th Friday having inafectually tried to prevail upon some one of the Indians to accompany us either to Isle-a-la Cross or to the Indians that are building their Canoes in a Creek a little distance up the river at 8½ AM we got underway to proceed up the river as farr as where the Indians are op-

except one Indian who miraculously escaped & got safe back to their settlement in that river.—it was the Day get thays or the Quarrelers that committed that atrocious act, when he was presenting & distributing small articles of Goods as presents to them—Their journey was to survey that river & to fix upon an eligible piace to establish a Trading Settlement at.”

posite to and to cross through the woods according to the direction we received from the Indians *we should have found no difficulty in procuring an Indian had they not been stoped by the Canadians and the Southern tribe of Indians stand much more in awe of the Canadians than what the Northern Indians do but, if once the Hon^{ble} Hudsons Bay Companies Servants was settled amongst them they would soon throw of the mask* the Canadian men and Indians brought us the flesh of four Beaver which proved very acceptable to us as we have passed the goose ground, at 1 PM we arrived at the place which we understood by the Indians was opposite to where the Indians was build^g their Canoes and M^r Malcom Ross went in search of them at 4½ PM he returned but had not found them he killed one swan while he was away upon his return we embarked again and at 8 PM put up about 1½ mile above the first heigh sandy bank Wind ENE fresh breeze cloudy cold Weather

12th Saturday at 4¼ AM got underway sailed most of the day and put up at 8 PM opposite the peice of white sandy bank on E^t side with a pine Island before it Wind NW cold cloudy frosty weather which obliged us to stop about an hour in the middle of the day to make a fire and warm ourselves

13th Sunday at 4½ AM got underway sailed all day and put up at 8½ PM in Lat 57°28' North Wind Variable Northerly with flying clouds and Cold frosty Weather

1792

May 14th Monday at 5¾ AM got underway padled untill 7½ PM then put up near the old Canadian House¹ below the mouth of the *Wash-a-cum-mow* Seepe or clear water river Wind Southerly light airs clear fine weather the Water rising all this day which makes the Current very strong

15th Tuesday at 4¾ AM got underway and padled untill 1½ PM then sailed untill 7½ PM and put up about 6 miles below the mouth of *Wash-a-cum-mow* Seepe Calm in the

¹Fidler says:—"Put up at 7½ P.M. about 5 miles below an Old Canadian House opposite to a small river on the S.W. side." This house was passed on June 23, 1791, and is referred to in foot-note on p. 392.

morning Wind Northerly fresh breeze all the latter part of the day with fine clear Weather

16th Wednesday at 5 AM got underway at 7 AM arrived at the Canadian old House at the mouth of Wash-a-cum-mow Seepe where we stoped untill 10 AM to repair my Canoe it being very leaky then proceeded up the Wash-a-cum-mow Seepe untill 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ PM and put up opposite the mouth of the *red willow river* which we came down last year

17th Thursday at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway and continued up the Wash-a-cum-mow Seepe or clear water river by Peter Pond called the Pellican River went NEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current a small Island on the South side then went E^t 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile fresh current a small willow Island at the head of the reach, heigh land on North side, and good woods and low land on South side, went EbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile easy current low land and good woods on both sides then SbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile E^t to NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile EbN 1 mile a pine Island on North side near the end of this reach ESE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile an Island at the lower end of the reach on south side $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long, then ENE to North $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NEbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile all this last part good woods on both sides, then ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile willows on South side and small asps on North side SbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile good woods on both sides EbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NEbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile E^t $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile E^t $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NEbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile an Island $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long on North side NEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ESE to ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile N $\frac{1}{8}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile WbN $\frac{3}{8}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile at this place a piece of barren or meadow ground on North side ESE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE 1 mile an Island $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long at the bottom of the last reach, then N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{8}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile meadow on South side and a Pine Island all along the North side then went NbW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and put up at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Variable Westerly from North to South fine clear weather I stoped this day to have taken a Meridian altitude but was to late being deceived by the the Watch having lost above half an hour since I left the

House the river passed this day except as before mentioned is about from 150 to 200 yards wide moderate current with good Pine Birch and Poplar upon the banks and good Birch upon every point but more particularly on the South side *this river runs through a valley about two miles wide between two heigh hills which are said to be famous for Buffalo and Red Deer*

1792

May 18th Friday at 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway went NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile & NNE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile moderate current meadows on South side North $\frac{1}{2}$ mile a pine Island $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long on North side NNE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NEbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a small pine Island at the lower end of the last reach & an other at the uper end NE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile and passed three Islands ENE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile NEbN 1 mile NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a narrow willow island mid river NEbE $\frac{1}{2}$ m ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile South $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ENE 1 mile a pine island $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long on North side the part of the river passed this day is full of patches of willows and thin woods alternate and the woods wear a barren aspect being low and scrubby EbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SEbS $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the woods on South side burnt at this place an island coverd with willows and pine SEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile East 1 mile then between two pine Island ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to the end of the North Island and ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to the end of the South Island very strong current this last two reaches about the middle of the last reach on the North side a Salt creek about a yard wide went EbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current a large creek on North side went NNE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile East $\frac{1}{8}$ mile current more moderate NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ESE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile Sth $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile burnt woods on South side, E^t $\frac{3}{4}$ mile in this part a stinking iron colour'd minneral water weeps from the bank on South side went ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ENE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile a pine Island $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long on North side ESE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile and ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a pine Island on South side ESE $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile a willow Island at the bottom of the reach and and two willow islands mid reach *a strong mineral spring on North side breaking out of a low bank on*

North side covered with small firs it leaves a kind of white slime upon the stones at the bottom and a kind of soft salts dries upon the stones on the shore the water when mixed with about half river water tastes like the Streatham mineral water a little distance above it a creek about two yards wide and 8 or 10 inches deep with a strong current of the same kind of water every summer the Canadians as they pass by drink copiously of this water and find it an excellent cathartic as it is never attended with the least griping pain, went East $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile burnt woods both sides a pine Island at the bottom of the reach and an Alder Island at top went East $\frac{3}{4}$ mile strong current at the bottom of the reach on North side went NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile strong current East $2\frac{1}{2}$ mile moderate current two small willow Islands ESE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile moderate current several small willow Islands and a small Island of burnt pine went SE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and East $\frac{1}{8}$ mile moderate current then NE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile rapid current rocky bottom EbN 1 mile a very strong rapid with two heavy shoots in it this rapid is some times carried at on North side 1000 yards through the woods good carrying but we led up the lower part to the first shoot then carried 320 yards on North side good carrying and put up at $8\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Easterly fresh breeze and clear, the river passed this day except as otherwise mentioned has a moderate current and runs between hills as mentioned yesterday the woods not quite so good and very little birch

1792

May 19th Saturday at 5^h 10' AM got underway led the Canoes 200 yards then went NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile still water and NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile still deep water the river about 400 yards wide with several small willow Islands in it came to two pine Islands went between them ENE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile strong rapid then went on North side SE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile strong rapid and ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile strong rapid then led the Canoes NE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile two rocky Islands mid river strong rapid current went ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile strong rapid came to an Island on North side kept on the North shore ENE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile and ESE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile very rapid current and came opposite the uper end of the Island at

this place the shores and Island is heigh steep raged rocks and a very heavy shoot of current at this place we unloaded the Canoes a little below the point and carried the Cargoes 270 yards midling carrying handed the Canoes up it and took in their Cargoes and continued on ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the head of the Island all a rapid with three heavy shoots which cannot be shot in going down but must carry $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, then went in moderate current NNE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to a strong rapid handed the Canoes 100 yards on North side went NNE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile fresh current then handed up a rapid ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile then went E^t $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SEbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile E^t $\frac{1}{4}$ mile (a creek on South side) ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile (a willow Island mid river) and ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile moderate current the sides of the river much as before

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L L $106^{\circ} 36' 45''$
 — $25' 45''$

$106^{\circ} 11'$ Lat. $56^{\circ} 42' 6''$ N

went SEbE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile small pine on South side willows and grass on North side went E^t $\frac{3}{8}$ mile as before, went NE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile (a pine Island $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long and an other with grass and a few pines on South side) handed up a strong rapid E^t $\frac{1}{4}$ mile then crossed to an Island North of us and M^r Malcom Ross went to look at the fall and found we should have kept on the South side behind the Island and have carried out of a bay at the foot of the rapid its called by the Canadians the pine portage, he was gone from $1\frac{1}{2}$ PM untill $3\frac{1}{2}$ PM we then crossed to the North side and led E^t $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong rapid & E^t $\frac{1}{8}$ mile more moderate then crossed to south side and went E^t $\frac{1}{8}$ mile led at two rapid points and came to a carrying place but it was so exceedingly Steep and all a loose deep sand that we passed it and went along a bay NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile then carried 230 yards on South side middling good carrying dry ground, very heigh craggy rocks on the sides of the rapid and a heigh craggy Island in the middle of it, by handing and passing the way we have we missed a carrying place of $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile,

we then went E^t $\frac{3}{8}$ mile and came to an Island with a rapid on each side handed on the North Shore 50 yards up the rapid then went ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile easy current and put up on North side at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM M^r Rosses Canoe having a little pitch rub'd of and making to much water to proceed Wind Southerly fresh breeze at times with fine clear weather

1792

May 20th Sunday at 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went SE 1 mile moderate current and passed a willow Island mid reach and came to a large creek on North side which comes out of the river at the head of the next fall, the tail of a small willow Island lays opposite the creek went ESE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile EbS $\frac{3}{8}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile & NEbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile all moderate current and came to the foot of a very heavy fall coming down between very heigh rocks, took out of the water about 150 yards from the foot of the fall on the North side and carried 440 yards into the creek before mentioned, the carrying place is dry but rocky and a little hilly went 30 yards up the Creek and passed a small rapid another branch then runs into the main fall, kept close on North side about 50 yards then the main fall opens in two branches went 150 yards NNW and came to a heigh rocky Island with a few small pines upon it rather nearest the North side, with a small rapid on each side, went up close on South shore, in going down the River the left hand side of the rocky Island is nearly perpendicular with a smooth face the right hand side rather lower and hanging over the water and the hill on the North side of the river appears right behind you in going down the river the fall does not appear until you are close upon the top of it but as soon as passed the Island must keep close on North side and take care to bring up close round the point as the suction of the fall is very sly and if once drawn into it all would be lost so that it seems as if nature had placed the Island above it as a landmark for the fall, after passing the Island we went NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the North shore heigh and rocky, the South side low and coverd with willows and grass, went

ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile low banks on both sides covered with willows and few stragling Pines on the South side, went ENE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile low banks with willows and very small stragling pines amongst them went NEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a low triangular willow Island the sides about 100 yards in length and a narrow bay running beyond it on the South side ENE it appears to have been the run of the river at some time and that the course of the river has been turned by a deluge went on North side of the Island NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile low banks and good pine on the North side and willows on the South side went NWbW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile ESE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile E^t $\frac{1}{8}$ mile passed a small willow island, NEbE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile low and willows on both sides of the river went ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and NE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile banks low with willows and grass on the South side and good Pine on the North side then went ESE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile

Doub. Merid. Alt. $\odot^s$ L.L. $107^{\circ} 1' 15''$

— $25' 45''$

$106^{\circ} 35' 30''$ Lat. $56^{\circ} 41' 37''$ N

we then went ENE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile broken banks and steep on South side the North point low and covered with willows, NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NEbN $\frac{3}{8}$ mile two small willow Islands at the uper end of the reach SEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile EbN $\frac{1}{8}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile NW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile North $\frac{1}{8}$ mile E^t $\frac{7}{8}$ mile SE $\frac{7}{8}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile a white sandy bank about 50 feet heigh well covered with rather small pine at the top on the North side in a bay & a low sandy point on the South side and swampy within the point went SE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile EbS $\frac{1}{8}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile NbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile E $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SEbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then put Rob^t Garroch on shore on the South side to look for the Methy carrying place as we had been informed by the Canadians that its upon this spot but very difficult to find went EbN 1 mile NEbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile three willow Islands at the head of the reach went NbE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile a piece of white sandy low bank on North side near the end of the reach

and heigh steep bank close at the end of it which is likewise sandy but coverd with small pine willows grass &c on the South side the bank is rather low and sandy but bold and coverd with grass went EbS 1/8 mile a small grassy bay on left hand or North side and a low bold white sandy bank on the South side at the end of which on the South side is a small swamp which we should have gone up to the carrying place,¹ but we continued on NNE ¼ mile NEbN ¼ mile ESE 1/8 mile a vally between the hills on the South side faces this reach a white sandy bank on the South side about ten feet heigh continued on NNE 1/8 mile NW 1/8 mile NNE 1/8 mile ENE ¼ mile EbS 1/8 mile SE 1/8 mile SSE 1/8 mile and E^t 1/8 mile then stoped with intent to stay all night fired several guns and was after some time answerd by Robert Garrock at a little distance down the river he then came within call and informed us that we had passed the carrying place we returned and took him in and proceeded down to the swamp which leads to the carrying place enterd the swamp which is about thirty yards wide at the entrance went about fifty y^{ds} it then opens to about 100 yards broad and 200 yards long found that was not the proper way so returned to the mouth of the swamp then went about 50 yards through grass nearly NNE close behind a few willows which parts this part from the river then came to a part 50 yards broad went ENE 3/8 mile E^t 1/8 mile SSE 1/8 mile SE 1/8 mile and SSW 1/3 mile good bold bank on left hand and swampy with willows on the right hand went to within a 100 yards of the end of the bay and landed on the left hand side at the carrying place upon a peice of fine meadow and put up at 9½ PM Wind Variable Westerly fine clear weather

21st Monday at 4 AM we began to carry the uper end of the sand bank on the North side of the river close below the enterance of the swamp that leads to this carrying place

¹Fidler says there was here "a lopped pine on north side, and old French small house—but none remaining in it—it was built for the purpose of keeping provisions in to meet the canoes at the Methy Carrying Place on their return from the Grand Portage—The provisions were brought down Peace river in July or the beginning of August & then sent directly to this place, for the above purpose, where they remained until the arrival of the canoes."

bears West by compass, we carried 250 yards through a fine meadow then 170 yards through Willows and grass then 40 yards up a steep Hill then 130 yards nearly level ground then 400 yards gentle rising ground then 50 yards steep hill then 100 yards not so steep then 20 yards down hill, 120 yards rather steep hill and came to ridge about two yards wide at the top the sides of which are very steep and not less than a Hundred yards to the bottom on either side and if a person was to make a slip to either side he would be shure of being at the bottom before he stoped, carried along the ridge 100 yards up hill, 30 yards down hill then 395 yards up hill afterwards 1600 yards upon rising ground through Pine woods and came to a part which has been lately burnt and is thinly coverd with fine young firrs carried on 300 yards and then stoped at 1½ PM one canoe still at the end of the carrying place, when upon the top of the ridge the North end of the carrying place bears NW by N, finding our selves badly of for water having only a little bad water which we got out of a swamp about a mile back at 4 PM I went a head in search of water along the carrying place 2370 yards through pine woods 500 yards of which is swampy ground and came to a fine little Lake across which we are to pass and returned to the others with the agreeable news at 5 PM they then had just arrived with the other Canoe and some water after geting up the hill this carrying place runs nearly SSE½E by compass

Double Merid. Altitude ☉^s L.L. at the North end of the
 carrying place 107° 24' 15"
 — 25' 45"

106° 58' 30" Lat. 56°42'4"N

This day Wind Westerly fresh breeze with clear warm Weather

22nd Tuesday at 3 AM began to carry and at 6½ AM got to the small lake went across the Lake ESE½S ¾ mile to the SW end of a heigh sandy patch in the bank the lake seems about 1½ miles long, they then carried 1 mile & 135 yards

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through thin pine woods dry sandy ground then put up for the day at 6½ AM I set of from the others to go to the end of the carrying place the day being clear made me unwilling to miss the opportunity of getting a meridian Altitude of the Sun at 10 AM I got to the end of the carrying place which I estimated to be 8 miles and 1500 yards from the little Lake, saw much ice in the methy Lake Double Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. at the South end of the carrying place

108° 4'
— 25' 45"

107° 38' 15" Lat. 56°33'44"N

This day calm with very warm weather

1792

May 23rd Wednesday at 2 AM began to carry carried our things about 2 mile then stoped from 8 AM to 5 PM then carried about ¾ mile further and put up at 7 PM Wind North-erly fine clear weather fore part of the day latter part cloudy

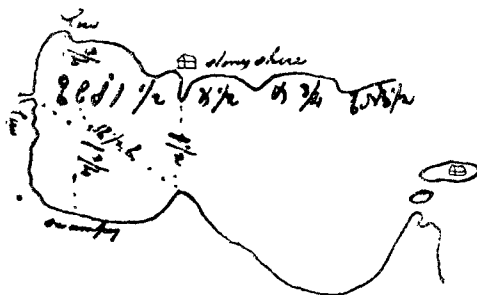
24th Thursday at 2 AM began to carry and carried untill 6½ AM then carried from 6 PM to 7¾ PM and put up having carried about 3¾ miles Wind Easterly fresh breeze and Cloudy with a few drops of rain in the night

25th Friday at 2½ AM began to carry and at 6¾ AM got over the carrying place and put up the fore part of the day Wind Variable Southerly with Cloudy Weather and Thunder at Noon the latter part of the day Wind NW with showers of rain we saw much ice in the methy Lake M^r Ross shot 5 Ducks

1792

May 26th Saturday this morning repaired and pitched our Canoes which they stood in much need of after being so long out of the water and exposed to the Sun besides the injury they have received in so long a carriage though the carrying place is exceedingly well cleared and very level except the Hill on North side the shaking upon a mans shoulder when dry loosens most of the timbers our Canoes being

repaired at 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM we got underway in a creek about three yards wide went about 2 miles making $\frac{1}{2}$ mile EbS the creek opens to about 30 yards wide at the Lake which we entered at 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM the Lake is very shoal off the mouth of the creek went into the Methy Lake EbS 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to a point leaving a bay $\frac{1}{2}$ mile deep to North and the Lake 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide to South *at this point the Canadians formerly had a temporary house as while they were upon the Methy carrying place the rivers was frozen over so they returned to this place to fish untill the river was fit to walk upon they then hauled their goods to the Athapescow Lake* went nearly along the side of the Lake EbS $\frac{3}{4}$ mile EbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile across a little bay then EbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile along the shore and put up at 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM not being able to proceed farther for Ice fore part of the day Wind Variable Southerly at 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM the Wind came to NW fresh Gale with heavy rain and continued showery all the afternoon before we went on shore we set two nets and in the afternoon got 70 Suckers or Carp and 5 Jack fish the South part of the Lake seems very full of Ice M^r Ross shot one swan and myself another



—P. Fidler, May 26, 1792

Methy lake, south of Methy Portage, with positions of two old trading houses.

1792

May 27th Sunday this day lay by the Ice having come from the South part of the Lake close on upon this shore and run over our nets fore part of the day wind SE latter part Westerly with showers of rain and Cold Weather

28th Monday this day lay by Wind being strong at NE set the Ice of this side of the Lake in the fore part of the day we had cold showers of rain latter part frosty weather in the evening we tried to find our nets but found only one of them and that very much damaged

29th Tuesday at 4 AM we got underway in the Lake after having tried for our other net without success went to a point on the E^t side E $\frac{3}{4}$ S about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles leaving a kind of double bay about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile deep to North went nearly along the shore EbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and EbN 1 mile a Pine Island about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long laying about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the shore the Lake seems about 5 miles wide at this place with a large Island well covered with pine near the North shore upon which the Canadians formerly had a house but did not find it good for provision went along the shore SbW 1 mile EbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile nearly along the shore all the side of lake passed has a stony shore and mostly covered with small asps with a few bluffs of pine the Land low kept along the shore SE 1 mile and came to a sandy river about 15 yards wide this last part low sandy banks and good pines continued along the shore SSE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then across a small bay SSE 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then S $\frac{1}{2}$ E 2 miles all this last part low land and sandy bank the Lake about this part about 6 mile wide the Opposite shore seems low and covered with pine &^c with heigh land a little ways within we were then arrived at the mouth of the Methy River which is grown up with rushes so that no channel appears and is very shoal a good bluff of pine grows about a mile beyond this river and from that the Lake seems to run Westerly round to the North side entered the Methy river at 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM when into the river its very shoal for the first $\frac{1}{2}$ mile went in the river EbS $\frac{1}{6}$ mile ESE to SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and put on shore to get a piece of poor jack fish roasted the fore part of the day has been exceeding cold the Water kept freezing upon the Sunny side of Canoes untill 10 AM

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. 110° 46' 45''

— 25' 45''

110° 21' Lat. 56°23'20''N

the course over the Methy Lake is nearly SE and runs on the North side of the large Island that the Canadians had their House upon, at $\frac{1}{2}$ PM got underway again and went down the river between S&E $\frac{1}{2}$ mile good woods on the West side and swampy on the E^t side the whole bed of the river seems full of suckers went NNW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile ESE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile between E&N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile between ESE&N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile last part banks low and small burnt wood went NEbE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile between ENE and South 2 miles mak^g SEbE $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile in which is 16 small rapids the river passed is from 10 to 20 yards wide, came to a part 60 or 70 yards wide went EbS $\frac{1}{2}$ mile S $\frac{1}{8}$ mile WbS $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SSE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile SE to South $\frac{3}{4}$ mile last part easy current but shoal with soft sandy bottom the sides of the river low with grassy marsh went NNE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SSE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile South $\frac{1}{8}$ mile WbS $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SbW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile ESE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile E to SW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile then $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile making SbE 1 mile then W to ESE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles making 2 miles SEbE then SEbS $\frac{3}{8}$ mile $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles making $\frac{1}{2}$ mile SE by S this last parts exceeding shoal running through swampy low ground coverd with small pines and junipers and grassy kind of marshes we put up at $8\frac{1}{4}$ PM Wind Northerly fresh gale with flying clouds and exceeding cold Weather for the Season

30th Wednesday at $4\frac{3}{4}$ AM we got underway went $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles making $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles SSE, then NE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SSE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile EbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NbW $\frac{1}{8}$ mile SE $\frac{3}{8}$ mile South $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile S $\frac{1}{8}$ mile a small creek on left hand went SSW $\frac{3}{8}$ mile SE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ENE $\frac{3}{16}$ mile SbW $\frac{3}{16}$ mile EbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile SEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile 4 miles making 1 mile SSE then ENE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile in which is a small rapid E $\frac{1}{8}$ mile one small ripple SSW to SE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small ripple near EbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in which is nine small ripples EbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile 2 ripples EbN $\frac{1}{16}$ mile 3 very small ripples SbE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile 1 ripple EbN $\frac{1}{8}$ mile 1 strong rapid & 1 ripple E $\frac{1}{8}$ mile 1 strong rapid ESE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile 1 strong Rapid EbS $\frac{1}{4}$ mile 4 ripples NEbE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile 3 ripples SbE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile 1 very strong rapid SE $\frac{1}{8}$ mile 2

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ripples EbS 1/8 mile 2 ripples & 1 strong rapid N 1/8 mile 1 rapid EbN 1/8 mile 2 rapids SbE 1/16 mile 1 rapid, E 1/3 mile SbE 1/8 mile 1 rapid SW 1/16 mile 1 rapid SE 1/16 mile 1 rapid S 1/16 mile 1 rapid SE 1/16 mile 1 rapid SSE 1/8 mile 1 rapid SEbE 1/4 mile 1 strong and 1 very steep strong rapid then SSW 1/4 mile S to W 1/2 mile & SW 3/8 mile easy current and at 4 1/2 PM arrived at the branch we went up June 3rd 1791 all along the rapids the river is from ten to 30 yards wide and the woods close on the banks land low the water being low in this river obliged us to lead the Canoes down all the rapids and most of the ripples but had the Water been at what appears by the banks to be its usual height few if any of the ripples would have appeared and most of the rapids could be run down with safety the river is not dangerous for any thing but the Canoes but it is very bad for them we continued on down the river to the Buffalo Lake where we arrived at 9 3/4 PM and put up this day Wind Easterly with flying clouds and exceedingly cold for the Season

31st Thursday lay by this day the Lake being full of Ice set a net and got plenty of Jack fish both from the net and by Angling at the bank edge at 5 1/2 PM M^r Roderick Mackensie arrived from the Athapescow Lake which place he says he left on the 20th ins^t he had two Indians in an Indian Canoe with him he says they carried most of their Cargoe at all the rapids in the Methy river nevertheless the bottom of his Canoe is very much damaged Wind ESE which keeps the Ice at this end of the Lake flying clouds all this day

1792

June 1st Friday Wind ESE flying clouds the People imployed drying Jack of which we have taken a great number this day repaired one net and lent it to M^r Mackensie

2nd Saturday at mouth of the River

Doub. Merid. Alt. of ☉^s L.L. 112° 21' 30"
— 25' 45"

111° 56' 45" Lat. 56° 8' 15" N

Wind ESE flying clouds the People drying fish of which we get plenty took our net up to dry and mend, the Ice still close inshore

1792

June 3rd Sunday Wind and Weather as yesterday the men drying and hooking fish we take such numbers upon the hooks that we have no occasion to set a net the Ice still close inshore

4th Monday Wind Easterly light breeze with rain from 1½ PM untill 6 PM the People as before the Ice still continues fast

5th Tuesday Wind Easterly light airs with very thick fog from the Ice, in the night the Wind had been Westerly which set the Ice a little from the mouth of the river but at 7 AM changed to East and set it back no water now to be seen in the Lake the People as before

6th Wednesday

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L. 113° 13' 30"

— 26' 7"

112° 47' 23" Lat. 56° 8' 17" N

Wind SW until 11 AM it then got to West the air full of smoak almost the whole of this Country seems on fire at 5¼ PM the Ice having cleared from the Southward we got underway in the Lake and went 2 miles along the West side sometimes carrying our Canoes at other times carrying part of the Cargoe and leading the Canoes along the side of the Ice and came to the open water at 8¾ PM then continued along the West side the Canadians started with us but they do not seem to like it so they did not reach the open water so soon as we did but they passed us about Midnight

7th Thursday continued on untill 4¾ AM and having got out of the reach of Ice in case the wind should change as we could always go before the Ice if it should blow hard we put on shore and cooked some fish and slept until 9 AM we then got underway again and at 10 AM came

accepted of some fat a few fish hooks and a small peice of birch rind which he offered to give a receipt for and repay it at Cumberland house but M^r Graham would not accept it this morning Calm fine weather but soon afterward it blew up a heavy gale at West which prevented us from going any further this day



—P. Fidler, June 8, 1792.

West arm of Ile à la Crosse lake, showing positions of the trading post of the North-West Company, and another house west of it.

1792

June 9th Saturday lay by this day Wind bound M^r Ross ingaged the Indian that accompanied M^r Mackensie from Athapescow to accompany us to Cumberland House its the same Indian that deceived us at Athapescow we found

McGillivray who left word to supply us in any kind of article that we might stand in need of, & that was in their possession—such conduct as this is what we have never before experienced from the Canadians.”

The dour Ross has this to say of his reception:—“We was well received by Mr. Graham, the Commander, by the order of Mr. MackGillvery, one of the Canadian Company, they offered any thing they had that we was in need of. Provisions being all we was in need of, and that was the thing they had none of only fat, that I took 60 lbs of to eat with fish as they are but very poor eating by themselves. I offered a recceite for the fat but he would not accept of it, he told that their people was amply supplied last fall at Cumberland House. I also received some thread for mending nets.”

but one Indian more at this House and he refused Wind
NW hard Gale with cloudy cold weather

10th Sunday at 6 AM got underway after having waited three
hours for the Indian which had engaged to pilot us down
the falls but after many excuses he refused to accompany
us as he said he could not persuid his wife or a lad that was
there to accompany him for my own part I was not sorry
as he would only delay us at 6 PM we got to the end of
the Lake and at 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ PM put up at the small Lake next to
Isle-a-la Cross Lake and set a net fore part of the day
Wind NW fresh breeze cold cloudy weather latter part
clear and nearly Calm *this day we took some eggs of the
Crow duck its a large black kind of duck with a beak like a
crow and lives upon fish but to our great surprise we could
not boil them hard and instead of white they had a kind of
green jelly the yelk was the same as other eggs we thought them
very fine eating*

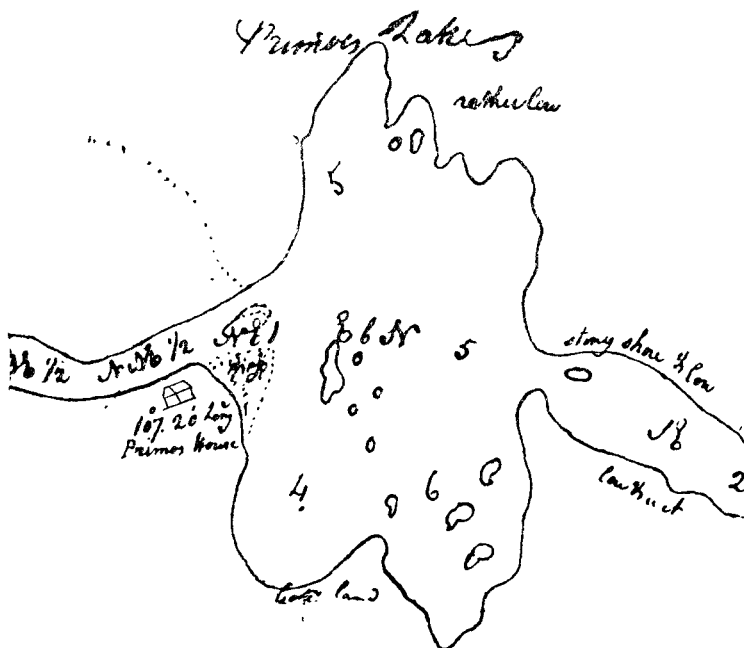
11th Monday at 4 AM took up our net and got a few fish
which served for breakfast at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway
and at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM put up about 6 miles in Primoes Lake we
carried at the two carrying places and shot all the other
falls or rather strong rapids the long one below the first
carrying place was shoal at the lower end¹ Wind Southerly
Clear Weather we sailed to the first fall but was hindered
by it afterwards and particularly in the rapids at 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
PM set our nets and M^r Ross shot two Geese

12th Tuesday at 4 AM took up our nets got as many small
Jack and Suckers as made a meal at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway
went to the first fall run part down then carried 200 yards
on the South side then run the remainder of the fall with
all the cargoe in went to the lower end of the knee Lake
and put up at 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM we run all the other falls this day

¹This day they passed the mouth of Mudjatick river, which Fidler calls
Grey Deers river and of which he says "this way the Indians sometimes go to the
Athepecow lake, but it is too shoal for large loaded canoes to attempt it. A few
miles from its mouth a very large lake that this river (Deers) falls out of called
the Deers Lake full of islands and very deep water."

When I ascended this river on the way to Cree river and Black lake no such
lake was found, but Fidler may be referring to Cree lake, which, however, is
discharged northward through Cree river, or he may be referring to some lake
on the as yet unexplored route by McFarlane river to Lake Athabaska.

except the one before mentioned the carrying place fall was good Wind from East to South and back to SE light airs evening and morning and strong gale midday with clear Weather Musketoos thick this evening set our nets



—P. Fidler, June 11, 1792.

Primeau lake, on Churchill river, showing the position of Primeau's house, which Turnor says was the first house built in this part of the country.

1792

June 13th Wednesday at 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM took up the nets got a few fish and at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway stoped 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hour at the head of the Snake fall being much wind afterwards we went to the lower end of the Snake river¹ and put up at 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM and set our nets Wind and Weather as yesterday

¹Fidler speaks of this part of the river as follows:—"S E 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ (mile) & entered the Snake lake—The upper half of the last reach a rapid current, & bad poling the canoes up it,—the lower part easy current with a few rocks on S.W. side—on

14th Thursday took up our nets got a few Jack, Suckers and Perch at 5½ AM got underway stoped about 1½ hour about mid day and Angled a few Jack at the lower end of the Snake Lake then went to the black bear Island Lake and put up at 8 PM carryed at the three carrying places between the Mouse Lake and the Black Bear Island Lake in the morning Wind variable Northerly with Cloudy Weather afterwards Wind Variable between South and East with Clear Weather set our Nets in the Lake

1792

June 15th Friday took up our nets got as many fish as will serve the day at 6¼ AM we got underway and at 8 PM put up about ¾ mile below the rapid in the black Bear Island Lake we was stoped by the Wind about 2½ hours in the middle of the day Wind Easterly easy breeze in the morning and in the middle of the day a perfect Storm in the evening more moderate as usual set our nets

16th Saturday at 6¾ AM got underway after having took up our nets cooked our fish &^c we got one good trout and a few Jack and Suckers put up at 11 AM 8 miles from the East end of the black Bear Island Lake Wind near SSE strong gale with Thunder and heavy rain at 11 AM continued raining untill 5 PM and flying rain like clouds untill 8 PM then fine Calm Clear Weather set our nets

17th Sunday at 8 AM it began to Clear it having rain nearly all night took up our nets but *got no fish as is common in Thunder Weather* at 9 AM got underway at Noon got to the lower end of the Carrying place at the East end of the black bear Island Lake

Doub. Merid. Alt. ☉^s L.L... 115° 37' 45''

— 25' 45''

115° 12'

Lat. 56°34'36''N

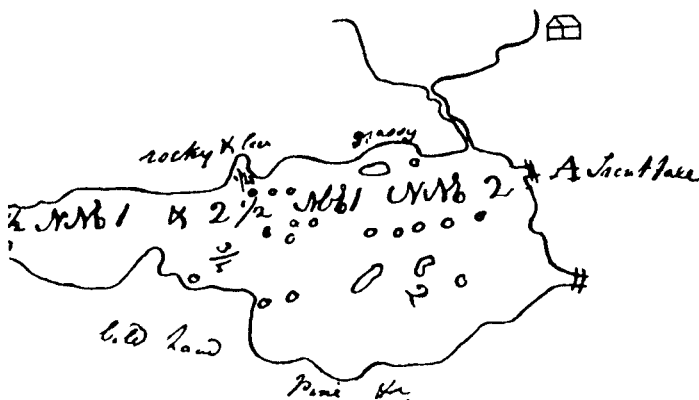
N.E. side a fine high bank with firs, & the S. eastern extremity of the Jepewyan country, that they can go from this point into their own lands without ever having the business to use a canoe—no rivers or lakes of any magnitude intersecting in that direction." This route would probably be along one or more of the great gravel ridges which cross that country from north to south. (See note on p. 348).

at 2 PM met Six Canoes of Chepawyans in the Trout Lake one of which was the Indian who undertook to carry letters from the Atha-pes-cow Lake to Churchill he returned the letters and excused himself by saying that it is bad for provision near Churchill and that many had died in that part through want of provision they informed us that M^r Frazier¹ who winterd at a little Lake near the end of this Lake the winter before last and last winter at the rapid river between 60 and 70 miles lower down has had very great success and was not able to carry out his furs but that I do not believe as they have always plenty of men they said M^r M^cGilvery had informed them that M^r Small² was gone to England for a Medicine to kill all the Englishmen and that we were all lost, the Medicine is likewise to kill all the Chepawyans that go to the English but we informed them we had a better Medicine and are not fearfull of them as they must get every thing from our Country and our Country people will not let them have the best as they may see by the differance in the Cloth Blankets Guns &^c which seemed fully to convince them that what the Canadians say is false and the Che-pa-wy-ans are such liars them selves that they readily believe other people to be so and the Canadians give them such room that they suspect every thing they say or promise, we traded a few dried trout from them as they never give you any thing like the Southern Indians who never let an Englishman pass them without giving some provision if they have it whether they receive any return or not but a Che-pa-wy-an loves first to make a bargain we stoped with them about two hours and then went to the end of the Lake and put up at 5 PM Wind SE fresh breeze with Thunder and rain at 5¼ PM untill 8½ PM the Indian who had the letters came to us and staid all night we set one net at the mouth of the Creek where Frazier Winterd

¹Alexander Fraser wintered in 1790-1 on McIntosh lake, in 1791-2 on Rapid river, and in 1796-7 on Reindeer lake. He left the West in 1802 and settled at Rivière-du-Loup, Quebec.

²Patrick Small left the West in the summer of 1791 and went to England, where he remained for the rest of his life.

the Winter before last and the Indian took the other to the Lake at the head of the Creek and set it *the creek is not above $\frac{1}{4}$ mile long with a fall in the middle it bears a great Character for fish* both by the Indians and Canadians the Indian Angled at the foot of the fall for trout but without success the Thunder had drove them into deep water



—P. Fidler, June 17, 1792.

North-east end of Trout lake on Churchill river, and the house on McIntosh lake where Alexander Fraser spent the winter of 1790-1.

18th Monday at 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway after taking up our nets cooking &c we got one trout a few Tickameg and some Suckers as many as will keep us for the day, we carried over the carrying place then run a rapid which was good then carried over the next carrying place crossed the round bay below and run a rapid then came to the rapid mentioned as commonly a carrying place but which the Canoes was led upon North side we carried the goods 30 yards on the South side upon a rock then handed the Canoes to the bottom went 100 yards and run the next rapid not good crossed the little Lake and entered the river run a small rapid and came to the carrying place 130 yards on North side shot the rapid which proved good continued

on down the river and run two more rapids which proved good entered a little Lake kept to much to the North and went down a bay NNE 3 miles and was obliged to return not finding an opening as expected came into the old track and went 3 miles and came to the end of the Lake entered a river run two small rapids entered a little lake went along it and came to the divels carrying place carryed all but our bedding and lumber run the Canoes near $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then some times run and some times handed to within 30 yards of the foot of the fall then carried on North side, sticked and stoned our nets ready for seting then went down the river run two rapids deep and good but much swell and another with many bad stones laying in it then went $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and put up at 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM at the little lake or bay we lay at on Sept 24th, 1790 Wind Westerly fresh breeze and Calm alternate with warm showery Weather set our nets in the Lake

June 19th Tuesday took up our nets got 3 good jack a few suckers &^c as many as will serve the day, after cooking &^c at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM we got underway went to the Otter carrying place handed the uper part then run the lower part went over the Otter Lake carried at the two carrying places below the Otter Lake and went over the next Lake and run down the next rapid which is a carrying place in going up put up at the foot of the rapid at 8 PM Wind NE light breeze with hot sultry weather set our nets

20th Wednesday took up our nets but little success not having taken fish enough for breakfast at 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM we got under way went to the next carrying place carried over and put up at 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM it raining to hard to proceed remained all day we got a few jack fish at the foot of the fall which is a very heavy one, I mended our nets which stood much in need of it, in the morning Wind NE with a little rain at 9 AM the Wind shifted to NW and continued a heavy gale with rain all day

21st Thursday at 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM we got underway and 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ AM had got over the carrying place of the great rapid¹ we stoped

¹Before reaching the great rapid they crossed the Kettle portage which Fidler says is so called "on account of several very round holes of a cylindrical form,

untill 1½ PM Cooking and drying our things we Angled a few jack fish, then went over the *Athake-a-sake-a-pitch-e-con* which is out of the Churchill water into the water that runs to Cumberland House Lake went over the next carrying place went about a mile into the next Lake and put up at 9 PM at this place we met with an Indian and his Wife from whom we got a small beaver Wind NE heavy gale with cloudy weather



—P. Fidler, June 20, 1792.

Nistowiak lake on Churchill river. The mouth of Rapid river is at A, with a house to the west of it, and another on the island opposite it.

22nd Friday at 3¾ AM got underway went about 1 mile and met 4 Canoes of Chepawyans went 2 mile more and found an other Canoe of Chepawyans from whom we got the flesh of a small Beaver went 3 miles and met a *M' Mackie*¹

from 1 to 5 feet in diameter perfectly smooth and round, some with a stone within loose—that has served to make the excavation by the falling waters and strong current moving the stone, and by its friction causing those kind of stone kettles above mentioned, these have been formed when these places have been the bottom of the river, now the rocks are above the surface 4 or 5 feet."

¹Malchom Ross has the following to add to this encounter:—"There was 3 Canadians & a Master going to the Grey Deers (Reindeer) Lake to settle a house, the same man that wintered nigh York Factory this last winter".

Which McKay was this? It was not Alexander McKay who was Alexander Mackenzie's assistant on his trip to the Pacific, and who was killed in the Tonquin massacre in 1811, as he spent the winter of 1792-3 with Mackenzie at the Forks of Peace river.

It was one of four North West Company traders, the other three being Robert Thompson, Baldwin and White (Wabiscow), whose houses were located in the "Muskkrat Country" between Cumberland House and the Nelson river near Split lake. On June 1, 1793, David Thompson passed "McKays house" on the shore of Paint or Manuminan lake twelve or fourteen miles north-west of Thicket Portage, which is now a station on the Hudson's Bay Railway. A few miles to

and three Canadians going to build a house at the Deers Lake that lays to the North of the Churchill river through which lake it is said there is a near way to the Athapescow Lake, they had 7 or 8 Canoes of Che-pa-wy-ans with them from whom we got a little Moose flesh we then went about 9 miles and was obliged to put on shore the wind being to strong we lay by from 10¼ AM untill 2½ PM at which time the Wind was not quite so violent we then went to the next carr^e place carried over and put up at 8½ PM Wind NW by W a heavy gale with flying clouds and a few showers of rain in the afternoon sailed the forepart of the day

23rd Saturday at 3¾ AM got underway and carried over the two next carrying places and handed down the one we carried part at in going up then put on shore to pitch our Canoes¹ and was stoped by the rain about 2 hours then Sailed over the two next Lakes got to far South in Lake Merion and was forced to return against a very heavy gale of wind by which we lost 3 hours then went to the head of

the southeast he had passed Chatham House on Wintering lake, a trading post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, which had doubtless been established to oppose McKay and his associates of the North West Company.

When Thompson passed the same place on August 22, 1794, he makes the following reference in his notes:—"Past Mr. McKay's House of 90 & 91", and when he afterwards lays down his survey notes by latitude and departure, he refers to it as "Mr. McKays Ho of 92 & 93", so probably it was occupied by McKay in both these winters.

McKay was now on his way to Reindeer lake, where he doubtless built the house which is referred to by Thompson on June 12, 1796, as follows:—"At the mouth of the Deer's Lake in Head of the Deer's river, at the Canadian House built by Mr. McKay," which he places in North latitude 56° 20' 22".

Three weeks before the above date, on May 23, 1796, just as he was leaving Duck Portage House on Churchill river, Thompson records that "Mr. McKay with 2 canoes arrived about 10 A.M." He had already visited the North West Company's trading post at Duck Portage during the winter of 1795-6, and he is referred to several times in Thompson's notes of that winter.

On July 5, 1797, shortly after Thompson had left the Hudson's Bay Company and had joined the North West Company, and when at the mouth of Black river on Lake Winnipeg on his first trip to Grand Portage, he speaks of writing to "Mr. Will'm McKay," probably his former opponent, who was henceforward to be his partner.

Late in July when at Grand Portage, he speaks of William McKay being in charge of the Muskiko Country, which was the country in which "Mr. McKay" had been trading for several years.

McKay was one of the signers of the Montreal agreement of 1804.

¹Fidler says, "In the Pelican Lake an old Canadian House.—it is now entirely down—built in a fine small sandy bay about the year 1779".

the Carr^e place and shot the head of the fall then was obliged to make a new Carrying place about 50 yards to the lower end of the old carrying place then went to within 1 mile of the short carrying place upon the Island and put up at 8 PM Wind NW very heavy gale at times with showers of rain

1792

June 24th Sunday at 3¼ AM got underway went to the carrying place upon the Island 20 yards carried all over went down the river some times Sailed and some times paddled untill we came to the next rapid where we carried part 220 yards in going up run the rapid all down it is rather shoal at bottom but not bad continued on to the next rapid where we handed ¾ miles in going up we now carried part of the Cargoe ¼ mile near the middle of it and run all the rest and put up at the foot of it at 8 PM Mid day Wind NW fresh gale morning and evening Calm with fine Clear Weather this day I killed a black Bear which was very acceptable to us

25th Monday at 3½ AM got underway and at 7^h 50' entered the Beaver Lake¹ went to nearly the end of the Lake cooked some Gull eggs we had taken upon an Island and some Bears flesh and breakfasted stop 1½ hour and at 1^h 10' entered the Sturgeon wear river put up at 7¾ PM 1½ mile above the Ne-mew-Kip-a-ha-gan or Sturgeon wear Wind NE light Airs & Clear

26th Tuesday at 3¾ AM got underway and at 7 AM we got to the Carrying place² carried over pitched our Canoes and got our breakfast and at 9^h 50' AM entered Cumberland

¹Fidler's map of Beaver lake, here reproduced, shows a house on its western shore in a bay south of the mouth of Sturgeon-Weir river, possibly the one occupied by Frobisher and his party sixteen years before, and another on the eastern shore north of the river discharging the lake.

²Fidler here gives us some interesting information about the different routes to York Factory.

"A small river on the north side falls into this one called the Goose river that falls out of the Goose lake—the North track to York Factory, that our people with the Indians usually came when Cumberland House was built in 1773 [*sic*] and for some few years after, until some passing by the way of Lake Winnipeg and found that the most eligible way—both for the fewness of the Carrying Places & rapids altho it is a considerable way about."

House Lake¹ this river is very shoal but the stones are not sharp the strongest part of the current is between the Carrying place and Cumberland house Lake after seeing the track between this place and Isle-a-la Crosse a second time we none of us think it so bad as when we went up but every river appears worst the first time of seeing them as the mind is constantly in anxiety for to know what difficulties lays before, the wind being at SE we crossed the Lake in a very heavy swell to gain the Weather Shore which is all perpendicular smooth rocks about 20 feet



—P. Fidler, June 25, 1792.

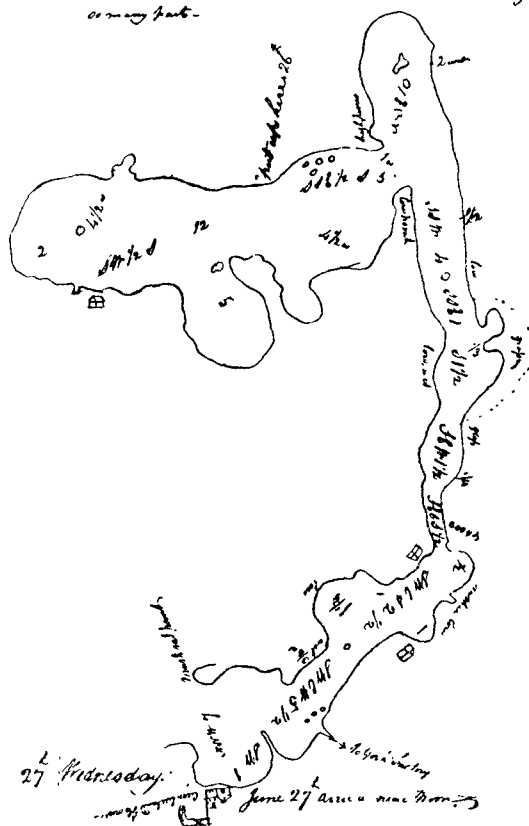
Beaver lake.

high coverd with small pine we stoped from 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ PM untill 3 PM then went to the bay about 13 mile from the river and put up at 7 PM on the North side of the bay if we had gone farther we could not have put on shore untill we come near Cumberland House Wind SE heavy

¹Fidler, again speaking of the mouth of the river, says:—"An old Canadian House here, but abandoned some years back—when they removed to the Beaver Lake."

Fidler's map of Cumberland lake gives a general idea of its shape, though it is neither on a definite scale, nor is it orientated in any definite direction. Going southward from the mouth of Sturgeon-Weir river, a house is shown on the south side at Sturgeon Landing, where Blondeau's men built in 1778. Then, beyond the Narrows on the right or west side, is a house probably built by White, the North West Company trader. From him these Narrows have ever since been called Whitey's Narrows. A few miles south of White's House, but on the south shore, is another house, probably the one built by Joseph Frobisher in 1773, and then Cumberland House, where the Mission is now located.

June 26, Boat on Cumberland, or Sturgeon lake as we call it, but after going through
 12 miles as put up. We were arrived at Cumberland House, the 27th about
 noon — I shall therefore continue the lake on another drawing it with
 as many facts —



—P. Fidler, June 26-7, 1792.

Sketch of Cumberland or Sturgeon lake, from the mouth of
 Sturgeon-Weir river to Cumberland House.

The houses shown are probably Blondeau's house at Sturgeon
 Landing; White's house on the west shore at what are now
 known as White's Narrows; Frobisher's house on the south-
 east shore, and Cumberland House.

gale mid day with showers of rain morning and evening with fine Clear Weather

27th Wednesday at 5½ AM got underway which was as soon as the Weather would permit as it Thunderd very heavy and heavy rain all night at 2 PM arrived at *Cumberland House*¹ after a very good passage every circumstance considered, and found all well at this place but the place in the same situation as it was two years ago as there is neither Brandy or any Trading goods to speak of but find the long intended House is begun

28th Thursday Condemned M^r Ross's Canoe and he is going to take an other old one in its place I understand M^r Tomison has left three new Canoes at Manchester House no great proof of the impossibility of getting Canoes the people repairing their Canoes and putting their things to rights

1792

June 29th Friday Wind NE fresh gale with flying clouds the People as yesterday and putting our Provisions to rights of which we have got a good Supply

30th Saturday at 5¾ AM got off from *Cumberland House* which is rich in Furs but poor in goods at this time there is not so little as four Thousand Pounds worth of Furs laying at this place we have taken twelve bundles of Furs into our Canoes from this place besides those brought from *Athapiscow*, went down the Taat-a-skitch-a-wan or split river² and at 9^h 50' AM entered the Sas-katch-a-wan River went about 40 miles down the Sas-katch-a-wan River and put up at 8 PM Wind NE rainy Weather with Thunder in the forefront of the day

July 1st Sunday at 4 AM got underway went to within 9 miles of the Skip-pa-ta Skeek-quan-ish Lake and put up at 8 PM Wind NW fresh gale mid day morning and evening calm with clear Weather M^r Ross killed 1 Beaver and 2 Swans self 1 Swan

¹Malchom Ross writes on June 27:—"Arrived at Cumberland House 2 P.M. where we was kindly received by Magnus Twatt in command of the House." On June 28:—"Messrs Turnor, Twatt, Fidler & myself went to have a look at the new building which is a very fine house so far as it is come, but is very low as yet, and is not likely to go very fast up, on account of the fewness of the hands."

²Commonly known as Tearing river.

2nd Monday at 3^h 40' AM got underway passed the Skip-pa-ta Skeek-quan-ish Lake and down the next river and went to within 8 miles of the lower end of the Cedar Lake and put up at 8 PM upon an Island which at a little distance appears like two Wind NE light airs until 6½ PM then a fresh gale at East Clear Weather M^r Ross killed 2 swans and Self 2 swans

3rd Tuesday at 3^h 50' AM we got underway and at Noon arrived at the great carrying place above the Lake Win-e-peg and at 4 PM had carried all over run the lower part of the rapid in the evening and put up at the foot of it at 8½ PM light airs in the morning and evening with a fresh breeze in the day Easterly which prevented the fall or rapid being run untill the wind set as it raised a heavy swell and made the Canoes ungovernable Clear Warm Weather this day

4th Wednesday at 3^h 50' we got underway went about half way along the Win-e-peg Lake and put up at 8^h 20' PM Calm untill 6 AM then Sailed with a SE fresh breeze untill we put up Clear Weather this day

5th Thursday Wind SE fresh breeze with showers of rain the swell in the Lake to heavy to proceed

Variation of the Compass 5¾° East

6th Friday lay by this day the swell in the Lake being to great to proceed Wind SE fresh breeze with showers of rain a kind of fly about the size of a bee and not much unlike them in colour but flat and resemble the gad fly of England in this country called bull dogs are the most numerous and troublesome I ever knew them and their bite is as sudden as the sting of a bee

7th Saturday at 2¾ AM we got underway padled untill 8 AM the Wind then sprung up at NW we then set sail and sailed untill we left this Lake at about 3 PM then padled through the play green Lake and about 3½ mile down the Jack river and put up at 8.25 PM Wind in the morning NW then variable from NW to W untill 9 AM then SW fresh breeze & clear

1792

July 8th Sunday at 3^h36' AM got underway and at 9^h20' AM came to the carrying place in Sea river at 10^h 15' AM came all over the rock in the middle of the fall at 3^h4 PM came to the black water which takes its rise at the E-cha-ma-mish carrying place at 2^h 36' PM entered the Me-tha-cha-wan Lake at 3^h 24' PM we had passed the Lake and continued up the E-cha-ma-mish River and at 7^h 36' PM put up at the fork of the river about half way between the Lake and the Carrying place Wind SW strong gale mid day and clear untill 6 PM with a little Thunder and rain on the evening which set the Musketoos mad Sailed this day from 6 AM untill 6 PM and in the middle of the day with close reef Sails

9th Monday at 3^h½ AM got underway and at 10½ AM arrived at the painted stone carrying place at Noon we had got all over the carrying place and at 8½ PM had got all over the White fall carrying place and put up on the lower end of it Wind Variable between North and West with flying clouds killed 2 swans this day upon this carrying place the Musketoos are intirely mad the two men that went over the carrying place first had their legs, thighs, hands & face intirely covered with them and no sign of their skins was to be seen and both their hands are confined in the care of the Canoe

10th Tuesday at 3¾ AM *got underway and at 8¼ AM arrived at the hill carrying place* at 11¾ AM got of the carrying place and at 8½ PM Put up upon the lower carrying place in the Wep-pen-a-pan-nish river Wind Easterly fresh gale with flying clouds in the fore part of the day the latter part cloudy with rain at 8½ PM and continued all night this day our People laid up some Pimmecon

11th Friday Wind NE heavy gale with continued rain all day and night which occasioned us to lay by

12th Saturday the rain continued untill 6½ AM we then began to dry our leather Canoe Coverings which must be done with fire or it would turn hard and useless and at 8¾ AM got underway and at 8½ PM we put up about 3 miles down the trout river Wind NE cloudy weather

1792

July 13th Sunday at 3 AM got underway run 3 small rapids and came to another and run only the top and handed the bottom on the South side then went to a rapid called the knife handing place from the stones being so exceeding sharp shot the head of it which is exceeding bad and handed the Canoes down the lower part of it then went to the trout fall and carried over and got clear of the carrying place at 9½ AM then went about 2/3 over the knee Lake and put up at 8¼ PM Wind Variable before the Sun from SE round to NE with flying Clouds Sailed from 11 AM untill 4½ PM

14th Monday at 3 AM got underway the People laid up some Pimmecon for their journey up at 9^h 40' AM we entered the Jack tent river and at 3^h 24' PM we entered the Swampy Lake and at 5^h 24' PM we put up in the Sandy bay in the Swampy Lake Wind Variable Easterly light airs with flying Clouds the People again laid up Pimme-con

1792

July 15th Tuesday at 3½ AM got underway at 2 PM put on shore Thunder and heavy rain from 2 PM untill 5½ PM at 5^h 36' PM got underway again met two Canoes of Indians below the Mossy carrying place they had been to York Factory to trade and had a bundle of Trading Goods for Chatham House the Indians belong to the play green but intend going down the Saskatchewan river and then to cross some Lakes Europeans are strangers to that way and none has ever seen the part of the Saskatchewan between the different tracks used to Cumberland House I have heard the river is not bad but it cannot be so near as the track we are now in, at 8¾ PM we put up on the lower carrying place in the hill river Wind Variable light airs fore part of the day Clear, Thunder and rain from 2 PM untill 5½ PM and Cloudy in the evening

16th Wednesday at 4^h 40' AM got underway at 11¼ AM entered Steel river and at 6¼ PM entered Hayes River continued on, the Musketoos being to troublesome to put on shore Calm and Cloudy

17th Thursday continued on and the Musketoos came of the shore in such clouds that they nearly blinded us at 9 AM we arrived at the Factory found all well and not a single Canoe set of for any of the Inland Settlements In the evening I made an Offer to Willi^m Tomison M^r Joseph Colen¹ and Counsel to return to the Athapiscow Country but my offer was not accepted as will appear by the York Factory Correspondence One objection that of the Mens unreasonable demands I am not acquainted with the method used to come at that necessary information I have made some enquiry but could not learn that a Single man had been asked either to return or the terms they expected in case they should be wanted to return to the Athapiscow Country but as my duty I made an inquiry of those that had been before and whose example many was ready to follow when the difficulty of procuring men was talked of I informed the Counsel that the men which had been with me was ready to return and that of course two Canoes was ready M^r Tomison desired to know which of them had proposed it I said Robert Garrock was the first that spoke of it but they would all agree to return with me and M^r Ross upon which M^r Tomison went and engaged him as Steersman of his own Canoe so that I was fully convinced he had set his face against any undertaking to the Northward shall conclude with my wishes that the greatest Success may attend the Honourable Company and remain their

Dutifull and Obedient

Hum^{ble} Servant to Command

Philip Turnor

¹Malchom Ross's reference to Colen is as follows:—"We got to the Factory at noon the 17th, where we was kindly received by Mr Colen the Chief. the above gentleman in my humble opinion is the ornament of this north part of the Bay by his unwearyed attention to both public and private affairs."

JOURNAL VIII

JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY WITH THE CHEPAWYANS OR
NORTHERN INDIANS, TO THE SLAVE LAKE, & TO THE
EAST & WEST OF THE SLAVE RIVER, IN 1791 & 2, BY
PETER FIDLER

JOURNAL VIII

*A JOURNAL of a Journey with the Chepawyans or Northern Indians,
to the Slave Lake, & to the East & West of the Slave river, in 1791 & 2
by Peter Fidler.*

1791

September 4th Sunday. In the afternoon I embarked with 4 Canoes of Jepewyans, in order to remain the whole Winter with them, & acquire their Language¹ These Indians have got pretty large Credits from M^r Ross, & he wished a person to accompany them, to secure his Debt, & not one of the rest of our people would winter with them—I got a few articles as supplies from M^r Ross such as 6 Womens & 2 Mens Knives, 4 Awls, 2 Steels, ½ lb of Common beads, 2 fathems of Brazile Tobacco, 1 Quart of Gunpowder, 50 Ball, & 4 lb of Shott, 4 Flints, 1 small ax & some few other trifles, I took with me neither Leather nor stuff for Socks which made me very badly of the greatest part of the Winter for those articles for Winter's rigging. Slept upon the Island in the Bay—We have no Tent with us the Man that I am going in care of left his at the Slave Lake in the Summer we are to proceed for that place

5th Monday Early in the morning got away & paddled to the mouth of the Athapescow river, where we lay by till evening & killed several geese This is now the Season that the Geese &c of all sorts return from the more northern

¹With no provisions, no tent, scanty clothing, and hardly any ammunition, Peter Fidler, at the age of twenty-two, set out to live with the Indians for the winter. The country through which these people roamed had a very limited supply of fish or game, and the climate was one of the most rigorous in the world.

Twenty years earlier Samuel Hearne had spent two years with the same tribe of Indians, and had passed through the same country in which Fidler was going to winter. His account of his experiences as given in his *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort* (Volume VI of the Champlain Society's publications) should be read with the account here given by Fidler, in order to form a reasonably correct impression of the life of a northern Indian as seen and related by a white man.

parts & fly to the Southward where they winter as not a single Bird of the aquatic kind remain here in the winter on account of the extreme severity of that Season in the Even^g we paddled across the Lake & reached the outer Island quite dark at Night the travers in that part about 20 miles we shipped much water in crossing as the Wind blew fresh at NNE

1791

September 6th Tuesday D M a^{lt} · ⊙ LL 74° 36' 20''
+ 2' 15''

Lat. 58°42'23''

74° 38' 35''

Taken at the opening across the Lake at the high bare rocky point in the road to the Slave Lake when we passed July last The Observations in this Journey are made with the small Sextant mentioned in the former part of this book of 5 inches radius with an artificial horizon of quicksilver but no parallel glasses¹ being obliged when I took an observation to seek a calm place that the Wind might not have any power to shake the Mercury which answered nearly as well as having Parallel Glasses, but oftentimes gave me much trouble to fix on a proper place in a Southern direction & clear away the woods for to remove all obstructions sometimes I would have had an observation more frequent but either the Wind blew too hard or else being in the midst of thick woods I had no watch with me consequently could make no Observations for the Longitude with the necessary degree of accuracy The Nautical Almanack & requisite Tables composed the whole of my Library—with 1 Shirt besides the clothes I had on my back also composed the whole of my wardrobe In the forenoon killed several Geese, and in the afternoon we embarked & went into the little Lake round the high rocky point where the observation was taken & obliged to

¹An artificial horizon is a little basin filled with mercury, the surface of which is used as a mirror to reflect the images of the sun and stars in taking astronomical observations. The parallel glasses are sheets of glass used to cover the mercury to prevent the wind from disturbing its surface.

put on shore too much wind to proceed As we passed this place in July I shall not again put down the Courses, Distances &c until we come to places we have not before seen I have a Boats compass with me card 3 inches Diameter

7th Wednesday Could not Embark for the Wind till the afternoon, then went about 6 miles down the little river (Rocky river) & put up & the Indians killed several Ducks & Geese so that we live extremely well¹

8th Thursday At noon Embarked and arrived at the Mouth of the Peace river about 2 hours before Sun Set & put up about 3 miles below it in the morning before we embarked killed several Ducks & Geese

9th Friday Early in the morning passed by us in a small Canoe, 2 Canadians & one woman, on their way from the Slave Lake to the Athapescow House at 10 AM got underway proceeded down the slave river till night & put up

1791

September 10th Saturday In the morning got underway went down the river & carried over the upper carrying place, & went half way to the next & put up on a small Island Got 2 half Beaver & 2 Geese this day very fine weather in general since we left our House The water has fallen remarkably much since we passed this way in July no less than 3 feet 4 inches perpendicular owing to the small quantity of water we was obliged to carry at the rocks in the middle of the river a little above the upper Portage Current very strong running out of the Athapescow Lake down the rocky river with some few rapids when in July the least current was not observable

11th Sunday Early this morning we got underway & carried over the long portage at 8 AM Fresh breezes Southerly lay by at the lower end of the Portage & all the men went on hunting but returned without getting

¹Living "extremely well" meant having plenty to eat, though he had no flour, sugar, tea, or anything to mix with the ducks and geese, and as he had no kettle he could not boil the meat but was obliged to eat it raw or to cook it by roasting it before the fire, which would usually mean that the surface was burnt and the interior was raw.

any thing also on the 7th they went on hunting & had no better success for these few days past we have gone ashore in several places in order to collect hips, being the only berry to be got, to eat in place of more substantial food—we take the Canoe & our little baggage over the portage at one trip, so that we pass them expeditiously—in the afternoon we again got underway & carried over all the portages except the Last one we met 4 Canoes of Southern Indians of the Beaver river, 7 men & 3 women, who are returning back to their own Country from War, they went in the Spring and the Cree that accompanied us all Summer was their relation & missed them in the Athapescow Lake & prevented his accompanying them; he was with us all summer They had the Scalps of 2 Men, one quite grey-haired & the other one belonging a Young Man They had a severe scuffle before they got the young one killed, he had nearly overpowered one of the Crees wounded him when another of his friends came to his assistance & betwixt both despatched him They also killed one Woman they met them coming towards the Slave Lake House as they supposed to Trade as they had a few Beaver skins with them, with hatchets, Ice chisels &c marked on them probably these were the articles they wished to purchase they met them to the Westward of the Slave Lake coming down a river that falls into it They were of the Dog ribbed tribe—& use Canoes They got from those they killed Several arrows shod with a kind of hard stone resembling flint a Bow or 2 of very clumsy workmanship a small old Knife & a Bayonet made by themselves from either an Ice chisel or a Hatchet, but both of them very rudely constructed it was 22 nights since they killed these people & they appeared very much elated at their success—barberous rascals! As they had no ammunition & Tobacco, I gave them 10 Ball (they having Powder of their own) & 14 Inches of Tobacco, & they gave me the rump of a boiled Beaver & about 1½ lbs of Fatt, which they told me was every thing eatable in their possession they had suffered great hardships for want of

food during the greatest part of the time they were on this expedition The meat I got from them was very acceptable as I much stood in need of it having these 2 days past had only the Leg of one Goose—which to an european is but small allowance as to the Indians they all in general from their earliest infancy used to go without for 2 or 3 days frequently & some times nearly double that time; as when they have any thing they can never rest till all is consumed, it is always with them either a feast or a famine They Chepewyans I was with was very near killing all the Crees on account of an old Grudge as they had killed a Jepewyan 2 years ago upon a portage I had some difficulty in persuading them to abandon their design The Southern Indians not knowing a single word of what the Chepewyan said they had not the least knowledge of their intent besides they having no Ball would have much favoured the success of the Jepewyans & little danger could have been received from them At night we all slept together & the Crees made a large fire apart from us & Sang & danced with the Scalps of the unhappysufferers upon a pole the greatest part of the Night & the Jepewyans at last was invited to partake of their general joy which they kept up till near midnight when every one sought his bed at the Foot of a Pine Tree which is our only Covering from all the inclemencies of the Season until we arrive where (Thoooh or the Paps the man that has the Care of me) his Tent is at the Slave Lake

1791

September 12th Monday At Sunrise we parted from the Southern Indians, they intend going to Beaver river their country this fall we proceeded down the Slave river & arrived at the last carrying place pretty early (it was at the lower end of the one above we slept on last night with the Crees)¹ this portage is nearly as long again as when we passed here in July owing to the shallowness of the water particularly at the lower end about 10 miles below the men all went

¹They had reached the foot of the rapids, opposite the spot where Fort Smith is now located, just north of the northern boundary of the province of Alberta.

in hunting but returned with only one partridge which was roasted & divided amongst 10 people being little to each one's share however they so far fav^d me that I got a whole leg The men was absent hunting 7 hours

13th Tuesday Went about 4 miles in the Morning & the men all went again in hunting & had no better luck than yesterday lay by at the mouth of a small river in W side* which opens South mentioned on my former passage down this river—in the Summer—in the evening got again into our Canoes & drove down the river & fortunately the Ind^{ns} killed 1 large & one small Beaver, which made all hands of us a Good Supper; which we have wanted these several days past Strong Gale at SSE

14th Wednesday Yesterday one Canoe (Red Coat) left us he is going direct to the Slave Lake house & we intend going down a river to the Westward of this that falls into the same Lake where it is a plentiful place for both Buffalo & Beaver In the forenoon we embarked & went down the river & put up on the East end of the long Portage that carries out of this into the Eggid da zal la dezza or Buffalo river in the Evening¹

15th Thursday Yesterday Strong Gale at NNW In the morning shot one $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver, one Swan & one Goose at 9 AM proceeded over the portage hauling the canoes on the ground like a Sleigh and some few light articles in it & the other carried the Things & hauled the Canoe by turns which was the hardest job of the two Went WSW 900 yards fine barren ground, then came to a small swamp where we put every thing into the Canoes & paddled across it SW 370 y^{ds} then carried every thing thro a Poplar hammock 140 y^{ds} good, then came to another deep swamp & put every thing into the Canoe as before & paddled across it 430 yards & entered a kind of Creek or narrow

*Salt river 36 miles from its mouth to the Salt hillocks which the Canadians go too for Salt. Vast quantity of excellent salt there.

¹From the mouth of Salt river the party descended Slave river for twenty-seven miles to the Grand Detour, or a total distance of 173 miles from Athabaska House. Here there is a portage westward to Little Buffalo river.

swamp 210 y^{ds} WSW & carried all thru a small hammock of Pine & Poplar 20 yards, then entered another swamp or narrow kind of Lake about 100 yards wide clear of grass, deep, & clear water, paddled along it WbN 1/3 got there

DM alt $\odot$ LL.. $64^{\circ} 24'$
 $+ 2' 45''$

Lat. $60^{\circ}22'52''$ $64^{\circ} 26' 45''$

Then along as before WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{2}$ & arrived at the East end of the longest part of the Carrying place about 1 M & put up this Lake continues about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile farther on & probably farther, the extent of it I could not see for the Grass All the men when we debarked went on hunting but returned without success I went along part of the Portage to examine it & found it as below, by 390 Pine & Poplar, 500 y^{ds} D^o—500 D^o only rather smaller wood 500 y^{ds} very bad carrying all windfall wood, & the track all thru' but narrow, owing to it being seldom gone thru' came to the Side of a pretty extensive fine open dry barren ground plain Course by Compass W^t 1890 thru' the Woods Wind Easterly gentle breezes hazy dark weather except about noon. In the Evening I went alone in a Canoe to a Beaver house having 3 Portages to make I shot one Beaver & returned to my Companions the Jepewyans very dark at Night several Beaver houses in those swamps we passed in the forenoon we carried 300 yards more on the East side the portage out of the Slave river upon the mud owing to the shallowness of the Water in that river

16th Friday Rain & Loud peals of Thunder & very vivid lightning in the Night at 8 AM set off over the Portage & carried every thing thro' the Wood as mentioned yesterday then hauled the Canoe across the plain WNW $2\frac{1}{4}$ & came to a swamp about 1/3 of a mile from the Wood on the West side the plain & put our Canoes into it which here runs nearly N & South

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M a}^t \odot \text{LL} \dots\dots 63^\circ 35' 30'' \\ + \quad 2' 45'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Lat. } 60^\circ 23' 55'' \quad 63^\circ 38' 15'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

———— All the men went on hunting & the Women & myself took the Canoes thro the Swamp which became in a little distance a creek about 10 yards wide clear of Grass but little or no current went along it very short turnings & creeked 6 miles making a SSW $2\frac{1}{2}$ mile course & came to a Beaver dam, which we pulled down & floated the Canoes out of the Creek into the Buffalo river¹ by breaking the dam down we avoided a portage of SW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile thro fine barren ground all below the Beaver dam was dry before we broke it down put up at the junction of the river & creek about 4 PM The men returned from hunting in the Even^g but killed nothing altho they saw a good herd of Buffalo Part of the plain on the Eastern side where we hauled our Canoes over lately burnt at night Thoooh our Pilot shot 2 old Beaver

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M a}^t \text{aquilae} \dots\dots 75^\circ 55' 40'' \\ + \quad 2' 45'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 75^\circ 58' 25'' \text{ Lat. } 60^\circ 21' 38'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

In clearing a place to take an observation for want of a Watch to advertise me when near the Meridian I noted the Compass after making a proper allowance for the variations Easterly & set up a mark in order to clear all the intervening objects away & to shew me nearly the time when I was to observe this method I used with success all the winter

17th Saturday A Continual rain all Day did not move

18th Sunday The rain still continues without any intermission it began on Friday night about 12 oClock & continued until 4 AM on the 19th Ins^t We having no tent

¹In the two days they spent crossing this portage they carried everything a distance of 4,660 yards, and pushed the canoes through small creeks and swamps for nearly seven miles to Little Buffalo river.

& nothing as a substitute for it to protect us from the rain during all this time we were all so much wet as if we had been ducked in the river—very disagreeable the Canoes are so very small that after we had put some of our small trifles under it there was not room for us to ly under also The Indians notwithstanding the continual heavy rain at Beaver house both yesterday and this Day but got nothing owing to their Guns not giving quick fire on account of the Wet The Wind during the rain Westerly

19th Monday about 9 AM got underway went down the Eggid da zal la dezza or Buffalo river which is about 10 or 12 yards wide pretty easy current a deal of green weed growing at the bottom of the river & the water of a peculiar taste somewhat brakish & not good to drink Small Pine Ash birch &c along the banks great numbers of beaver houses in it in some reaches lower down that was not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long I have counted 9 different houses all well stocked with Beaver a more plentiful place I never before saw or indeed any way approaching too it NbW $\frac{1}{4}$ NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ NW $\frac{1}{3}$ SWbS $\frac{1}{4}$ WN&NW $\frac{1}{3}$ NbW $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ S&SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ WbS $\frac{1}{2}$ WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ NW&SWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ a creek falls into this river in the left hand opens SSW & containing about $\frac{1}{3}$ as much water as this river put up here & the Men on Buffalo hunting & I employed myself very necessarily in drying my wet Clothes In the evening the Men returned having killed nothing altho they had fired several shot at Buffalo however my Canoe mate killed a young Bull & brot a load of the meat home as we are all in much need the rest will be brought tomorrow—it is a good way off The Pilot also broke the leg of another one in the Morning shott one Beaver In the Evening I went to a Beaver house but had no luck

1791

September 20th Tuesday. My Canoe mate, two women & myself went for the remainder of the Bull he killed yesterday being NEbE 6 miles off thro fine barren ground on the East side the river we returned at 7 PM being all very much fatigued in carrying each a heavy load that distance

The other men on hunting & had killed nothing except the one that the Pilot broke the leg off yesterday

21st Wednesday My Canoemate & myself by the directions of the Pilot went to the Bull killed yesterday, but the Wolves had eat the whole animal except one leg & one shoulder in the night The wolves are very numerous about here Went to it WSW 11¼

D M a^t ⊙ LL..... 59° 40' 45''
+ 3' 0''

Lat. 60°24'42" N. 59° 43' 45"

----- Men on hunting
but killed nothing the Buffalo are pretty plentiful, but
the Jepewyans are such very indifferent hunters. Women
employed Splitting & Drying meats we are now living
in a very plentiful manner to make up for the very short
allowance we have generally have had these many days
past a variety of weather yesterday at Noon this Day
the Sky cleared & is pretty warm the country & season
considered

22nd Thursday

D M a^t ⊙ LL..... 58° 53' 40''
+ 3' 0''

Lat. $60^{\circ}24'47''$ $58^{\circ}56'40''$

_____ All hands employed drying the Meat, & at 3 PM we embarked & went down the river WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ NW $\frac{1}{2}$ NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NNW $\frac{1}{4}$, NWbW $\frac{2}{3}$ NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ a stony point on the East side WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{4}$ WbN $\frac{1}{8}$ a stony point on the East side WSW, W&WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ SSW W&SW $\frac{1}{3}$ W $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ NbE $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ NNE&N $\frac{1}{4}$ NbW $\frac{1}{4}$ & put up at $7\frac{3}{4}$ PM so very dark that we had some trouble to get firewood shot 1 small beaver as we paddled this river ever since the creek fell into it mentioned on the 19th Ins^t is from 20 to 23 yard wide fine grassy low bank Cloudy day except about noon forepart Windy the evening Calm

1791

September 23rd Friday At 8 AM got underway (being very early with the Jepewyans) Went NW $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW&NWbN $\frac{1}{3}$ WSW S&SW $\frac{1}{2}$ W WSW&SW $\frac{1}{2}$ SSW&SSE $\frac{1}{4}$ WSW&SSW $\frac{1}{3}$ SWbW $\frac{1}{3}$ SSW&SWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ W, WNW&SbW $\frac{1}{2}$ SWbS $\frac{1}{4}$ WbS $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ NNW&ENE $\frac{1}{3}$ NWbN $\frac{1}{3}$ W $\frac{1}{4}$ NbE $\frac{1}{4}$ WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ N $\frac{1}{3}$ NWbN $\frac{1}{3}$ SW $\frac{1}{3}$ N $\frac{1}{3}$ ENEN&NNW $\frac{3}{4}$ NNW $\frac{2}{3}$ NEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ NbW $\frac{1}{4}$ a kind of small creek on East side NW $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{1}{3}$ WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ NWbW&NNE $\frac{1}{3}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ NbW $\frac{1}{4}$ NWbW $\frac{3}{4}$ N $\frac{1}{4}$ & put up The river rather narrower the latter part of yesterday & this day & the current rather quicker The Men went on hunting on the West side & killed a young Bull about a mile off which we directly fetched, pretty good meat Banks of the river rather steaper than before Fine barren ground on the West side near the river great numbers of Buffalo tracks on both sides of the river & vast numbers of Beaver Houses all along the Indians taking little notice of them as they kill Buffalo Strong breezes at NNW Cloudy with a smart shower of Snow before we embarked in the morning

24th Saturday

D M a^t $\odot$ LL... 57° 4' 30''

+ 4' 15'' *Also 4'15'' should per-
haps be used to the 2 last

Lat. 60°32'3'' 57° 8' 45'' observations

Women splitting & Drying Meat & the men on Hunting —only 1 Beaver

25th Sunday Sharp frost last night with a continual Snow & Hail until 2 PM afternoon fine & warm & the Snow all vanished Men on Hunting Buffalo & in the Even^g at Beaver Houses but at neither had they any luck

26th Monday Sharp frost in the Night with clear freezing weather all Day Yesterday & this Day fresh breezes at the Northward

D M a^t $\odot$ LL..... 55° 30' 30''

+ 4' 15''

Lat. 60°32'4''

55° 34' 45''

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Men all on hunting on the East side of the river but killed nothing Women drying meat & making ready to embark tomorrow

27th Tuesday Snow from midnight until 2 PM which lay on the Ground Rain all afternoon & all night did not embark for the bad weat^r

28th Wednesday Rain, Snow & Sleet until 3 PM when it cleared & we got underway & went WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ NNW to NEbE $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NNE $\frac{1}{3}$ NNW 1 NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ NW bW $\frac{3}{4}$ NbW $\frac{1}{3}$ NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ NbW $\frac{2}{3}$ WNW1 NWbN $\frac{1}{4}$ & came to the first small rapid we have seen as yet in this river W to N $\frac{3}{4}$ in short turnings NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NNW $\frac{1}{3}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{3}$ WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ WSW $\frac{1}{3}$ W $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ & put up Got one $\frac{3}{4}$ & one $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver

1791

September 29th Thursday Snow all night & till 1 PM In the afternoon strong Gales from the West very disagreeable weather as we have nothing to protect us in the least from the inclemency of the weather which is now severe in the Evening the Gale abated & began again to Snow did not move owing to the Severity of the Weather the Men at Beaver houses to shoot them as they usually do in the fall but had no luck not coming out of their Houses until too late to see well to take good aim at them

30th Friday At 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway went WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ WNW1 a Creek on W^t side opens SSE about 8 yards wide, good water SWbS $\frac{1}{4}$ WSW $\frac{1}{3}$ SW $\frac{2}{3}$ W to SW $\frac{3}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ SbW $\frac{1}{4}$ SWbS $\frac{1}{4}$ SSW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ WSW to N $\frac{1}{3}$ N&NNW $\frac{1}{3}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$, barren ground on both sides of the river low willows on East side & no pine &c WNW1 a small rapid WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ WNW with small variations 2 miles, & we were under to necessity to put a shore, it snowing so very fast as we could not see 40 yards before us at noon Pretty good pine the latter part of last days paddle & this day Snow all day without any intermission fresh breezes from the West cold frosty weather our wet clothing & the cold weather makes it very bad for us & gives us all a Cold

& is disagreeable in every respect Yesterday & this Day the Ice driving in the river Snow 8 Inches deep on the Ground our Canoe is become so very leaky this severe weather that we are very frequently obliged to go on shore to empty out the Water which is a disagreeable job on account of so much Snow & Cold we have no Pitch to repair the Canoe with Got one $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver

October 1st Saturday Snow all last night & until Noon this Day then became serene clear & little wind a great number of Ducks in the river all the Small Lakes & Swamps being frozen up a great many Swans yesterday & this day flying to the Southward Snow nearly a foot deep obliged to make large fires all round about our Canoes to thaw the Ice out of them before we can embark at 2 PM got underway went WbS $\frac{1}{2}$ WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ SWbS $\frac{1}{3}$ WbN to NW $\frac{1}{3}$ N $\frac{1}{4}$ WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ NW $\frac{1}{2}$ an open place about 60 yards wide & stony shore SWbS to NW $\frac{3}{4}$ NNW to SSW $\frac{1}{2}$ WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ SSW $\frac{1}{8}$ a small river on West side opens SSE about 8 yards wide good deep water SW $\frac{1}{4}$ NbW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{2}{3}$ NbW $\frac{1}{4}$ & put up at 4 PM The Men went after the Tracks of some Buffalo that was fresh in the Snow but could not come up with any of them a small Creek & about 200 yards within on the South side a small Lake where we put up Got 1 Porcupine

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M a}^t \text{ a aquilae. } 75^\circ 13' 15'' \\ + \quad 4' 15'' \\ \hline 75^\circ 17' 30'' \text{ Lat. } 60^\circ 42' 7'' \end{array}$$

2nd Sunday Got underway at 8 AM & went NWbN1 WbS $\frac{1}{3}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ & put up Men on hunting on both sides of the river & those on the West side were more successful than the others they killed 1 good fat Cow at noon it rather thawed & the Snow fell from the Trees & then froze again at Night

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M A}^t \text{ a aquilae. } 75^\circ 11' 30'' \\ + \quad 4' 15'' \\ \hline 75^\circ 15' 45'' \\ \text{Lat. } 60^\circ 43' 5'' \end{array}$$

3rd Monday Went to fetch the Cow that was killed yesterday SW $5\frac{1}{2}$ to the edge of a very extensive plain not a single tree to be seen as far as the eye could reach to the W&WNW & extends probably very near the vicinity of the Slave Lake We have now all our Canoes as full of meat as they can conveniently carry being of a very small size Wind West dull freezing weather saw a number of Buffalo on the large plain but could not approach them within shott very fine dry ground apparently all the Plain

4th Tuesday Rubbed all the Seams of our Canoes over with fatt as the late severe weather has cracked all the Pitch & made them very leaky the fat in cold weather is preferable to pitch but it soon rubs of on touching the least thing at 4 PM got underway & went N $\frac{1}{4}$ a rapid & a small Grass Island, river here rather wider NE $\frac{1}{4}$ a rapid & steep bank WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{3}$ W $\frac{1}{3}$ WbS $\frac{1}{2}$ W $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{1}{3}$ two rapids WbS $\frac{1}{3}$ WSW to W $\frac{1}{3}$ WNW $\frac{1}{3}$ WSW $\frac{1}{3}$ W to NWbW $\frac{3}{4}$ WbS $\frac{1}{3}$ SW to NW $\frac{2}{3}$ W $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{1}{3}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ a large plain of Barren ground on the West side WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ small rapid NE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW to NE $\frac{1}{3}$ a small rapid WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ a small creek on West side & put up on the East side Wind Northerly dull freezing Weather

D M A a aquilae. 75° 6' 15"
+ 4' 15"

Lat. 60°45'37" 75° 10' 30"
*rather dim

1791

October 5th Wednesday Snow all last night & until 9 AM when it abated and we got underway Went W $\frac{1}{4}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{3}$ NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$ NW $\frac{1}{3}$ WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ WbN $\frac{1}{4}$ SWbS to W $\frac{1}{3}$ WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ NWbN $\frac{1}{3}$ NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ NbW $\frac{3}{4}$ NNE $\frac{1}{3}$ ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ NNE $\frac{1}{3}$ ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ NNE $\frac{1}{3}$ NbW $\frac{1}{2}$ WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ N $\frac{1}{3}$ NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ a strong rapid about 30 yards long, open below, shoal & strong W to NbW $\frac{3}{4}$ a small rapid NW $\frac{1}{3}$ WbN $\frac{1}{2}$ NNW $\frac{1}{3}$ steep banks upon both sides which continues a good way down the river N $\frac{1}{4}$ NNW $\frac{1}{3}$ NW $\frac{1}{3}$

NWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW1 W $\frac{1}{2}$ WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ N $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{2}$ NbW $\frac{1}{3}$ WNW $\frac{1}{3}$ NWbW to NNW $\frac{2}{3}$ river narrow & a large pine tree fallen down quite across the river which we were obliged to cut in pieces to make way for our Canoes W $\frac{1}{4}$ WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{4}$ NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ W to SW $\frac{2}{3}$ SWbW $\frac{1}{4}$ WSW $\frac{1}{4}$ W $\frac{1}{4}$ a small Creek on West side about 8 yards wide opens SSE good water WNW $\frac{1}{3}$ W $\frac{1}{4}$ WNW $\frac{1}{2}$ WbN $\frac{3}{4}$ a great quantity of Burnt wood on the West side a good way up the river & all along River here about 80 yards wide below the last Creek NWbN $\frac{2}{2}$ two small Creeks one on each side the river exactly opposite to each other one opens SSW & the other NNE WNW $\frac{3}{4}$ WbS $\frac{3}{4}$ W $\frac{2}{3}$ WNW $\frac{1}{3}$ NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$ NbW1 NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ & put up on the West side about 1 mile from the entrance of the Slave Lake¹ Good stout woods upon both sides of the river this Day & the river here nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide The Beaver houses more scarce than usual Snow in the evening & cloudy severe weather Killed one Swan

6th Thursday Went to the edge of the Lake & found it froze more than one mile from the Shore, so that we cannot proceed any farther with our Canoes & are necessiated to remain here until all sets completely fast & then hawl our things to where our Pilot left his Things in the Summer Went along the Lake to the Westward & made the following observations [See chart on opposite page]

1791

October 7th Friday Snow until 3 PM then cleared up cold freezing weather river driving full of Ice in the afternoon we broke our Canoes & made a kind of Tent of them along with pine branches which is to be our habitation until we can pass over the Ice it had a doorway or open space at each end being of an oblong form

8th Saturday The river set fast We slept very com-

¹For the past three weeks they had been descending the Little Buffalo river This stream flows northward, from twelve to twenty miles west of Slave river, and, roughly speaking, parallel to it, through a country which is very little known up to the present time. They hunted for a living as they went, subsisting chiefly on buffalo and beaver. They had now reached the mouth of the river at Great Slave lake, twelve miles almost due south of Resolution Island, opposite where Fort Resolution is now situated.

fortably in our new dwelling being the first kind of shelter we have had from the weather either night or day since we left the Athapescow 4th of last month

D M A^t a aquilia..... 74° 42' 45''
+ 4' 15''

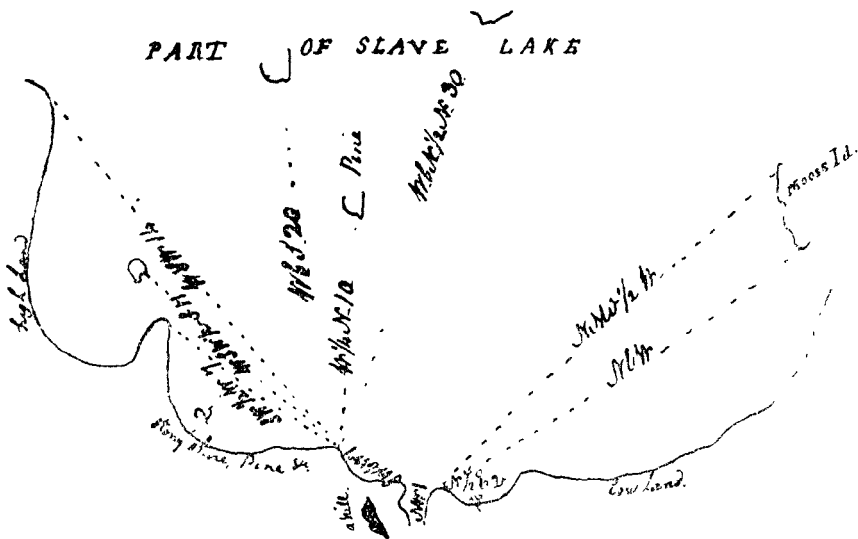
Lat. $60^{\circ}57'23''$ $74^{\circ}47'0''$

9th Sunday Got one Porcupine

D M A^t a aquilae 74° 41' 20''
+ 4' 15''

74° 45' 35'' Lat. 60° 58'' 6'

10th Monday Bad weather every day altho' the nights are mostly all clear & sharp on the 8th Ins^t the Ice in the Lake froze a long way from the shore but heavy gales this day at NW broke a deal of it in pieces again



—*P. Fidler, October 6, 1791.*

Shore of Great Slave lake, on each side of the mouth of
Little Buffalo river.

11th Tuesday Light breezes at SSE cloudy weather could not get a sight of the lunar Eclipse Set up a few martin traps

12th Wednesday

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{DMA}^t \odot \text{LL} \dots\dots 42^\circ 20' 0'' \\ + \quad 4' 15'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{Lat. } 60^\circ 57' 56'' \quad 42^\circ 24' 15'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

Not very clear. Went round my Martin Traps & got 1 Martin The Women employed making Bone fatt in a Birch rind kettle by beating stones red hot & frequently immersing them into it which makes a tolerable shift for want of a Metal one We are a very poor set not having a Kettle amongst all of us we eat our meat always roasted for want of a Kettle to boil it in making everything in readiness to walk towards the Slave Lake House tomorrow

13th Thursday Took the following observations for Latitude all being Double Meridian Altitudes—viz

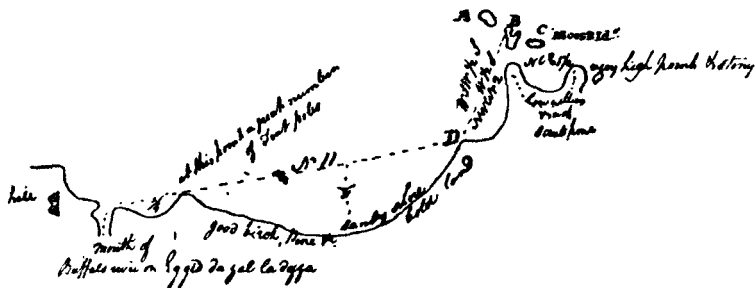
Aldebaran		West shoulder of Orion	
	90° 10' 30''		70° 20' 0''
	+ 4' 15''		+ 4' 15''
Lat. 60°58'14''	90° 14' 45''	Lat. 60°58' 4''	70° 24' 15''
Regil		Betelguese	
	41° 8' 30''		72° 46' 0''
	+ 4' 15''		+ 4' 15''
Lat. 60°58'52''	41° 12' 45''	Lat. 60°57'27''	72° 50' 15''

Mean of all taken here 60°58'2''N.¹

at 8 AM got all things packed up and in readiness & set off over the Ice close the Shore towards the Moose Islands we carry every thing on our backs having no sledges made the Ice being so very slippery that we got many falls & made it very fatiguing particularly for the Thighs put up at 5 PM went as under

¹The position here given is two minutes too far south.

The 3 Islands marked *A B & C* are called the Moose Islands¹ from *A* to *B* is 3 Miles & from *B* to *C* $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile the *I*^d *B* is pretty large & a Canadian house has been built upon it & inhabited from 1794 to 1799 The Small Hill near the mouth of *Eg gid da zal la dezza* appears from *D* where we put up Like an Island



—P. Fidler, October 13, 1791.

South shore of Great Slave lake, from Little Buffalo river to Moose Island (Fort Resolution).

D M Alt a aquilae at *D* $74^{\circ} 20' 30''$ Good pine on the *I*^d *A*
+ $4' 15''$

Lat. $61^{\circ} 8' 32''$ $74^{\circ} 24' 45''$ Burnt wood at *D*

14th Friday Set off at 8 AM & went along the Lake until we came to the Moose Islands where it was not froze over so we crossed thro' the point of woods until we got to the small Island just around the point & went along the Lake as under

Betwixt the large Moose *I*^d & the main shore only about 40 yards a deal of Burnt wood upon it & very stony vast quantities of driftwood along the shore yesterday & this day piled up in many places above 20 foot thick Killed a Porcupine yesterday & 1 this day made a hut of Drift wood & grass as the weather appeared bad put up at the mouth of the Slave river pretty late in the Evening very

¹These islands are now known as Round, Resolution, and Moose Islands. We have here the statement that a house was built for the North West Company on Resolution Island in 1794.

slippery walking upon the Ice as yesterday Stopped at the Moose Ids about 1 hour & I went upon the larger one over very thin Ice with 2 long poles in my hands & flatt on my belly

1791

October 15th Saturday In the morning the men went to look at the river near the Lake & found it impassable not yet being froze over on account of the late high Westerly wind in the afternoon the men went for Birch to make sledges & very fortunately met with one of their Countrymen that was going to the side of the Lake for some Goods of his that he had left there some time ago he informed that there were several Tents about 8 miles up the river & that the Ice opposite these Tents were passable over it

16th Sunday Got underway at 8½ AM & proceeded up along the river & arrived at the Tents about noon¹ 10 Canoes here that were stopped by the Ice on the early setting in of the Fall They are luckily tolerably stocked with Fresh & Dry meat They inform us that the Canadians had not arrived with Goods at their house at Slave Lake 3 Days ago & doubtly they will not as all the Smaller branches are froze over & great quantities of floating Ice driving down the larger ones Fresh breezes at SSE with Snow most part of the day cold freezing weather The Indians are very busy making Snow Shoes & Sledges ready against the Large Branch gets frozen over In the afternoon we made a hut of pine branches for our habitation the Tent &c belonging to the Indian I am with one at Tall chu dez za about 50 miles yet farther off to the Eastward along the Lake

17th Monday Nothing particular

18th Tuesday I went a little up the river & built 12 Martin Traps

19th Wednesday Visited my Traps & got one Martin Indians also making Traps

¹This would probably be up through the delta to about the place where the Nagel Channel branches to the south from the main stream.

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20th Thursday The Indians burnt the Greater part of their Canoes as they said no person should receive any benefit from them & that they would not be here next year to use them Moved 2 miles up the river One Tent along with the others & the 2 young men that paddled with me in the Summer are gone for the Slave Lake House The Indians killed a Black Bear in his vault about 3 miles from the Tent

21st Friday Accompanied the Indian Men that went to fetch the meat of the Bear killed yesterday The skin they burnt & all the large bones were cut out & thrown to all the four cardinal points—a piece of superstition of theirs Went round my Traps but got nothing

D M Al a aquilae 74° 11' 0"
+ 4' 15"

Lat. 61°13'17" 74° 15' 15"

1791

October 22nd Saturday A pretty smart thaw that overflowed the Ice These several Days past fresh breezes at SE clear sharp weather Cannot purchase any Leather from the Indians for no consideration they wanting to make Tents of it I am in a very bad situation for the want of that very useful article at this Season having neither Toggy nor Shoes on the 10th Ins^t I was under the necessity of cutting off both Sleeves of my Leather Coat to make a pair of Shoes

23rd Sunday Moved up the river about 2 miles to a Large Island & got a Sledge made

24th Monday Nothing particular

25th Tuesday After dark a Canadian & a chepawyan arrived here the Canadian is come for his Wife who was remaining with these Indians all Summer during his journey to & from the Grand Portage he says that 3 Canoes with M^r Daniel McKenzie¹ & John Findlay² em-

¹Daniel McKenzie is one of the long list of McKenzies who were at one time or another in the employ of the North West Company. He was a new arrival in the Mackenzie river district this year. He had taken over the charge of the

barked from the Athapescow & that 2 of the Canoes got overtaken by the Ice at the upper end of the Falls & that the other one got a little way below the last carrying place Thoooh at a Beaver house & killed one

26th Wednesday These 2 last nights slept in one of the Indians Tents being the only times I have had that comfort since I left our house at the Athapescow At noon we all got underway & proceeded down the edge of the river very near to the Lake & there found a Canoe which we crossed the river with altho it was attended with much danger owing to the great quantity of driving Ice

27th Thursday Proceeded for the Slave Lake House & put up upon the Willow Island in the mouth of a bay when the Observation for Latitude was taken in the Summer I broke thro the Ice but luckily the water was not deep

28th Friday In the Morning got underway & arrived at the Canadian House¹ at noon exceeding bad walking the latter part no Ice near the Shore & necessitated to carry Sledges & all thru very thick woods upon our backs a pretty good distance & had the misfortune to break the Bottle

post at Great Slave lake, apparently replacing Piché, the man who shot John Ross, who had been in charge during the summer. It is probable that he stayed in the Mackenzie river district for several years, after which he went to the Saskatchewan country, for in 1797 David Thompson met him at Grand Portage, where he was appointed to the charge of Fort des Prairies. In 1799, with John MacDonald, he is listed as Proprietor for the North West Company of "Upper Fort des Prairies and Rocky Mountains". In 1804, he signed the Montreal Agreement by his Attorneys John Gregory and William MacGillivray. He returned to Fort Chipewyan in 1806. In 1816, he was taken prisoner by Lord Selkirk at Fort William, and in 1817 he was at St. Anne, Ottawa river. He died at Brockville, Ontario, in 1832.

²John Finlay was a son of James Finlay (see note on p. 216), and a brother of James Finlay Jr. who went west in 1785 with Roderick McKenzie in the service of Gregory, McLeod and Company. He is here met with in 1791, for the first time associated with Daniel Mackenzie on Great Slave lake. In the autumn of 1792 he ascended Peace river in advance of (Sir) Alexander Mackenzie, to take charge of what is called the "New Establishment", about forty miles above the present site of Vermilion. He was in charge of the Athabaska district in 1799, and Mackenzie speaks of him as leaving for Grand Portage on May 24, 1800. David Thompson speaks of him several times in his journals for 1803-04. In 1804 he was one of the partners of the North West Company who signed the Montreal Agreement. In 1805 he retired from the North West Company, his place being taken by Kenneth Mackenzie.

¹We have already seen that this Canadian House was built during the preceding summer on a point on the south shore of Great Slave lake opposite Stony Island, in North Latitude 61° 26'.

that contained my Quicksilver for the Artificial Horizon but luckily none of it was spilt being well rapped up within a Shirt at the House I procured another bottle which held the most of it & the rest I tyed up in a bit of Leather I being in such a very poor situation having neither Shoes, Socks Mittins nor any thing to make them off I offered to trade a small blanket & a moose Skin from the Canadian master M^r Daniel M^cKenzie with Martin Skins that I had trapped & got from Indians in the fall but he would neither Trade with me or give me those necessaries that I was so greatly in want of however with frequent solicitations he at last condescended to give me a pair of Shoes two old Socks one of which was very much burnt & about 9 Inches of their worst cloth such was the generosity of that man for his being so much against supplying me with those few things I cannot conceive unless it was his jealousy at my accompanying the Indians & by that means induce several of them to trade at our House

29th Saturday Remained at the House which I eat & slept in during my short stay The people here very poorly off for provisions large Ice driving on the Lake that they cannot venture to set nets & most part of their dependance is upon Fish Strong breezes at NNW hazy weather a great swell in the Lake The Large Branch of the Slave river set fast the 27th Ins^t the day after we crossed it

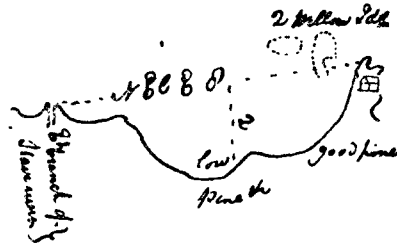
30th Sunday M^r M^cKenzie & Findlay with a few men that got froze in below the Lower carrying place walked down along shore sometimes upon the Ice & more frequently thru the Woods all the way to the house here They suffered innumerable hardships both for cold hunger & hard fatigue They have little goods here not being able to bring any along with them when the Ice becomes firm they are to fetch it down upon sledges at 11 AM Thooh his wife & myself got off from the House on our way to Tall chu dezza all the others that accompanied us to the House remains there the Canadian Master has employed them to fetch goods from the rapids There Indians & 1 Canadian accompanied us to the Eastern branch of the

Slave river who are going for Goods The Canadians were 2 Days wrong in their account having this only Friday This is the first time I ever knew them wrong 2 days but they are one frequently M^r M^cKenzie says that 2 of their Canoes are froze in a good way below the Falls & that the others are at the head of them & that those people there was very near eating one another thro' hungar As I had in the Summer taken sketch betwixt the West & Eastern branches I now ommit it & beyond to the East ward of the Eastmost branch wait as on the other side

1791

October 30th

A high point of Rocks & scrub pine a large I^d bearing from this point N 20 Miles



—P. Fidler, October 30, 1791.

South shore of Great Slave lake from the east branch of Slave river to the houses of Grant and Leroux.

A little round the Point 2 old Canadian Houses¹ one belonging to M^r Rioux² & the other to M^r Cuthbert Grant³

¹These houses were on what is now known as Grant's Point, twelve miles east of Stony Island.

²Laurent Leroux, who occupied one of the houses, was born about 1758, and was a clerk in the party that started westward from Grand Portage in 1785, in the interest of Gregory, McLeod and Company. John Ross was put in charge of the Athabaska district on their behalf, where he would have to compete with Peter Pond of the North West Company. It is probable that Leroux went with him, for during the following summer, viz. in 1786, he was sent north to Great Slave lake to build a house beside one that Cuthbert Grant had built or was going to build. In the following year, after the murder of Ross, the two companies united, and Alexander Mackenzie was placed in charge of the Athabaska

of the New Concern—built in 1786 put up near them Good Woods round the Point & farther down a little in the Bay burnt woods The Canadians were compelled to abandon these Houses they could not catch any fish which

district. He ordered Leroux to abandon Slave lake and come up to Fort Chipewyan with all his men.

In 1789, Leroux left Chipewyan with Alexander Mackenzie in his descent and exploration of the Slave and Mackenzie rivers. He went ahead to Great Slave lake and waited for Mackenzie at these houses, where they remained for about a week, and then the whole party crossed to the north side of the lake.

While Mackenzie descended to the Arctic Ocean, Leroux went north to Lac la Martre, and then or a little earlier he built a house on the north arm of Great Slave lake, about where Fort Rae is now situated. The following year he moved down the Mackenzie river and built Fort Providence, probably near the site of the present post of that name. We have seen that he went east to Grand Portage in the spring of 1791. In 1796, he left the North West and settled at L'Assomption, where he died in 1855, aged 97 years.

Cuthbert Grant was probably a relative of Robert Grant, who may have been associated with Peter Pond at Sturgeon river fort on the Saskatchewan river, and it is possible that he may have accompanied Pond when the latter went north to Athabaska river in 1778. That he served as his assistant both in trading and surveying is clearly indicated on the Ezra Stiles copy of Pond's map on which two observations for latitude are attributed in whole or in part to him, viz. "63° obs'd by Mr. Grant", and "61° 14' obs'd by Messrs. Pond and Grant."

On the north side of Lake Athabaska a trading post is shown marked No. 20, which is undoubtedly the house passed by Turnor and Fidler on August 29, 1791, at Singed Dog Point, and shown on Fidler's Sketch on page 450.

Grant descended Slave river with a party in 1786 and wrecked two canoes and drowned five men at the "Rapid of the Drowned" just below Fort Smith, but nevertheless he went on to Great Slave lake and built or occupied a house on its south shore. It is quite possible, however, that this was not his first visit to that lake, for on the map above cited there is a house marked on its south shore about where the houses of Leroux and Grant afterwards stood with this mark opposite it "Here Capt. Pond reside 3 years 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784 came off". Pond may have visited this house, but it is much more probable that it was an assistant or clerk who resided in it, and that assistant may have been Grant.

Fidler is clearly in error here when he says that Cuthbert Grant, and not Laurent Leroux, was in the service of the "New Company".

On December 16, 1789, Angus Shaw wrote from Moose Fort which was on the upper waters of Beaver river, and not far from the Saskatchewan river, that "Cuthbert Grant was sent in the place of David Grant," though it is not stated where he was sent.

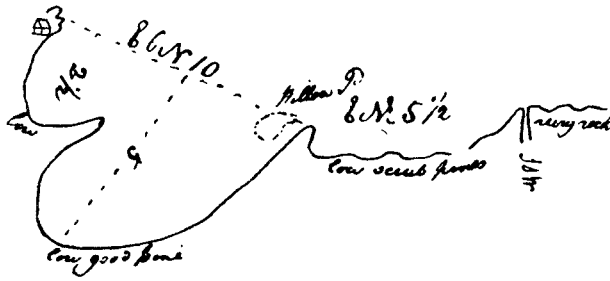
Where he was for the next few years is uncertain, but Robert Grant had gone to Qu'Appelle river, and it is possible that Cuthbert Grant may have followed him.

In 1792 it is recorded that he subscribed three pounds to the building fund of St. Gabriel's Church, Montreal.

In John McDonnell's Journal (Masson: *Les Bourgeois de la compagnie du Nord-Ouest*, p. 283) written at the mouth of the Souris river, in the present province of Manitoba, under date of October 12, 1793, is the following reference to him: "Went with Mr. C. Grant to Forks [of the Red and Assiniboine rivers] to separate the men, canoes and goods intended for the Upper Fort, or River Tremblante, from those that are to come here."

In 1797, David Thompson, writing in his Journal at Grand Portage, refers

is the only thing to depend upon amongst the Jepewyans
 One man was eaten by 2 others here thro' necessity
 31st Monday Went as under



—P. Fidler, October 31, 1791.

South shore of Great Slave lake east of the houses of Grant
 and Leroux.

The Willow Island about 200 yards from the Main, a pretty
 stout *single pine Tree* growing upon the NW end of it
 when I got

D M A ^t ⊙LL.....	28° 2' 45"
	+ 3' 55"

Lat. 61°25'52"	28° 6' 40"
----------------	------------

Put up at the Mouth of the river the river not yet froze
 over Several Swans & Ducks to be seen & not half an
 Inch Snow upon the Ground what a contrast betwixt
 here & the Buffalo river altho this place lays many miles
 to the northward of the latter which set fast the 8th Ins^t &
 not a single fowl of the aquatic kind to be seen besides the
 Snow there was above 10 Inches deep

to Grant as Agent for "Back of Red River", and later in the same year he visited
 Grant's trading post on the Assiniboine river and determined its position by
 surveys and astronomical observations. It was situated in Section 14, Township
 28 Range 31 West of the Principal Meridian in Manitoba, and a picture of its
 site in 1890 is shown in David Thompson's *Narrative*, p. 195.

Grant visited Grand Portage in 1798, and died in 1799. His halfbreed son,
 Cuthbert Grant, was leader of the halfbreeds in the attack on Governor Semple
 at Seven Oaks in 1816. After the union of the Companies he was appointed
 by the Council of Assiniboia as "Warden of the Plains".

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November 1st Tuesday In the morning the Man went out to examine the Ice far from the Shore & found it passable & at 2 PM we got underway & went as below



—P. Fidler, November 1, 1791.

Mouth of Tall chu dezza on the south shore of Great Slave lake.

This Groupe of small Islands appears like a point at a distance covered with scrub pine & birch very rocky past these Islands the Lake tends more South Easterly at dusk in the Evening put up found a great many Canoes here that the Jepewyans had left in the Fall

1791

November 2nd Wednesday Early in the morning the Man set off in search of some of his Country men who have been here not long ago & had left Indian marks of the route they are gone the Woman & myself remain here until he either returns himself or send somebody to conduct us to the Tents

3rd Thursday

D M A^t ○LL..... 26° 14' 20''
+ 3' 40''

Lat. 61°23'32'' 26° 18' 0''

———— In the afternoon

2 young men a Boy & an old man called Nen nee, or Left handed, came to us they are on their way to the Slave Lake House for Credit The Boy is to conduct the Mans Wife & me to the Tents which is about 20 miles off thru a very rough rocky country with intire thickets in the vallies At short allowance only one handful of Beat meat per Day for these several days past The mouth of Tall chu dezza¹ bears from where the last observation was taken S 2 miles & the Kee noo or Birch Island SSW 1/3

4th Friday At 9 AM the Men proceeded for the Slave Lake House & the Boy Woman & myself set off for the Tents but we were obliged to carry all our things upon our backs & haul the Sledges empty there not being a sufficient quantity of Snow upon the Ground being quite bare upon the Rock being blown off into the vallies very stony rough walking & very thicketty with windfall wood in the vallies As the Woman & boy walked slow I set foreward by myself seeing the Track in some few places & after going about 14 miles I found several where the Indians had been thru taking Beaver houses & I unluckely took a wrong one & got lost & slept by myself had nothing to eat but fortunately a few Martin bates which I had in my bag of which I eat for supper very uneasy at being lost

5th Saturday All this day I spent in a fruitless search for the right Track & in my search shot one White Part-ridge but eat only half of it for supper not knowing when I could get any thing else or find the Indians

6th Sunday Before day light & a little after fired 3 Shots & as the morning was fine & calm I expected that the Indians would here them if they were nigh & return them but to my great mortification heard nothing Left

¹The river here called Tall chu, for "dezza" means river, is called Taltson on our present maps. The final syllable is pronounced as a sort of grunt—*chu* and *tson* being merely different attempts to spell a guttural sound which is foreign to the English language. Fidler says that the name means "Red Knife river". It was descended by Dr. Charles Camsell, now Deputy Minister of Mines for Canada, in 1914, with a party of eight men in three canoes. He left the north shore of Athabaska lake, and by a series of five portages, and small connecting lakes, crossed the height of land to Tazin lake, from which he descended Tazin and Taltson rivers to Great Slave lake. His trip is described in Memoir 84 of the Geological Survey of Canada, entitled "An Exploration of the Tazin and Taltson Rivers, North West Territories," by Charles Camsell (Ottawa, 1916).

my Sledge Snow Shoes & 8 Martin Skins behind me & hung up to a Tree & my Gun Bag & Bedding I took upon my back & now determined to tread my footsteps back to the edge of the Slave Lake & waite the return of those men that went to the Canadian House the 4th Ins^t There was also there one Moose & 1 Black Bear which the Indians had killed in the Fall & could not conveniently take away They had built a small log house over it to keep it from being eaten by the wild animals & intended to return for it so soon as there was good hawling At this place I determined to remain until I found Indians My sleigh altho hawling it empty was very inconvenient always catching hold in the thickets which made me leave it After having gone back thro my old Track towards the Lake 3 miles I very fortunately fell into a fresh Sleigh Track which I supposed to belong to the Woman & the Boy particularly as I could see only the footsteps of 2 people I followed this Track & arrived at the Indians Tents about 1 PM Course from where the last observation was taken at the Lake to the Tents about ESE 14 & SbE 7 miles I intend going tomorrow to fetch my things that I left behind this morning Found 1 Tent & 1 Brush hut with one family in it when I arrived they are very badly off for provisions not knowing the proper method to take Beaver Slept in a Tent which I have not done since I left the House 4th Sep^t except 2 night the 24th & 25th of last month which has been very severe bad weather of late but thank God I do not find at present the least hurt from it altho' very disagreeable at the time My Tobacco of all sorts expended that I now cannot fill a pipe to an Indian

7th Monday Yesterday Thooh at a Beaver house & killed one $\frac{3}{4}$ & one $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver These Indians we found here had Thoohs Tent with them & the Tent & Brush hut intend to pitch toward the Canadian House tomorrow to get credit These Indians took up a hoard of Beat Meat & Fatt & gave us a little of it Also killed one Porcupine Fetched my things that I left behind Yesterday about 6 miles in a direct course

8th Tuesday Light Snow in the night The Indians pitched for the House & left us alone—Thooch his Wife & myself—a small company of us

9th Wednesday At 9½ AM got underway & went SE 5 over huge rocks & thro almost impenetrable thickets in the vallies Then 3 miles up a Creek about 10 yards wide very crooked short Turnings Light Snow in the Day very cloudy both day & night for some time past

10th Thursday The Indian & his wife at a Beaver house & fortunately killd four ½ & two old Beaver we are all very badly of for want of a kettle to either Cook or make Water in we are obliged to roast all & make water by immersing red hot stones into a roggan of Snow—or else when the Snow is hard by sticking a lump of it upon a stick before the fire & setting a small roggan dish of Birch rind below it I have neither Shoes Stockings Mittens or Trousers or any thing to make them off & those I am with cannot well assist me he lent me his old Stockings & a Blanket I am obliged to rap about me like a petticoat & the other one thro over my body to preserve me from the Cold when we pitch

13th Sunday Nothing remarkable since the 10th Inst Snow fell yesterday about 7 Inches which will make it good hawling for Sledges 2 days past the Man has been at Beaver houses but got no luck Moved NEbE 2 miles to Beaver houses but no success left the Creek when we set off which runs nearly North & South

14th Monday Man & Wife at Beaver houses but no luck

15th Tuesday Moved back along our old Track SWbW 2 to the Creek then WbS 2½ to another branch of the Tall chu dez za about 30 yards wide low banks, scrubby Juniper Very severe clear sharp weather I was almost froze in bed in the Night I never suffered such severe cold before I was obliged 3 or 4 Times to get up in the night & make on a small fire nothing but small wood we had & that but Little & I looked out anxiously for day Light long before it appeared

16th Wednesday Got off pretty early and went up the

same branch as the latter part of yesterday SEBS 9 miles SSW $1/3$ & came to the main branch which is about 400 yards wide went up it SSE 3 & put up a little below a heavy rapid and at the mouth of the Gin dezza or Musk rat river¹ when we found one Tent cont^s 1 Woman & 3 Children the men gone to the Slave Lake House for Credits in the evening they returned The Musk rat river at the Mouth about 60 yard wide bold banks & no rapid in it by the Indian account about 20 miles up there is a Portage into the Slave river about 4 or 5 miles long A great many falls in Tall chu dezza higher up this signifies in the Northern Indian tongue *Red Knife* All along the east side of this river very rocky ground & extends a great distance to the Eastward by the Indⁿ report with woods of an inferior size such as Birch Pine Juniper & Poplar—a remarkable plentiful place for Beaver Houses all in the Small Lakes which are very numerous but are very Difficult to Kill owing to the rocky situation of the Country the Beaver get into the fissures & hollows of rock & cannot be got at by any means that the Jepewyans are acquainted with To the S & Westward of this river the face of the country is quite different being generally a level country clothed with good stout Timber & very seldom a stone is to be found—a plentiful place for Martins on the West side Tall chu dezza—few amongst the rocky ground.

18th Friday Nothing Particular Yesterday

D M A^t b 62° 43' 15"
+ 10' 45"

Lat. 61° 5' 49" 62° 54' 0" Doubtful

Did not observe the Planet to rise by tightning the Lever

¹He had ascended the Tall chu dezza for about twenty miles to the mouth of the Gin dezza, or Muskrat river, now called Pierrot Creek, which was evidently a good place to catch fish. Camsell gives the distance "about twenty-three miles", and states that the river is navigable for steamboats from Great Slave lake to this place. Throughout this distance the river flows between banks of alluvial sand and gravel, while a short distance to the east is the rough country underlain by granite rocks.

Screw on the back of the Instrument the adjustment altered Went on Fishing & got 3 small Trout in angling at the confluence of the Musk rat & Tall chu dezza very poor times we was under the necessity of roasting a piece of Buffalo Skin (called a Nas kus sun) that had served to lye upon this long while past having nothing else to eat

19th Saturday

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M a}^t \odot \text{LL} \dots\dots\dots 18^\circ \ 4' \ 45'' \\ + \ 10' \ 45'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\text{Lat. } 61^\circ 4' 52'' \qquad 18^\circ \ 15' \ 30''$$

Thoooh went to Gabbles Tent to fetch some of his I o nis or Goods All the Women employed fishing & caught a pretty good quantity of Jack Fish at the mouth of Gin dezza The Nen nee & 2 Canadians & one Woman came to us the Canadians are to remain about 10 Days or a fortnight & then return The principal part of their errand I suppose is to endeavour to debauch the Indians & particularly the one I am with to send me home that they may get all the Skins they kill—a common custom of the Canadians

20th Sunday

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M A}^t \text{ } \text{ }^s \text{ LL} \dots\dots\dots 61^\circ \ 10' \ 30'' \\ + \ 10' \ 40'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\text{Lat. } 61^\circ 4' 55'' \ (7.28' \text{AM}) \qquad 61^\circ \ 21' \ 10''$$

All the Women fishing & caught about 100 lb of Jack—very good luck 2 large ones not less than 40 lbs each Indians making Snow Shoes & Sledges & occasionally hunting but getting nothing

21st Monday

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M A}^t \text{ } \text{ }^s \text{ LL} \dots\dots\dots 52^\circ \ 13' \ 15'' \\ + \ 10' \ 40'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$(8.17' \text{ AM}) \qquad 52^\circ \ 23' \ 55'' \text{ Lat. } 61^\circ 5' 25''$$

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1791

November 22nd Tuesday

D M A^t D^s LL 43° 8' 45''
+ 10' 40''

Lat. 61°4'52'' (9.6' AM) 43° 19' 25''

———— Thooh returned yesterday accompanied by a young man I called Paddy he is to remain with us all winter Caught a tolerable quantity of Fish very severe weather lately I had no Thermometer with me or I should have kept a daily account of the cold

23rd Wednesday A Canadian & his wife arrived the others it is said will be here tomorrow one of them speaks a little English caught a good quantity of Fish which serves us very well as the Indians of late have killed nothing

24th Thursday Nothing Particular

25th Friday Snow all night & most part of the Day Gabble & his Family arrived so that we all make a pretty full Tent This Man is the person I remained with the last winter

27th Sunday Nothing Particular yesterday caught very few fish Moved up Musk rat river leaving one Tent behind Went up it W 4½ miles very crooked short turnings we have lived upon Fish solely ever since the 19th Ins^t & very fortunately that we had them very little current in this river Men on hunting but returned without success

28th Monday Moved about 2 miles higher up the river Men on hunting Gabble Killed a Cow & one of the others shot a Wolverin which we snapped up before it was well warm thro—a delicious morsel!!! but what cannot hunger do We were under the necessity of leaving the Beaver Ground on the East side Tall chu dezza for want of Line to net our Snow shoes with as very few animals of that discription are to be found in those parts No Catts on the East side where the Beaver are Wind West a strong

Gale before we got away in the morning we had only one Beaver Tail amongst 10 of us—a very small share to each! River not more than 20 Yards wide Curse this Pitching WSW

29th Tuesday Went up the river making a WSW Course 5 miles & crept thro' a point of Wood on the South side 150 yd over which saved us 2 miles walking the river making a large sweep & coming nearly to the same place again One man went & bro't home a load of meat from the Cow that was killed yesterday The rest will be brought Tomorrow Got a Cap made of a Beaver Skin after the manner of the womens which is very well adapted for keeping the Snow from ones neck going thro the woods

November 30th Wednesday All hand went & brought home the meat & one young man carried a load to those we left at the mouth of this river They are nearly starving The Fish have greatly fallen off of late

December 1st Thursday

D M A^t ☉ LL..... 13° 36' 15"
+ 10' 40"

Lat. 61°2'33" 13° 46' 55"

Observed the Sun to Set S 15° West

Variation of the Compass 24°28' Easterly

D M A^t ☾^s LL..... 41° 5' 0"
+ 10' 40"

41° 15' 40" Lat.61°3'39"

The Latitude deduced from the Moon's Altitude to be preferred Men busy making Snow Shoes &^c

2nd Friday The Indians made, to me a new fashioned Kettle of the Panch of the Cow, by making a hole in the ground of about 2 feet diameter & one foot deep to support the bag & the 4 corners were propped up with sticks set in the ground in 6 or 8 places keeping the mouth extended about 2 feet wide They broke the Bones of the Buffalo

& made marrowfatt—boiled meat—made Broth all in this uncommon apparatus by immersing hot stones frequently into it every one of us hauled a stone for the above purpose or for the Birchrind Kettle, or for occasionally making water a Parchment skin is sometimes used for the purposes of Cooking in by them This is only used when they have a good quantity to Cook on other occasions when little the Birch rind Kettle is used

5th Monday Nothing particular since Friday Men employed all this intermediate time making Snow Shoes Sledges &^c Moved up the river WSW 4 miles Calm clear severe weather these several days past a number of Moose Tracks all about & the Men on hunting but without the desired success owing to too little wind which is very bad hunting that Animal on account of its very quick hearing A Beaver house close by the Tent & only got one $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver out of it Killed one Porcupine

6th Tuesday All hands at Beaver houses & only got 2 Large Beaver

7th Wednesday All the Men on hunting but returned the same as they went away Strong Gale at SE with Snow all Day in the Evening rained a little & very warm weather

1791

December 8th Thursday Moved about 6 miles WSW up the river crossed over a point of Wood on the South side (burnt) about $\frac{1}{3}$ mile thro' by doing which we saved 3 miles had we kept the river Snow in the afternoon & warm weather

9th Friday Moved 8 miles West up the river, river here not more than 8 yards wide & the water very swampy tasted

10 Saturday The Men on hunting these 2 days past but no luck moved WbN 2 miles & came to the East side the Portage out of this into the Slave river course in the last reach joining the carrying place NW by Compass left the Musk rat river & went on the South side SW 1 mile & put up on the Portage Paddy killed a fatt doe moose about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from where we pitched our Tent Our allow-

ance these 2 days past being reduced to a handful of Beat meat without any fatt Such are the inconsiderate way of the Indians that while they have any victuals they eat in a manner night & day never thinking of eating regular The Musk rat river very crooked short turnings all the way from its mouth to the Carrying place a little above which it loses itself in several small swamps plenty of water in it for Indian canoes only—upon the Carrying place about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from where we left the Musk rat river is the largest Beaver House that ever I saw & the Indians with me said that it also far surpassed in size any they had seen I had on this account the curiosity to measure it & found it to be 44 yard in circumference & 18 feet high situated in the middle of a small Swamp but appeared to us to have had no water in it these few years back The house was old & no Beaver in it it was not a collection of Houses joined together as the Beaver some times make as the families of the Beaver grow up but one single intire house & had been made in one season on account of its prodigious size I should imagine it to have been the collective labour of nearly 20 Beaver Fetched home the Doe Moose The Men on Hunting & some of them saw the Slave river at the West end of this Portage¹ it is wet & swampy the greater part of it with a good deal of Wind fall wood & small scrubby Pines & Juniper also plenty of the Country tea or Wis sa kay puck kay—a small shrub

December 11th

D M A ^t ☉ LL.....	11° 20' 30''	
	+ 10' 0''	
	11° 30' 30''	Lat. 61°2'54''
D M A ^t ♄.....	62° 31' 0''	
	+ 10' 0''	
Lat. 61°4'4''.....	62° 41' 0''	

¹The past three weeks had been spent hunting and fishing for a living on the banks of Gin dezza. Now a portage was reached, leading from the upper waters of this little stream to Slave river, opposite the upper end of McConnell island.

The Sun's Altitude with the artificial horizon (the one I always use) is very difficult to observe well on account of the Sun's small elevation above the horizon & the great distance obliged to stand from the artificial horizon Got one $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver The Planets Altitude to be preferred before the Sun's

12th Monday

D A^t α Dubhe below the Pole... 67° 45' 0''
+ 10' 0''

Lat. 61° 3' 50'' 67° 55' 0''

13th Tuesday Moved SbW 4 & came to a small Creek about 8 yards wide went along it SEbE $3\frac{1}{2}$ & put up In the morning before we started I set off to cross the Carrying place & see the Slave river after going about 3 miles & not seeing the river I returned & tore my old Cotton trousers all to pieces that I threw them away as past all repair also my Drawers became quite useless thro' Long wear Wrap a Blanket about me like a womans Petticoat to protect me from the Cold remarkable warm weather since the 6th Ins^t the Season & Climate considered The Men at Beaver houses & had great luck killing five $\frac{1}{2}$ & 3 old Beavers

14th Wednesday Rain yesterday from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 9 PM pretty briskly the rain falling at this season of the year incrusts with a hard surface of Ice upon the Snow that makes a great noise walking which makes it very hard to approach animals consequently makes it hard hunting until another pretty large fall of Snow The Last Night according to the Indians invariable custom when they have any thing we had Beaver stuck upon sticks all round the fire that we could scarcely see it & kept eating at spells the greater part of the Night Moved along the Creek SE 1 then betwixt SWbS & SWbW $2\frac{1}{2}$ along a kind of narrow swampy Lake about 100 yards wide Got one $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver Light Airs at ENE

15th Thursday All the Men on hunting & killed one Cow

Buffalo on account of the very wretched condition I am in for want of Trousers (having nothing of the Kind) the man I am with cut a skin out of the Bottom of his Tent to make a pair of Trousers & upon work at them Clear & very sharp weather

1791

December 16th Friday Finished making my Leather Trousers which is a very great acquisition to me broke all my needles in making them the leather being so stiff & hard & went to work in the Indian manner with an awl & Sinnews before I completed them having at first only 4 needles Men at Beaver houses and got two $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver

17th Saturday Men at Beaver houses & only got one large Beaver Fetched home the Cow Yesterday & this Day Got one Wolverin Gabble & his wife had a very severe quarrel & he knocked her down with the head of the Ax that I fancied he had killed her The cause was that a young man in the tent & her made several private meetings together besides the Woman pretended to have the Monthly Evacuations every 10 Days, which is a custom with the Indians at those periods not to sleep or remain in the Tent which would in their opinion infallibly pollute every thing besides having bad Luck in the Chase They retire at those times & build a small hut without in the woods for themselves till it has ceased & this pretext of hers afforded an easy & sure method to enjoy the company of her beloved paramor very frequently This Game being played a long Time the husband at Last suspected the real cause of her pretended discharges & gave her the drubbing above mentioned All the rest of his Tent mates long knew the reason of the Wifes frequent retiring for 2 or 3 days at a time but would not acquaint him with it & he being a simple person was thus so long deluded

18th Sunday

D M A ^t b	62° 43' 40''
	+ 10' 0''

Lat. 60°59'33''

62° 53' 40''

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When I came into the Tent to the fireside to read off the observation the scaffolding above which was loaded with meat broke & fell down & drove me to the Ground, prostrate, but by the greatest good luck the Instrument was unhurt

19th Monday

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M A}^t \text{ ☿} \dots\dots\dots 39^\circ 31' 30'' \\ + 10' 0'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\text{Lat. } 61^\circ 0' 27'' \qquad 39^\circ 41' 30''$$

————— Not very clear—

Our 2 young men went to the Slave Lake House with the best of the Meat we have (I would not permit them to take any furs) to endeavour to Trade a Kettle from the Canadian Master or else take one upon credit

December 20th Tuesday Gabbles younger brother & Din na sleeny arrived at our Tent they say that there are 40 Tents of Chepawyans a little way to the Northward of us that they are returning from war with the Esquimeaux & had killed 5 Tents of those harmless inoffensive people

21st Wednesday

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M A}^t \text{ ♃} \text{ LL} \dots\dots\dots 31^\circ 12' (\text{sic}) 30'' \\ + 10' 0'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$(8.29' \text{ AM}) \qquad 31^\circ 32' 30'' \text{ Lat. } 61^\circ 0' 46''$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M A}^t \text{ ♀} \dots\dots\dots 32^\circ 21' 15'' \\ + 10' 0'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$32^\circ 31' 15'' \text{ Lat. } 60^\circ 59' 24''$$

$$\begin{array}{r} \text{D M A}^t \text{ ☾} \text{ LL} \dots\dots\dots 10^\circ 41' 20'' \\ + 10' 0'' \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$10^\circ 51' 20'' \text{ Lat. } 60^\circ 59' 20''$$

In taking the Sun's Altitude I made a stage of about 5 feet above the Ground & put the Artificial Horizon upon it, by

which means I easily made a good observation In taking the Altitude of Venus I narrowly escaped being knocked down by the falling of a Tent pole The 2 men that visited us returned they are tenting at the West Side of the Slave river upon its banks which is no great distance off Moved along the kind of Lake as before SSE $\frac{3}{4}$ & from SbE to NWbW 2 miles a variety of scrub wood along the sides of this Swampy Lake got one large Beaver The Day in this part at this Season is very short that the Indians cannot go any great distance away from the Tent to hunt

22nd Thursday Got one large & one $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM the 2 men returned from the Canadian House at the Slave Lake that went from us the 19th Ins^t but they could not get a Kettle on Credit as they expected I suppose on account of their keeping me & would prevent them from giving them any skins this Season for any thing they might have taken upon Credit I expect now that we shall be the remainder of the Winter without that very necessary article The Canadian master sent the Indians about 6 Inches of Brazil Tobacco

23rd Friday A smart shower of rain at day break remarkable warm weather ever since the 19th Ins^t got one large Beaver

D M A ^t ♀	31° 21' 30"
	+ 9' 50"

Lat. 60°58'41"	31° 31' 20"
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24th Saturday

D M A ^t 2.....	39° '6 20"
	+ 9' 50"

39° 16' 10"	Lat. 60°58'11"
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Moved SW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ along the same kind of swampy Lake burnt woods upon both sides then left the Swampy Lake to the South & went WSW 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ thro' small willows &

arrived on the *Banks of the Slave river* crossed it WbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile wide & put up on the West side in Company with Dinna sleeney who has been here several days The upper end of the Island that we slept at in the Summer bearing NbE $2\frac{1}{2}$ the reach above NNE 5 a small Island about $3\frac{1}{2}$ mile above the large one got the following Observation

D M A^t α andromeda... 113° 46' 30''
+ 9' 50''

Lat. $60^{\circ}58'57''$ ¹ $113^{\circ}56'20''$

----- A number of
Moose & Buffalo Tracks on the NE side the river A man
& boy came here on a visit from the *rabbits head*.

25th Sunday Both Tents pitched up the river 3 miles & put up on the NE side in the morning the man & boy returned they are come about 25 miles from the Westward Men at Beaver houses & got one Large one $\frac{3}{4}$ & one $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver

December 26th Monday Moved up thro a small narrow swamp
that runs parallel with the river & put up got two large
Beaver

27th Tuesday Moved thro' the Swamp to the head of it
1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mile & crossed thro' the Wood $\frac{1}{3}$ mile to the river
proceeded up the river 2 miles & put up on NE side a
French Canoe lying a little above where we broke ours
upon a stick in the summer They could proceed no farther
on account of the Ice the Ice in the river here *very rough*
The Indians are here they say to make expedition to see
their Country men at the Falls who they say are pretty
numerous

28th Wednesday Moved up the river three miles & put up The Woods all loaded with Ice by the thaw & rain on the 23 Ins^t very warm for the Season

29th Thursday Moved up the river & across about 1¼ mile & put up on the SW side Gave Thooch 10 Ball, being

¹According to Fidler's description, he crossed Slave river about two and a half miles above the head of McConnell island, but his latitude would place his crossing a couple of miles farther south.

the first he has got from me this Winter all his own are now expended

30th Friday Moved to the NE side 3 miles up the river & put up opposite the large Island the Cree hunted on in the summer on our passage up Got one large & one $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver Thoooh killed a Cow on this side

31st Saturday Moved along the East side of the Large Island 2 miles & put up on the Main Men all on Hunting & killed 4 Bulls on the NE side of the Island Wind East clear morning afterwards cloudy very sharp weather Fetched home the Buffalo killed yesterday Put on a clean shirt never shifted myself since I left the House 4th Sep^r having at first only 2 Shirts & no Soap or Kettle to wash one with

1792

January 1st Sunday Moved Went up the river $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile & then NE 1 rather within on NE side the river & put up Brought two Buffalo to the Tents Fresh breezes at W the forepart of the Day latter part nearly Calm clear & very sharp weather I went to assist getting the 2 Bulls home being the first time I have been to fetch meat since the winter set in it is an invariable custom with all Indians & none more so than these I am with that the more an European does of work with them the worse he is respected by them & gets generally the worst victuals & frequently but little of it when he complys to do every thing they bid him whereas if he stiffly refuses from the first that he is with them they will be very kind to him & will give him a larger allowance of provisions than had he listened to every request of theirs

2nd Monday Fetched home all the Meat plentiful times with us now

4th Wednesday Nothing Particular Yesterday Got one Porcupine and also took the

D M Al ^t arcturus	98° 53' 30''
	+ 9' 50''

Lat. 60°45'50''	99° 3' 20''
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In taking the Stars altitude I got my fingers ends severely froze

5th The Men on hunting & killed 2 moose upon the Big Island it never rains but it powers sometimes a Single Partridge or a Beavers Tail has been all we had for a day allowance amongst 10 of us now at present the times are different & the Ind^{ns} are now wallowing up to the Eyes in good Meat I wish ere long that they had not thought & wished to have been more provident & to have provided against any future want

D M Al^t arcturus. 98° 52' 40''
+ 9' 50''

Lat. 60°46'15'' 99° 2' 30''

6^{sh} Friday Thoooh killed an other moose upon the Big Island and one Porcupine a Ja^s Sutherland his wife & 2 northern Indians arrived here waiting the arrival of some other Canadians & Jepewyans who have been gone a fortnight ago to fetch goods from the upper end of the Falls when one Canoe got froze in in the Fall

7th Saturday Moved to the Big Island 1½ mile where the 3 moose were killed We are now all heavily laden with Provisions which at this Cold season of the year is very fortunate for us to have such luck

1792

January 8th Sunday Brought the 3 moose to the Tents At Noon arrived 2 Canadians & 4 Jepewyans with 8 Sledges loaded with 14 pieces of Goods this they have been to fetch where the Canoes was froze in last Fall

9th Monday Arrived this morning 2 Canadians & 2 Jepewyans with 4 Sledges loaded with Trading Goods as yesterday All their faces much froze & one of the Canadians feet, which prevented their proceeding this Day. Those that arrivd yesterday proceeded on their way for the Slave Lake House & Bolyea the Carpenter went ahead with Letters from the Athapescow he left his Sledge behind & a young Jepewyan from our Tent took it to

the Lake also 2 more men took 2 Sledges of Meat to Trade there they say that they will sleep 4 Nights going there There is also a good quantity of Goods remaining up the river People at the House very badly off for Living very few fish to be taken owing to the severity of the weather the like before they say that they never experienced The Canadians made me a present of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb of carrot Tobacco mine was all expended early in November a little Tobacco to fill a pipe to an Indian occasionally is thought very much on by them

12th Thursday The Weather these 4 Days past the severest by a great deal than I ever experienced Very clear & little wind We incessantly keep on large fires yet notwithstanding the Tent within is quite white over The Ind^{us} say that they never knew the cold so very penetrating before I went for Wood across the river to make a new Sledge my old one being rendered useless Got one $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver

13th Friday Made my Sledge the Weather continues excessively severe

14th Saturday Moved up the river 2 Miles¹ & crossed the Island $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile & put up on the SWest side the Island Light Snow & warm

15th Sunday Moved up the river 3 Miles & put up on the SW side on the main shore The Island $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile from where we put up In the evening a young Jepewyan arrived at our Tents in search of some of his Countrymen to get a supply of Provisions from Their Tent is about 10 miles NE of us & are nearly starving thro hungar & they have not even any Ammunition to kill any animals with—he says that they will join us in a few Days

1792

January 16th Monday Moved across a point of Wood 3 miles it being a long way round about by the river The man returned back to his Tent having been very liberally supplied by us with as much provisions as he could conveniently carry Our Men on hunting every Day but without any success

¹For the past two weeks they had been living on Long Island, or in its vicinity.

17th Tuesday Moved up along the side of the river 5 miles on the SW^t side Great plenty of Moose Tracks but the calm weather is much against approaching that Animal

18th Wednesday Moved 2 Miles to the river & then went up it 2 more & put up The Indian men that went to the Slave Lake House the 9th Ins^t with meat returned & brought a little Tobacco & a small quantity of Liquor for their Tent My Tent mates had not an Inch sent them The 2 Tents joind us that the man came from the 15th Ins^t They are all in a wretched condition not any thing to eat & their faces much frost bit Gabble killed a Doe Moose On account of our New Visitors, some of whom slept in our Tent that they thronged it up so very much that I was obligd the whole to lay in a manner double & could not get any Sleep—before morning I often wished our new comers at the Devil & I am afraid that they will remain with us, & eat what we should require for ourselves—as none of them are any thing of even tolerable hunters

19th Thursday Moved nearly direct within 3½ Miles & put up Thooch killed a Doe Moose Slave river bearing East distant 2 miles

20th Friday A little afternoon arrived at our Tents M^r John Findlay¹ a Canadian Clerk one Canadian & 2 Jepewyans on their way to the Athapescow House with Letters from M^r Daniel to Roderic McKenzie

21st Saturday At noon M^r Findlay & party left us & about 2 hours after arrived a Canadian his Wife & 2 Children they are to remain with Din na sleeny in his Tent This Canadian cannot speak any English consequently can have but little conversation together but what we can carry on in the Indian Tongue

22nd Sunday All the Women fetching home meat every Day Killed here 3 Buffalo & one Moose a variety of bad weather lately

¹They were camped about twelve miles south-east of Long Island, and a couple of miles west of Slave river, when they were visited by John Finlay of the North West Company, whom they had met with Daniel McKenzie at Slave lake.

1792

January 23rd Monday

D M Alt $\odot$ LL..... $19^{\circ} 31' 20''$
 $+ 9' 50''$

Lat. $60^{\circ} 36' 20''$ $19^{\circ} 41' 10''$

Where Paddy

killed the Bull in the Summer bearing NE 2 miles—Gabble Thoooh & Din na sleeny moved the Former towards the Buffalo river or Eg gid da zal la dezza in search of the Rabbits head a Chepawyan Chief & I accompanied him, course SSW the other 2 men & families moved up along side of the Slave river with the Canadian man 3 miles & they killed a Buck moose

24th Tuesday Thoooh in the morning came to Gabbles Tent and begged hard with tears in his Eyes that I would return again to his Tent & remain with him as he had no ammunition of his own I therefore consented & accompanied him back very much pleased that I had listened to what he had said This man I had been with all the Fall & winter to this Time & the reason I left him I had very often wished him to procure me either a drest Moose skin or a Deers Skin Coat to make me a Toggy off as all the winter I have had nothing of the kind & have always been obliged to wrap myself up in a Blanket when ever we pitched his often promising me the above & never performing it determined me to leave him & accompany Gabble (my last Winters Tent mate) who promised me faithfully that I should soon have good winters rigging Those were my reasons that I changed the short time Tent mates & now Thoooh solemnly promises that I shall directly have stuff to make a Coat off returned back with Thoooh & they pitched $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles up along side of the river a little within on the SW^t side Killed one Young Bull Slept in Dinna Sleenys Tent

25th Wednesday Moved $\frac{3}{4}$ mile & put up Killed 1 Cow Buffalo the 2 Tents that we left behind the 23 Ins^t came up they had remained to dry meat for more convenience

of carriage 4 Tents of us now together Thooh & myself slept in a hut of Pine branches he now accomplished his long promise & I got from him a Deer Skin robe with the Hair on to make me a Coat which I did very soon having very frequently been near perishing by the Cold when we pitched along for want of such a useful piece of clothing

1792

January 26th Thursday Moved 2 miles and put up Killed 1 young Buffalo

27th Friday Thooh & Cha haw in na (a copper mine Indian) & Family moved SW 4 miles & put up in a small Creek that falls into the Buffalo river mentioned 23rd September last 2 Beaver houses here in the Creek Those Indians we left behind also moved it is our Intent to hunt the Beaver that we have left the others

28th Saturday The 2 men at work at the Beaver houses but did not kill one

29th Sunday The Men on account of their poor success yesterday got daunted & left off all thoughts of the Beaver & they moved back again after those we left on Friday Moved 2 pitchings our own last one & 5 miles more to a Tent place the other Indians slept at the night we parted from them The men went ahead & myself & the Women remained together

30th Monday Moved 2 more pitchings in the Indians Track that is just made viz 4 & 4½ miles & arived at the Indians that we left the 27th Ins^t Several fine plains of Grass land & no woods a fine place for the Buffalo A Jepewyan came here from the *Big Island* he slept 2 nights in coming from thence he has left his Family there & some others They are very near dead some of them thro hungar he is come to get victuals & to return to-morrow we are to remain here until they arrive to join us

31st Tuesday 2 Young Men set of to the Big Island with 2 good loads of meat to supply those poor starved people on their journey to us While we were absent at the Beaver houses the 27th & 28th the Indians had killed 2 good fatt Cow Buffalo Thooh killed a young Buffalo We have

information of 7 Tents of Chepawyans to the S West of us & 5 to the Eastward but a short distance from here Fine warm weather since the 25th Ins^t

February 1st Wednesday All the Women went for Meat

2nd Thursday One Tent left us & moved to the Southward to join the 7 we had intelligence off the 31st Ins^t

3rd Friday The other 2 Tents moved after the one that pitched yesterday to join *Aw gee nah* the great Chepawyan Chief who accompanied M^r Alex^r McKenzie to the Hyperborean Sea in 1789¹ Arrived a young man from the *Rabbits head* who is tenting on the West side the Buffalo river this young man is to remain with the Paps This man Thoooh & his wife and myself moved back along our old Track in order to meet those who are hourly expected from the Big Island We pitched no Tent

4th Saturday Moved in the same direction as yesterday 4 miles & put up Those 2 men that went a few days since with provisions to meet those that are near starving returned accompanied by 2 others & they bring the melancholy intelligence that a middle aged man & a boy about 12 years old had fallen victims to hunger before thy arrived back with the meat so soon as the aboverelation was made known every one set up a most dismal & disagreeable crying or rather howl on account of the unfortunate death of their Countrymen This continued all the day at frequent Intervals of 10 or 15 minutes each time The young man who lately came to remain with us being out a hunting & did not arrive at our hut till 8 oClock at Night & when he heard the News they all again began their usual chorus of howling & crying & beating themselves & tearing their hair he appeared almost distracted far surpassing all the rest in his horrid lamentations he cut the Stockings from off his Legs which was new & threw several of his Clothes & his other necessary articles away which will render him pitiful until he can again be supplied The Man I am with behaved with great fortitude & suppressed his agonating Grief like a true philosopher altho at the

¹Called by Sir Alexander Mackenzie the "English Chief."

same time he was as inwardly affected as any of those who made the loudest & frequent howls They kept up this way nearly the whole night that alarmed me not a little not knowing but in their frantic fits of desperation they might have hurt me as I was one alone I did not get a wink of sleep the whole night for watching their motions by good chance the Moon was nearly full & the Sky quite clear that I could see nearly as well about me as perfect day The remainder of them will be here tomorrow

5th Sunday I never passed a more disagreeable night than this last altho I lay quite still all night I did not sleep the least on account of the very frequent horrid crying they kept up all night As soon as day light app^d which was joyful to me the Young Man began to cut every thing he had in pieces of clothing keeping howling all the time About 10 AM the others came up & joined us & they all got a supply of Provisions which they all stood in very much need off Their withered imaceated skelleton like look was enough to move even the hardest heart The deceased mans wife with 2 young Children & far advanced her pregnancy of the 3rd & her Brother with the Mans Mother I am remaining with & his Son about 10 years old who had the misfortune to have all his toes frozen when an infant in the cradle that he has not a single toe remaining he however walk pretty well these with the 2 men accompany us & I suppose will remain with us the rest of the Winter all the deceased mans property was destroyed & thrown away when they joined us

1792

February 6th Monday Moved 4 miles E towards the Slave river & put up before we started in the morning Thoooh supplied the young man with every necessary that he could conveniently spare the young man having destroyed all his clothing yesterday not to do the like & make themselves totally destitute is looked upon by their countrymen as having an unfeeling heart & the man I am along with lay under those insinuations by the rest because he did not destroy every thing he had he was by much the

wisest of them all had he have done like the rest some of them must have absolutely perished by the cold thro' want of clothing to protect them from the severity of the Season which in these parts at this time is uncommonly severe Thoooh on hunting & returned without success also the young man on the like expedition but killed nothing We are again at very short allowance notwithstanding our late superfluities occasioned in a great measure by supplying those half starved poor creatures who have lately joined us

7th Tuesday This night dreamed in the Chepawyan Language the first time and I appeared to have a more extensive command of words when asleep than when awake being so long & not hearing any thing else spoken but the Jepewyan—custom is second nature Moved E 2½ miles to the edge of the Slave river & up along it SbE 1 & put up Before we set off in the morning I was much surprised to see them cut a good fine deer Skin Nett (fishing) all to pieces altho 2 or 3 of them had nothing to net Snow Shoes with and was now even so deep as the Snow is going without them that they had cut to pieces the 4th In^t on enquiring the reason of their destroying the Net they told me that at first they had intended to have kept it for Snow Shoes but that ever since they could not sleep while any thing of the dead mans property was not destroyed which was the very last article that had formerly belonged to him Thoooh & his mother singing every night very doleful plaintive & melancholy songs on account of the deceased Thoooh at a Beaver house that some Indians had broke open this winter but again repaired he got nothing our allowance only one handful of Beat meat per day each person without any fatt which was all used the day after they joined us

1792

8th Wednesday Fortune favours us got five ½ & 2 large Beaver

9th Thursday Thoooh's snowshoes being broke could not hunt his Wife is netting a pair for him he is our only man to depend upon for meat &c

10th Friday Finished the Snow shoes & we moved NbW 1 mile & put up upon an Island in the Slave river Men on hunting but killed nothing

11th Saturday Men on Hunting & had the good luck to kill 2 Buck moose This morning all our stock of provisions was shared out which was very soon done being only one Beaver Tail amongst 4 Men, 3 Women & 3 Children at Night late the Men returned with a load each on their backs & thank God we made an excellent Supper little thinking in the morning that we should have done so well

12th Sunday Fetched home the Moose & I accompanied them we had a roast there where the Animal was killed & I stuck a lump of Snow upon a stick before the fire which was pretty large a flame of wind blew the blaze right upon me & took off my beard as clean as if it had just been shaved altho it was pretty long being on 10 Days This was the most expeditious shave I ever had tho' somewhat disagreeable Thoooh killed another buck Moose so that thank God we again began to set famine at defiance

13th Monday Moved down the river NNE $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles & put up on the West side,¹ the reach above WNW & the one we put up in NNE $3\frac{1}{2}$

14th Tuesday Fetched home all the Meat

15th Wednesday

D M Al ^t Aldebaran	90° 5' 20"
	+ 10° 5"

Lat. 60°27'55"	91° 15' 25"

18th Saturday

D M Al ^t ☉LL	35° 25' 30"
	+ 10' 5"

Lat. 60°28'21"	35° 35' 35"

Taken about 1

Mile from the bottom of the reach on SW^t side These

¹They had continued hunting west of Slave river, but now they were camped on its banks just south of Brulé Point.

days past employed busily splitting & drying meat to make it lighter to carry moved across the river & within SEbE 4 miles Thooh intends to go to Tall chu dezza after Beaver as he has not yet killed one third of his Credit he got from M^r Ross in the fall at the Athapescow Lake Where we lay by I made a large sledge for the deceased mans wife she was very kind to me & gave me a little provisions several times that I rather stood in need off

19th Sunday Moved ENE 6 miles along an old pitching Track supposed to be *Ageenah* Wind Easterly strong breezes cloudy weather with a gentle thaw all day very fine mild weather these three weeks past in general the Climate & Season considered Very bad hawling on account of the Thaw

20th Monday Moved 5 miles making a round Turn nearly to our last encampment after Buffalo Tracks Distance straight $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles SEbS

21st Tuesday Thooh stayed out all night which surprized us as he never all winter had done the like before without previously acquainting his wife Moved SbW 4 miles & put up

22nd Wednesday

D M Al ^l ☉LL.....	38° 30' 20''
	+ 10' 5''

Lat. 60°22'8''	38° 40' 25''
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The carrying

place out of the Slave into the Eg gid da zal la dezza bearing W true course Moved SEbE 5 miles & put up Thooh returned having been after both Buffalo & Moose & had killed 1 fatt Cow & 1 young Bull pretty good

23rd Thursday Moved SbW 5 miles to where the Buffalo was killed yesterday & put up These 3 last pitchings we have gone out of the proper direction to come to the Stony Ground where the Beaver frequent which is about 12 miles off & shall go that way when the meat is dried &^c

24th Friday Women fetched home the Meat & I set up 7 Martin traps

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25th Saturday

D M Al^t ☉LL..... 40° 53' 40''
+ 10' 5''

Nat. 60°16'46''

41° 3' 45''

————— In the evening
arrived 2 Jepowyan men they left their Tents yesterday
several of them are nearly starving 2 of them is already
dead thro' hungar Slave river near hand

26th Sunday The 2 men returned to their Tents with
meat

27th Monday At dusk in the evening arrived 2 Men One
Woman & 1 boy the rest not come up

28th Tuesday Moved together EbS 2 miles & put up

29th Wednesday Got 2 martins from my Traps & I
went for wood to make a Sledge for Thooh's mother as
her Son has little time to do it being out hunting &^c & I
having nothing to do it is a recreation to me to be about
such little jobs Made a roast of a whole Buffalo head
hair horns &^c which was hung before the fire 2 Days & 2
Nights before it was thoro'ly done

1792

March 1st Thursday Made a Sledge for Thoohs mother & after-
wards moved ENE 4 miles¹ It is my constant custom all
winter whenever they pitched to remain in the old Tent
place till such time as I thought the women had time to
arrive where they pitched to & put up the Tent & have
everything done that when I arrived I had nothing else to
do but put my few things into the Tent besides going
behind I always had a good track to go thro' Men on
hunting but no luck The Snow Birds made their first
appearance an unerring harbinger of Spring

2nd Friday Moved SSE 2 miles & put up Got one Beaver
at Night arrived Ki an cho a Canadian 3 Coppermine

¹They had moved northeastward into the country east of Slave river, and
had then turned southward roughly parallel to it. They had gone to the country
drained by the Thay thule dezza, or Stony river, a tributary of Taltson river.
This river is spelled Tethul on present maps, and Camsell says that the word
means "Hanging Ice river."

Indians & one Jepowyan on their way to the Athapescow Lake House with Letters They remained with us all night

3rd Saturday The people that arrived here the last Night set of for the Athapescow Lake with 2 Sledges I wrote a Letter to Mess^{rs} Philip Turnor & Ross telling them of my situation & as these Indians say they will return back again to us I requested a little Tobacco Ammunition &^c also some Book or other to read as the Days are now become pretty long & mild, & I rather think long for want of something to read Moved SEbE 5 miles & put up

4th Sunday The 2 Young Men in our Tent went away by themselves to the Slave river to kill Beaver Moved SE 4½ miles & put up Thooh killed a young Buffalo at the stony ground I had the ill luck to again break the Bottle that contained my Quicksilver but fortunately none of it was lost

5th Monday Gave Thooh the last of my Ammunition Made a small vessel of Buffalo horn to contain my Quicksilver for the Artificial Horizon which answers extraordinarily well being much preferable to either Grass or earthenware as not so subject to break Moved 7 miles upward along the Slave river within The Indians have now again changed their mind not intending to go to the Thay thule dezza after Beaver The others came up 2 Men & 2 Women one of each remain in our Tent & the other 2 in the other one

6th Tuesday The other Tent killed one Cow plenty of Their Tracks all about but no tracks of moose A Gentle Thaw since the 4th Ins^t both Day & Night the 2 men returned from the Slave river that went to kill Beaver the 4th Ins^t but have not killed one

7th Wednesday Nothing Particular

1792

March 8th Thursday Moved 6 miles & put up parallel with the Slave river within NE

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9th Friday

D M Al ^t ☉ LL.....	51° 3' 30''
	+ 10' 0''

Lat. 60°10'39''	51° 13' 30''
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Moved ESE 6 miles

Got one $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver

10th Saturday All the Men belonging to both Tents at work at Beaver Houses & got three $\frac{1}{2}$ two $\frac{3}{4}$ & 2 large Beaver 7 in all they also found 4 more Beaver houses pretty nigh Evening Clear & Calm made the following Observations all being Double Meridian Altitudes

D M Al ^t Sirius.....	26° 49' 0''
	+ 10' 0''

Lat. 60°7'47''	26° 59' 0''
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D M Al Procyon.....	71° 7' 30''
	+ 10' 0''

Lat. 60° 7'35''	71° 17' 30''
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D M Al Pollux.....	116° 38' 0''
	+ 10' 0''

Lat. 60°7'26''	116° 48' 0''
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12th Monday Yesterday got 2 large Beaver & this day one large one

13th Tuesday Very bad yesterday & the day before, having a sore throat & a violent pain in my head pretty well now thank god except a sore throat which I hope will soon get better Snow yesterday Moved NNE 2 miles & was necessitated to put up short of where we intended to go on account of the deceased mans wife being delivered in the Track when hawling a very heavy Sledge The other womin wished to erect the small Tent for that purpose but she was too quick for them she had a boy Got 2 large Beaver warm weather

14th Wednesday Got tolerable well thank God to be ailing alone with the Indians is a melancholy situation for any one that ever experienced it, be^{ig} absent from all friends & Countrymen Arrived 2 Jepewyans from the Thay thule dezza or Stony river they slept 2 nights in coming here several Jepowyan are at that river Moved NNE 6 miles to the edge of the Stony Ground about 8 miles from the Thay thule dezza bearing North The woman that was delivered yesterday took her heavy sledge to drag as usual the same as if nothing had happened to her She Sleeps in a small brush hut not hav^g permission to come into the Tent along with the men & other women the 2 young men that went to Slave river to kill Beaver the 4th Ins^t set of for the Slave Lake House (Muskrat & the Monkey) Got one large & one $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver

15th Thursday I went for wood for a Sledge my other one being too narrow always upsetting when we pitch along Gentle breezes at E a gentle thaw Got one large one $\frac{3}{4}$ & one $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver

16th Friday Got one large & one $\frac{1}{2}$ Beaver & 1 Porcupine Finished my sledge making it Most of the men on hunting no luck Strong Gale at West & Cold The 2 men that came here on Wednesday returned yesterday In the evening arrived at our Tent a Coppermine river Indian he says that there a good many of his countrymen a good way down the Thay thule dezza this river empties itself into the Tall chu dezza a long way down also got 2 more $\frac{3}{4}$ Beaver

17th Saturday nothing particular

18th Sunday Thoooh on hunting & killed a young Buck moose and an old one Strong Gale Westerly & cold with Snow all yesterday & last night

19th Monday

D M Al^t $\odot$ LL 58° 57' 0''
+ 10' 5''

Lat. 60° 9' 59'' 59° 7' 5''

----- Moved NbW 4 miles

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to where the moose was killed Got my Snow Shoes new netted the heel & toe netting being intirely broke some time ago Light airs from the Westw^d clear freezing weather evening cloudy & warm

20th Tuesday Moved NbE 4 miles got one $\frac{3}{4}$ & 2 large Beaver At Sunset we had the agreeable pleasure to see those return from the Athapescow who went with Letters the 3rd Ins^t They brought me a Letter from Mess^{rs} Ross & Turner also 2 fathoms of Brazil Tobacco as I had none of that very necessary article that the Canadians gave me in January some time ago I also received a Bound Magazine which will pass away several long hours the remainder of the Spring or rather winter as the cold is still severe

21st Wednesday One man went to the Thay thule dezza to inform those Indians there that we shall shortly set off for the Athapescow

22nd Thursday

D M Al^t $\odot$ LL..... $61^{\circ} 11' 30''$
 $+ 10' 5''$

Lat. $60^{\circ}13'36''$ (not very good) $61^{\circ} 21' 35''$

23th Friday The Man returned that went to the Thay thule dezza the 21 Ins Moved towards the Slave river EbS 5 The Woman that was lately delivered still sleeps & remains in a small hut alone not yet having permission to come into the Tents

24 Saturday

D M Al $\odot$ LL..... $62^{\circ} 55' 0''$
 $+ 7' 40''$

Lat. $60^{\circ}10'15''$ $63^{\circ} 2' 40''$

————— Thooh went to the Indians at Thay thule dezza to consult about setting off for the Athapescow House Moved SbW towards the Slave river $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles & put up

25 Sunday Moved SbE 2 miles & put up Thooh returned he brought with him 16 Martin Skins that his

Countrymen had given him as he is still a good deal short of having Furs enough to pay our Credit Cha ha in na a Coppermine river Indian accompanied Thoooh he is to accompany us to the House his Wife will be here tomorrow This is the same person who paddled in company with me in the Summer when we went down the Eg gid da zal la dezza or Buffalo river This man very well agrees with the Jepewyans but the 2 nations has a secret jealousy for each other notwithstanding they speak the same Language and might be called with great propriety one & the same people The Coppermine river Indians inhabit to the N & E of the Jepewyans & are the nigh neighbours to the Esquimaux with whom they are frequently at war with, principally to acquire their stone kettles for Cooking in—they & the Northern Indians has an invariable custom when at War never to take any prisoners but indiscriminately kills all of every age & Sex contrary to the manners of the Southern Indians & most other natives who very often save the young women & several Children whom the latter they adopt as their own particularly should any of theirs have dyed previous to their war expedition and they use them as well as their own Children The Young Women, they take as Wives the most handsome, who are well used & the ugly ones are made Slaves off for doing all kinds of hard work such as cutting firewood fetching water &^c &^{c1}

26th Monday A great quantity of Snow fell in the night Strong gales at W^t cloudy cold weather Three men & 2 Women left us They are going to join their Countrymen at the Thay thule dezza as we are upon the eve of setting off for our House Moved NEbE 4 miles & put up

27th Tuesday Moved SbW 6 miles The Wife of Ki an cho joined us on her way to the Athapescow House she will accompany us there Not any Tracks of Cattle to be seen these few pitchings

28th Wednesday Moved SbE 3½ miles & put up

¹They had continued to roam around looking for food in the country east of Slave river, moving gradually southward until they had now reached a point a mile or two north of the foot of the rapids at Fort Smith.

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29th Thursday From this place the head of the rapids in Slave river & the Bottom of them makes an angle of 80° Moved SEbE 5 & put up The men on hunting & the Coppermine river Indian killed a very fatt Doe Moose, near where we moved to *Thoooh* & *Del ki* did not return.

30th Friday

D M Al^t ☉ LL... 67° 52' 20''
+ 7' 10''

Lat. 60°2'1'' 67° 59' 30''

----- Fetched the moose;

the others not returned.

31st Saturday

D M Al^t ☽'s UL... 90° 44' 20''
+ 7' 10''

Lat. 60°2'36'' 90° 51' 30''

(7^h12 PM) ----- The 2 men that went on hunting on Thursday not yet arrived

1792

April 1st Sunday Cha ha in na & A you na taking birch rind for canoe building to make after their return from the Athapescow Lake The Birch trees here are but of a small size only fit for small Indian Canoes The 2 Men are not yet returned from hunting & various conjectures are formed of their long absence & the tears of Sorrow & affection is upon every ones countenance a Gentle Thaw every day since the 28th Ins^t The 29th there was rain at night and on the 30th rain the morning The Snow in consequence has greatly diminished these 3 days past

2nd Monday At Sun Set the 2 Men returned after an absence of 5 Days the sight of whom cheered up every one They said that they had been following Buffalo tracks all the time in order to kill some for the Women & Children to live upon while they returned from the Athapescow Lake but had the luck to kill one only

3rd Tuesday Busily employed in arranging our Sledges &^c to set of for our house and at 2 PM got all ready & set off

viz. Thooh Cha a in na & his Wife & Ki an cho's wife with myself all the others we left behind To collect Bark & wood ready for Canoe building when these returns back to them we had each a pretty heavy sledge went WbS 8 miles & put up at Sun set we left the Tents behind making a hut of Pine branches to sleep in at Night we are making for the Slave river to have better hauling Left the Stony Ground that we have been amongst since the 15th March I call it Stony Ground because here & there are a few rocks & in other places not a stone is to be seen

4th Wednesday At 7 AM got underway & went SSW 10 miles & came to the Slave river at 4 PM having been lost & embarrassed amongst very thick places of small & wind fall wood sometime we came to the river about 1½ mile below the *upper carrying place*¹ proceeded up the river & put up about ½ mile above the head of the rapids amongst a deal of old Large Poplars we made a good fire & soon after we were all very much surprised to see numbers of Muskettoes flying about altho the Snow was more than 10 Inches deep on the ground every where on examination we found that betwixt the Bark of the Poplars & the tree, of the old Dry wood there was a large open space which was full of muskettoes that have been in that situation all winter in some places they was in large cakes of 2 Inches thick the heat of the fire had invigorated them so as to be able to fly about in the manner before mentioned very thickitty & bad until we arrived at the river at the head of the rapids we found 2 Canadian Canoes which had been set in last Fall they had built a small log house to keep the Goods in there was about 10 pieces remaining and several articles laying within in a very careless manner these had been protected or Guarded all winter by an Image set upon a painted red pole over the house about the size of a small child not an Indian would go up to the House to look at it until I did being thoroughly persuaded that if they even attempted to take any thing away the Een coz zy as they called it would acquaint the Canadians

¹They continued southward, east of Slave river, the bank of which they reached a mile and a half below the foot of the rapid at Fitzgerald.

of the offender which beleefe I further confirmed the Indians in—all winter number of Indians have frequently passed this place but never one even ventured up near the place altho' with no thought of stealing

5th Thursday Early in the morning got underway & went up the Slave river 20 miles & put up upon the S West side
Cold weather

6th Friday Moved about 22 miles & put up

7th Saturday Got underway in the morning & put up about 1/3 of the way in Rock River that falls out of the Athapescow Lake into the Slave river

8th Sunday Got underway & met with some more Indians who are going to the House proceeded about 4 miles when an Old Man his Son & myself proposed to go up a small branch on the left a little way & then cut over land & fall into the Athapescow Lake which was at least 12 miles nearer than the way we paddled in the Summer & which all the other Indians are going proceeded till noon when the Old Mans son returned back to join the others & the Old Man went in quest of him & gave orders to me to remain where I was until he returned I waited some time & no sight of either the old Man or his Son thinking that probably they would go the other way I set forward by myself having a good Track to go thro' which I proceeded about 4 miles when I found several different ones going different ways a wrong one I unluckily took & proceeded along it till near night & found the termination of it where Indians had killed a moose & thro this Track they had hauled it to the Tent I now returned & at dusk I got to an old Tent place where I made a fire & remained for the Night I had no victuals with me but boiled in my Tin quart pot some Rockwood & had a little fatt which I boiled with it & made a tolerable supper About midnight as I supposed I was terribly alarmed out of my sleep by an uncommon loud noise which appeared not far off I immediately rose & made on a large fire & put my gun in order ready for an attack which I expected every moment I thought it to have been Bears that was going to fall upon me after the fire began to blaze much I was agreeably

surprised to hear the noise recede farther from me upon both sides of me till at last when near morning it totally ceased I then lay down but durst not venture to sleep the surprize & consternation I had lately been in prevented sleep from falling upon me afterwards I told the Story to the Indians describing the kind of noise & they told me that it proceeded from 2 Moose Deer calling to one another Being lost & a stranger to the parts also but a young hand in this Country such was the cause of my great terror & consternation

9th Monday At Sun rise I set off determined to go the way that the other Indians had & I accordingly went back to where I left them & followed their Track & arrived at in the Athapescow Lake at 3 PM Last night a little before I put up I fell into the Old Man's track who had lately passed but it being near dark prevented me then following it at the entrance of the Lake found 14 Tents of Jepewyans which they had just pitched where I remained all Night had I not found them it was my determination to have gone forward to the Goose Island & slept there Got an excellent supper, what I wanted last night All these Indians are going to the House to Trade with their Winter's hunt Gave Agee na the English Chief a little Tobacco

10th Tuesday In the morning 3 young men accompanied me to our House where we arrived about 2 PM being absent from all European intercourse & alone with the Jepewyans ever since the 4th September last having acquired a sufficiency of their Language to transact any business with them upon the whole this has been rather an agreeable winter than otherwise the principal difficulty we laboured under was the want of a Kettle & being at some few times reduced to very short allowance in provisions which last is ever the case with any person that may accompany Indians Cold wea'r & drift at NNE fresh Gale in crossing this wide lake free from any Shelter I got one of my Ears severely froze that it was not well for 3 weeks afterwards here ends my Remarks with the Jepewyans My Tent mates arrived at our House yesterday which alarmed M^r Ross me not being there

JOURNAL IX

JOURNAL OF A JOURNEY FROM YORK FACTORY UP PORT
NELSON RIVER, COMMONLY CALLED THE NORTH RIVER
[JULY, 1792, TO AUGUST 24, 1792], BY PHILIP TURNOR

JOURNAL IX

*JOURNAL of a Journey from York Factory up Port Nelson River
commonly called the North River by Philip Turnor*

1792 M^r Colen having expressed a desire of sending up to Chatham House¹ a Canoe with some Brandy as he had already sent a good supply of other goods by the Indians but could not find Men and as I had a desire of seeing the lower part of the river again I immediately promised him to man him a Canoe the next day out of the Men who had just come from the Northward with me and accordingly instantly engaged Hugh Lisk my former Steersman, Malcom Grot who had been head or bowsman to M^r Malcom Ross and Peter Brown who had been a middle man in my Canoe and I advised M^r Colen to Oblige those men who were waiting for the Ship under pretence of returning to England likewise but he wished M^r Tomison gone first he then found much difficulty in getting them to go Arch Linklighter positively refused unless he was paid Forty Shillings for the trip some said the Chatham House men might have made a second trip and been nearly down again by this time but that was only a Specimen of their intermeddling with every thing that is to be done I understand its a rule for the men up the Sas-katch-a-wan river to hold a Council upon every act

¹We have already seen that Chatham House was a small trading post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, situated on a long point extending into Wintering lake, which discharges into Grass river, and thence into Nelson river. It was about five miles north of the present station of Thicket Portage on the Hudson Bay Railway. In going to it from York Factory in canoes, the traveller would round Marsh Point into Nelson river, ascend it through many rough and dangerous rapids to the mouth of Grass river, a distance of two hundred and ten miles. He would ascend Grass river for seventy miles to the mouth of Wintering river, up which he would go for five miles, and then continue eleven miles across Wintering lake, a total distance of two hundred and ninety-six miles. We have already followed Turnor up the Nelson and Grass rivers, and we need not repeat the details here.

and consequence of the Masters conduct and take care he shall hear it if the Master acts contrary to their opinion and the Masters scheme prove right they then agree that any body else could have done that but if he should fail in his scheme they knew it would be so. it never originated with the men In an other place I shall use my endeavours to trace it

July 31st Tuesday though several days later than I wished or even think their was occasion for we left York Factory to proceed to Chatham House at 1½ PM I left York Factory my own Canoe being maned by Hugh Lisk a good Steersman and excellent Servant James Johnson an invalid as bowsman & Peter Brown an Able usefull good man as middle man in the other Canoe Edward Wishart, Will^m Flett Sen^r and Andrew Codagill all Steersmen the two former of which are Capital hands though my Canoes so weakly maned we took above four Hundred Weight more than the other Canoe each Canoe had an Indian lad but unacquainted with large Canoes went round the point of Marsh and went about 7 miles up the port Nelson River and put up at 7½ PM Wind variable Westerly flying clouds

1792

Aug^t 1st Wednesday at 7^h 10' AM got underway which was as soon as the tide would answer and at 9½ AM had crossed over to the North Shore about 2 mile below Flamborough head and began to track in deep water the banks very heigh but not bad walking along the shore about the head of the Seal Island found it shoal for 4 miles but a boat would pass very well most part of it with a long line and set up the other part with Poles continued on untill 8¼ PM and then put up having gone about 42 miles this day the distance may seem great but we had great help from the tide in the morning Wind WSW strong gale with flying clouds

2nd Thursday at 4 AM got underway tracked in deep water untill 11½ AM then padled far out in the river current easy untill ¼ PM then tracked on North shore untill 4¼ PM then crossed to a grassy Island with a few pines upon

the Lower end of it, tracked along the South side of it in deep water and came a small rapid at the head of the Island and set our Canoes up with Poles plenty of Water for Boats we then crossed to the North side and put up at 5¼ PM it having broke out rain with Thunder Wind SW fresh breeze clear and Cloudy alternate the banks passed this day are not quite so high as below but the scrub pine woods are much the same this day went about 38 miles many deer crossed the river to the North but we did not kill any as it would have hindered us very much as this strong current would probably have carried us two or three miles down before we could have brought one to shore

3rd Friday at 4^h 20' AM got underway tracked about 1 mile good water then paddled and set 1 mile far out in the river in easy current it being shoal in shore and came to three Tents of Factory Indians that are killing deer at this place and near to them Six tents of Indians that have goods for Chatham House heavy rain breaking out upon us we put up our tents along side of them gave the Leading Indian a present of Brandy and traded some provision for the Journey it having ceased rain^g at ½ PM we got underway again tracked about 2 miles very strong current and deep water then crossed to an Island and tracked upon the South side of it and handed up a rapid 20 yards at the head of it then set about 200 yards strong current then crossed to the North side of the river again and tracked about 2 miles good water then set up the river about 3 miles moderate current but shoal near the shore the water being upon the South shore but the bank is so steep and heigh that its impossible to track upon it the river passed this day has a strong current but lake all the river below is better for small Boats than Canoes it being full of gravelly shoals by no means dangerous but destroys the birch rind in the bottoms of the Canoes put up at 6½ PM 4 miles below Pe-ta-ta-ta Pow-e-stick or fall by the English called Hell Gate Fall being no place within reach where we could put up beyond this Wind variable all

round the Compass with rain in the forepart of the day
and Cloudy afternoon went 10 miles this day

4th Saturday last night we left our Canoes in the Water at 2 AM it began to rain which obliged the People to take the Canoes and Cargoes on shore it continued raining with the Wind at SW untill 7 AM then the Wind shifted to NE with drifting rain at 10^h 24' AM got underway tracked about 4 miles very heavy current the Water all laying on the North side the bank very heigh and very bad tracking in the face of it went to within 300 yd^s of the foot of the fall or rapid and crossed under the foot of it to the South side the crossing is by no means difficult the river at this place is near $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide very heigh bank on North side and low on the South which seems gaining Fast upon the North side at present the South side is very shoal but a Boat would come up with half cargoe by the men some times going into the Water as heigh as their knees and some times upon dry ridges to track the Boat for about 200 yards then upon the top of a stony bank about 30 feet heigh for about 400 yards to a strong shoot of a Current we handed the Canoes up this last part not so much on account of the strength of the current as the smoothness of the bottom as our setting poles would not hold for want of Iron shoes we then carried up a steep bank all loose stones about 40 feet then 340 yards upon a kind of stony meadow good carrying at this place I left 4 Bags of Flour and Oatmeal finding our Canoe work very heavy and the others refused to take a single thing into their Canoe though they were extraordinary well manned and light but they objected to the strength of their Canoe but they might have had a stronger if they had chose but they knew this was a small good going Canoe and then objected to its age at 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ PM we left the carrying place and crossed a gutway 20 yards wide to an Island on the South side and tracked up the North side of the Island 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ mile heigh good bank with a stony shore tracked upon the top of the bank a very strong current and not above 2 feet water then went to the South side and tracked at the

Waters edge 2 miles steep stony bank and strong current then tracked $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile upon the side of a good bank strong current and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet water even bottom then 1 mile upon the top of a heigh bank good tracking and good water then crossed to North side and put up at $6\frac{1}{2}$ PM latter part of the day Wind NE and Cloudy

5th Sunday a very foggy morning at 4 AM got underway tracked about $2\frac{1}{2}$ mile on the North side good bank and deep water and came to a fall and carried 50 yards over a rock which is coverd about 3 inches deep with mud but not bad except the landing which is upon a broken rock about 7 feet heigh the bank close above the rock is 30 or 40 yards heigh with a steep face which is constantly washing down upon the rock at the top of the fall there is a shelf of about 2 feet and about 20 yards lower another of 4 feet left the carrying place tracked $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to double shelf or small fall tracked up it then continued on $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile to small bay then paddled $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and came to the mouth of a river about 20 yards wide with much water coming down it this river is called by the Indians Me-ta-tate a Seepe it lays in a small bay close below a fall or very heavy rapid carried out of this bay up a very steep bank 100 yards from the mouth of the river the bank is about 70 yards up then 780 yards through the woods good ground and even except at a small run of water about the middle of it which has small banks then carried 120 yards down a sandy bank elevated about 45° but we slope along it left the carrying place and tracked $\frac{1}{4}$ mile very strong current then handed $\frac{1}{4}$ mile then tracked $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles exceeding strong current and steep heigh banks continued tracking 7 miles strong current bank as before and came to a carrying place 40 yards over a rock on the North side good carrying put up at 7 PM Wind Easterly with Cloudy Weather and rain at 7 PM

6th Monday Wind NE a heavy gale with showers of heavy rain at times which made it unsafe moving amongst the shoals ahead

7th Tuesday at $4\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway tracked 4 miles in

strong current and passed 7 rapids at the three last we handed the Canoes by the points of the rocks paddled 1 mile then tracked $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in strong current and passed a small creek on the North side and came to a rapid it being shoal we carried half the Cargoe 10 yards and led the Canoes up it then paddled 50 yards and handed through a narrow place between rocks paddled 100 yards then carried the cargoe 30 yards and handed the Canoes up the rapid which is shoal and strong current then padled 150 yards and came to a fall about 15 feet perpendicular in 40 yards carried 50 yards over a rock about 100 yards from the shore its shoal for about 100 yards above the fall we then padled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to the Nis-ca-min or Indian Gooseberry fall led up 3 small shoots in 50 yards then 3 more in the space of 100 yards then paddled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the end of a small bay on the North side at the foot of the fall carried 360 yards amongst Willows about $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet heigh and wet ground then just within the edge of the woods 320 yards in which space there is 5 small swampy places then 200 yards through the woods to the waters edge good sound ground then padled 4 miles in some places very strong current then $1\frac{1}{4}$ mile from rock to rock to shift the current and came to the kettle carrying place carried 50 yards upon a rock not very good then padled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile amongst rocks and came to a carrying place 200 yards upon the North side of an Island and put up at 8 PM wind variable with Cloudy Weather the river passed this day is full of rocks and about this place many Islands

Aug^t 8th Wednesday at $5\frac{1}{2}$ AM got underway padled 100 yards then led through a narrow just the width of the Canoe a larger Canoe must have passed further out then pad-dled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the foot of a fall which falls 40 feet in 200 yards and carried on North side 480 yards very bad un-loading amongst large raged stones carried 50 yards upon them and the remainder through willows and swamps and raged stones then padled 100 yards then handed with a line 20 yards then carried 20 yards left the carrying place and tracked 1 mile then handed with a line on shore at

two strong points then paddled $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles in moderate current to a fall and carried 15 yards over a rock a little from the shore padled 150 yards along a bay then carried 150 yards through a Wood then tracked 1 mile and handed at a bad point then tracked $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a fall and carried 50 yards through a woody point on North side good carrying and low banks then padled and set with poles $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile in strong current and came to a fall carried the Cargo 40 yards and the Canoes 10 yards over a rock on the North side then padled 4 miles and came to a fall and carried 125 yards through the Woods on the North side good carrying then padled 100 yards and carried 80 yards under the bank and put up at 7 PM Wind Easterly a fresh gale at times with cloudy weather

1792

Aug^t 9th Thursday at $5\frac{3}{4}$ AM got underway padled $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in which we passed two strong points with the tracking line put on shore to haul them up then crossed to an Island river in this place about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went the South side of the Island padled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and handed by two points with a line on shore then padled 4 miles along the side of the Island and came to a fall and carried out of a small bay upon the Island 200 yards from the fall 330 yards through the woods into a bay the Carrying place is mossy and swampy but not very bad except under the bank which is deep soft mud padled 1 mile along the side of the Island than handed with a line on shore 20 yards at this part Several small Islands lay to the South then padled along the Island 3 miles easy current and then crossed to the South side of the river at this place two Islands lay in the middle of the river which about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide we then paddled 4 miles along the South side and crossed to North side the river about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide with very heigh banks padled along the North side 2 miles then lightned the head of the Canoe and handed 30 yards up a rapid with the line on shore then paddled 6 miles and crossed to South side and put up at 7 PM Wind variable Easterly Cloudy Weather the river passed this day is all small bays

of about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile with rocky points upon which the current is very strong

Aug^t 10th Friday much rain in the night and continued untill 6 AM and at 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ AM got underway paddled 3 miles deep water and easy current then $\frac{1}{2}$ mile very strong current to the foot of the Gull Falls and crossed under it to the North side and paddled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile moderate Current then handed 20 yards between rocks up a rocky point slippery and bad then paddled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and handed 20 yards up a small shoot of current then paddled 200 yards to the bottom of a small bay near the foot of the fall on the North side and landed upon the Gull carrying place and carried 70 yards open and grassy then 50 yards up a good bank through the woods about 950 yards and 50 yards down a good bank but steep and came to the water at a kind of bay by the side of the Gull Fall or rather very heavy rapid running all along the middle of the River with a very heavy swell paddled $\frac{3}{4}$ mile along the side of the river then handed with a line on the shore round a Point of rocks then paddled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to two small Islands in a bay and carried up between them 50 yards upon a rock covered with large stones the fall is about 15 feet perpendicular in 40 yards when the water is high it runs down between these Islands and the carrying place is then upon the outermost Island, paddled 150 yards in a small bay then carried 300 yards through the woods on the North shore then Paddled 200 yards to a strong rapid and handed the Canoes up it, paddled $\frac{3}{4}$ miles to an Island 100 yards from the North shore and carried upon the Island 340 yards to the head of it this part is full of Islands on the North side and suppose it to be little less than 3 miles wide from this place the Gull Fall is one intire rapid in the Middle of the river left the carrying place paddled 1 mile then handed with a line up a bad point at which place W^m Flett and my self was carried of our legs but the line brought us to the shore with no other damage than the weting of my watch paddled $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to carrying place 60 yards over through a point of woods on the North shore then paddled

$\frac{1}{2}$ mile and carried 60 yards over a rock and 130 yards through a point of woods mossy but level to this place may still be reconed the Gull fall as the middle of the river is all one continued exceeding heavy rapid in a constant raging foam and is much worse than a Sea occasioned by the Wind as the Seas all have a hollow back but the Islands and points brake the current so much up the North side that it makes it not bad to get up we put up upon the carrying place at 7 PM Wind Variable all round the compass with cloudy Thunderlike Weather

11th Saturday light rain in the morning and at 6.40 AM got underway paddled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile then handed 30 yards with a line then paddled 1 mile and entered the Gull Lake at $7\frac{1}{4}$ AM at Noon we met with three Canoes of Indians two of which have goods for Chatham House at 1 PM we put up with them at the end of the Gull Lake gave them a little brandy and engaged them to pilot us down the river Wind Variable with cloudy Weather

Aug^t 12th Sunday Rain all the fore part of the day at 11^h 40' AM got underway paddled 3 miles passed three bays and handed at a point paddled 1 mile and handed 30 yards at a point paddled $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles then handed 20 yards at a point paddled $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and handed 30 yards at a point bad handing then paddled $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then led up a rapid with a line 250 yards not good this is commonly a Carrying place along the face of the bank and is a bad carrying place paddled 2 miles and put up at $6\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Easterly with rain in the forepart of the day latter part cloudy cold Weather

13th Monday at 5 AM got underway paddled 3 miles very strong current then handed 120 yards then paddled and set with poles 1 mile handed 70 yards then paddled 1 mile and came to Tas-qui-au Lake or split Lake in coming up the river we kept always on the North side at 9 AM set sail in the Tasquiau Lake and sailed near due West and run nearly 4 miles an hour and at $5\frac{1}{4}$ PM got to the end of the Lake and came to a fall which is on the South side of a large Island and carried through the woods on the South shore 200 yards on the lower side is a wet slippery

bank for 40 yards and rather steep and on the uper side is 50 yards of steep bank but good in dry weather entered a part of the river which these Indians call little grass river but it is still part of the Sas-katch-a-wan paddled 2 miles easy current and put up on the large Island at 6½ PM Wind NE fine weather

1792

Aug^t 14th Tuesday at 4¾ AM got underway padled 1 mile and came to the end of the Island the current is easy all the way from the fall padled 2½ miles the current increasing in strength and came to part with several Islands an the current very strong we was obliged to hand the Canoes with a line on the shore 30 yards at a point upon the South side of an Island on North side the river another Island lays opposite to this on the South side off the mouth of the Sas-katch-a-wan River which in this place is near ½ mile wide *at this place the little Grass river joins the Sas-katch-a-wan no European has been up the Sas-katch-a-wan between this and the South track to Cumberland House,*¹ followed the little grass river leaving the Sas-katch-a-wan to the Southward went 4 miles it is then drawn in from above ¼ mile wide to about 30 or 40 yards wide and very little current and fine low banks paddled 5 miles more in moderate current and came to a rapid handed the Canoes about 300 yards and at two places in the middle of it with a line and carried part of the cargoe 30 yards padled 1 mile and came to a heavy fall and carried 200 yards through the woods on the South side the bank on the lower side is steep for 70 yards and bad walking and the uper side is not good and the

¹Here we have the definite statement that no European had travelled the Nelson river between the mouth of Grass river and the mouth of the Echimamish river, a distance of about one hundred and eighty miles.

On the thirtieth of the following month, David Thompson, Turnor's old pupil at Cumberland House, passed this place, and continued the ascent of Nelson river for an additional hundred miles to an irregular expansion of the river known as Sipiwesk lake, on the west shore of which is a rock promontory now known as Old Fort Point. Here young Thompson built a trading post for the Hudson's Bay Company and in it he spent much of the winter of 1792-3, but it proved to be a poor place for fish and game, and he had to obtain provisions from his friend William Cook, who was living at Chatham House at the time. The two places were about twenty miles apart in a straight line.

water now being low makes it bad loading when I went up before we carried 100 yards upon an Island in the middle of the fall but the Indians left that carrying place upon the account of some trees being blown down which had stoped up the path but two men would clear it in an hour we paddled 5 miles and came to a Lake called Which-a-ha-gan Jack-a-ha-gan or Stinking Lake paddled 9 miles to the end of it and entered the river still called the little grass river paddled about 12 miles in the river easy current and about from 70 to 150 yards wide and came to a kind of lake about 1 mile wide at entrance paddled 2 miles along the South side and put up at 7 PM Wind SW fresh gale and Cloudy Weather

15th Wednesday at 6 AM got underway paddled 1 mile in a kind of Lake and 2 miles in a narrow part and came to a fall or strong rapid about 100 yards long and an Island in the middle of it we handed 70 yards on the North shore very strong current then paddled 1½ mile and came to a Lake called Pa-mitch-a-cum-mow Sack-a-ha-gan about 3 miles long we paddled across it 1½ mile and entered a fine river still called little grass river paddled 1 mile in the river then handed 30 yards on the North shore then paddled ¼ mile to the Cliff fall by the Indians called the Pi-ac a Sin-ne Pow-e-stick or one stone fall from a single heigh cliff standing separte from the other part of the rock to my great surprise I have learned that the Canadians have three men at a House¹ close to Chatham House with Liquor and that at Chatham there is only one and he does not understand the Language therefore do not think it safe to deliver the Brandy at the House as all the Indians now at place are in the Canadian Interest and they would wish

¹Turnor had crossed Teal and Bald Eagle lakes, and had reached Standing Stone rapid which he places in North Latitude 55° 43' 7", which is about a mile and a half north of the position given for it on the latest Canadian government maps. He had still fifty miles to go to reach Chatham House, but he decided to cache the brandy and goods that he was carrying and return to York Factory. The Canadian House to which he refers was doubtless McKay's House, which was on Paint lake nine miles from Chatham House. It is not likely that McKay himself was there at the time, for Turnor met him on June 22, on his way to build a house on Reindeer lake. Possibly McKay had told him that there would be no one at his house this summer.

no better sport than by giving the Indians a little Liquor setting them upon the single man that is there I cannot prevail upon one of them that is with me to remain at the House if I had known of this before I left York Factory I would not have proceeded without one or two of the men which are to Winter at the place its surprising to me that all the men knew it and that I never heard of it I always understood that there was not a single Canadian staid in this Summer As no Indian will be this way before James Spence and his crew and having passed all the bad rivers between York Factory and Chatham House I thought it safest to lay it up as likewise the bundles which the Indian who is to pilot us down the river has with him the other two Canoes left us in Tas-qui-au Lake and are going to hunt up a river to Northward and come in by another way laid all up secure

1 mile, NbE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile the river about 100 yards wide and came to the fall before mentioned as having an Island in the middle handed 70 yards close along the North shore then NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile a small bay on North side
 ♂S54°E Doub. Alt. ♂L.L. 79° 25'

— 25' 5"

78° 59' 55" Var. 6°11' W

Doub. Merid. Alt. ♂^sL.L. 95° 53'

— 25' 5"

95° 27' 55" Lat. 55°43'7"N

at $\frac{1}{2}$ PM got underway to return to York Factory many reasons combining to induce me to it amongst which was the general expectation of the Ships arriving very early and four of the men now with me have given in their determination of returning to Europe and although I do not expect they will do it yet should they miss seeing the Ship they will be the cause of constant confusion in the Country and would be a handle made a liberal use of

an other year if Men are (as they will most likely) wanted to go up the river instead of laying at the Factory to wait the arrival of the Ship for my own part I cannot see any reason for our laying at York Factory so long as we did the men that came from the Northward with me were ready at a days notice but the men that come down the river seems to get a lounging way about the Factory so that the longer they stay the less they seem prepared for the Journey one great obsticle is the time men take to agree when their contract is expired as they mostly repeatedly refuse engaging again as they are well assured they will be courted to it as their numbers is far to few and they are well informed of their own consiquence

We went N $\frac{3}{4}$ mile down the river NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in broad part or kind of bay then NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in a narrower part and NWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in a part about 200 yards wide and enterd Pa-mitch-a-cum-mow Lake went NbW 1 mile across it the lake appearing about 2 mile to West and $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to East with two Islands at the mouth of the river on the lower side of the Lake went N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, NE 1 mile, NNE NE by E $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, the river about 200 yards broad enterd a kind of small lake about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide went ENE 2 miles and EbS $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile nearly along the South side then enterd the river about 200 yards wide and went NEbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile, NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NWbW $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NWbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile NNW $\frac{3}{4}$ mile E^t $\frac{3}{8}$ mile NE $\frac{1}{2}$ mile ESE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N $\frac{1}{2}$ E $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile NNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile W^t $\frac{1}{4}$ mile WNW $\frac{1}{4}$ mile NEbN $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile E^t $\frac{1}{4}$ mile ENE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and N $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the river about 150 yards wide fine moderate current put up at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ PM Wind Westerly fresh gale untill 2 PM with clear Weather latter part of the day variable with flying clouds

1792

Aug^t 16th Thursday at 5 AM we got underway in the Stinking Lake went North $1\frac{1}{2}$ in a part about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then N $\frac{1}{2}$ E 2 miles to very near a point on the West side left a bay to West about 3 mile deep with several Islands in it the East shore seems to have near a regular sweep and opposite to

the bay about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile from our course to the land continued N $\frac{1}{2}$ E 2 mile a bay about 1 mile to W^t and the land about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile to East. N $\frac{1}{2}$ E $\frac{1}{2}$ mile the Lake in this place $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide N $\frac{1}{2}$ E 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile nearly along the middle a bay on each side in the bays the Lake is about 1 mile wide the Land round this Lake is bold but not very hilly and well covered with pine entered the river and went NEbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile EbN $\frac{1}{2}$ mile E 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ mile and ENE $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and came to the carrying place 200 yards on the South shore which should have been upon a rocky woody Island went EbN $\frac{3}{4}$ mile and NE $\frac{1}{4}$ mile and came to a rapid in running of which my Canoe was upset by the bowsman hauling the head of the Canoe into an eddy and a squall of Wind catching us at the same time she instantly filled and over-set but luckily no lives were lost

Lost the Sextant, Compass, small glass, a Kettle, a Tent and several other small articles

We got the Canoe safe on Shore and stoped the remainder of the day to dry our things Luckily the Hon^{ble} Companies Watch got no damage as I have always kept it corked up in a pewter cup my own got full of water and in drying it it got broke I could not use the compass in going up the river their being so many Iron bound kegs in the Canoe that when it was set in different parts it would alter three or four points so I deferred taking the Courses untill my return, this day Wind Easterly a heavy gale with flying clouds the Indians repeatedly searched for the Sextant &^c but without success

17th Friday Wind NE a heavy gale with cold rain all day which prevented us from moving

18th Saturday at $\frac{1}{2}$ PM got underway and 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ PM came to the carrying place into Tas-qui-ao Lake the fall is run when the Water is good or rather heigh and seems not bad now in carrying the Canoes Peter Brown slipped in going down the hill and fell upon his back by which means my Canoe was broke so nearly in two that it held only by the Gun-wales which were very much strained but the age of the Canoe was not the cause but a fall they have in putting the

splinters into them instead of breaking the joints they have three lengths of splinters and makes the joints all together and often give them so little lap that its surprising they do not work in two M^r Tomison broke the other end of this Canoe in two exactly in the same manner all this evening imployed in repairing the Canoe Wind NE with heavy rain all the fore part of the day and the latter part cloudy

19th Sunday after having finish the repair of our Canoe at 6 AM we got underway in the Lake paddled until 8 AM then set sail and at 1 PM came to the place where James Spence Wintered the Winter before last found James Spence laying there with three Canoes Weather bound they had a net set in a small river¹ which runs from the Northwest and is reported as coming from near the Churchill river and the Indians say it is navigable up to a carrying place which leads into the Churchill river if it should be found practicable to get up this river into the Churchill water it would miss the part of the Churchill river which is reported to be so bad and will be a much nearer way to Isle-a-la-Cross than by the way of Cumberland House besides there some reason to expect a passage will be found into the East end of the Athapescow Lake by the way of the deers Lake at 3 PM we left James Spence who was likewise thinking of geting underway and at 7 PM the Indian killed a deer at the lower end of the Gull Lake and we put up Wind WSW fine clear Weather

20th Monday at 5½ AM got underway at 6 AM enterd the North or Port Nelson River² and came to the first fall run the uper end on the North side of an Island then crossed to an other Island and carried 250 yards upon the Island very good carrying the woods closly burnt (if we had gone on the North side we must have carried at two places) we crossed to North side and run a rapid then crossed a branch about 40 yards wide to the head of an Island and carried

¹Assian creek flows into the north side of Split lake. Near by is a portage on a canoe route to Little Churchill river, which empties into Churchill river.

²He has spoken of the river above this place as the Saskatchewan river. From here to its mouth he calls it the Port Nelson river.

340 yards the river in this part is full of large Islands suppose the river about 3 mile wide at this place, we shot a rapid we handed at agoing up and then carried 300 yards on the North shore not a mile between the two last carrying places went 100 yards to an other carrying place carried down a creek about 50 yards this place was dry when we went up but theres much water coming down it now we then run down the North side of the river to the Gull carrying place and carried over it to the foot of the fall all the three last carrying places belong to the Gull Fall or rapid which is not less than 3 miles long at the foot of the rapid the river is nearly about 1 mile wide and heigh banks about a mile below the carrying place the river turns wide with several Islands in it crossed to the South side and came to rapid we led at in going up run the rapid the current is very crooked but not very rough went on the North side of an Island we carried upon in going up 330 yards on the South side of it but by going on the North side of the Island we miss the carrying place, we shot one rapid at the head of the Island about 300 yards long but not bad went 2 miles and run an other rapid about 300 yards long went 2 miles and came to a strong current for about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile then a rapid run it close to the Island its very good went 1 mile and came to the end of the Island and run a rapid we carried at in going up the river at this place about 250 yards wide carried at the next place then run a long rapid but good then carried 150 yards then paddled 120 yards across a bay then carried under the bank 90 yards continued on down the North side and run a rapid at the head of the carrying place above the head of the kettle carrying place then carried over the carrying place which is exceeding bad but with a good deal of trouble a good carrying place might be cut through the woods, went to the Kettle carrying place carried over and put up at $5\frac{3}{4}$ PM Wind Southerly fresh breeze forepart of the day with small showers of rain Musketoes exceeding troublesome

1792

Aug^t 21st Tuesday at 5¼ AM got underway went to the next carrying place and carried 60 yards continued on to the Niscamin carrying place carried over the carrying place went ¼ mile and handed the Canoes 70 yards then run 2/3 across the river then run back by which means we kept in good water then crossed back to the North side and about 2 miles above the next carrying place we met eight Canoes of the Indians with trading goods for Chatham House we passed those Indians on the 3rd ins^t left them then run down a strong rapid and directly crossed to the South side and run down the rapid which in going up we carried at on the North side close along shore found it very good going down on the South side but it would be exceeding bad to go up on this side then crossed back to the North side and continued down the river to the next rapid then handed the Canoes about 100 yards along the shore about the middle of the fall then run almost to the bottom then brought up and carried 100 yards under the bank at the point of a bay by the side of the fall this fall is not bad for canoes as they run close to the rocks but boats would be forced to keep room for their Oars This rapid more properly styled than a fall has a very heavy swell upon it particularly at the point of the bay near the bottom of the rapid when the swell is so heigh and returns so very hollow that it would take a Ships bow under it, into the small bay below this fall or rapid, a little river called Me-ta-tate a Seepe falls which part of the Indians that have goods for Chatham House are gone up for the sake of provision they go through small Lakes and join the Tas-qui-au Lake then follow the usual track, We crossed under the foot of the rapid to the South side the river which in this place is about ¾ mile wide then went down the river to Pe-ta-ta-ta Pow-e-stick by the Englishmen called Hell gate fall but that is not the Indian interpretation at this place we found one bag of Flour and one of Oatmeal which we left upon our journey up the Indians having taken the other two away for Chatham House

As far as this place Boats could be brought from York Factory with ease and would be of great utility in the first place it would save the Canoes very much the river below this being very full of Gravelly shoals and are not easily seen untill as the water is deep close below them and the ridges lay like banks which in fact they are being drove into hills and ridges by the Ice when Canoes run upon them the birch rind strips into slips as thin as fine paper and turns ragged and secret leaks get under them most birch rind when broke the least into peals of in a skin and turns hollow and the deeper it is scratched the more skins will arise and the best way of treating these scratches is to trim them close and pitch all round the edges of the part cut a Canoeman would always rather have a hole broke through his Canoe than have a bad scratch as by repairing the hole it becomes tight. An other and greater advantage would arise from the men being kept from the Factory for when they get there they seem not easily got away again this year the Chatham House Men came at their ease down the river in the Summer and remained at the Factory untill the fall of the year whereas Hugh Leask and Peter Brown came down from the Athapescow Lake went up to near Chatham House with me came down to York Factory with me and are gone again up the Port Nelson River to Settle a new House near Chatham House¹ the Journey to and from Chatham House can be performed upon an average in the space of one Month. If the Canoes meet the goods at this place the men would return cheerfully untill the Goods were carried up and the Furrs brought down and if found needfull part of the boats crews could be added to the Canoes and after all the Goods were delivered at the respective houses the men might then come to the Factory and carry up goods at Ship time the Boats might wait the return of the Canoes or might be brought down by a few Men as there is neither danger or difficulty below this place We continued on down the River to the place where we found the Indians in our passage up and

¹They went with David Thompson to build a house on Sipiwesk lake.

put up at 7½ PM by the side of two Tents belonging to the Factory Indians who like our selves were in want of Provision as no deer are crossing the river they informed us that the Men were gone to the Factory to take debt with a view of going to their Winter Quarters Wind NE in the forepart of the day light airs and a stiff gale in the evening with Cloudy Weather

1792

Aug^t 22nd Wednesday at 6¼ AM we got underway and at 6 PM we put up a little above the Seal Islands not being able to proceed further for Wind which blew a stiff gale at NE with Cloudy Weather if we had been amongst rapids we could not have moved this day

23rd Thursday at 7 AM we got underway which was as soon as the Wind would permit we went about 12 miles and put in at low water the tide being near ½ mile out and carried all above heigh Water mark the gale being to heavy for turning the point of Marsh remained all this day Wind NE heavy gale and cloudy

24th Friday at 3 AM got underway turned the point of Marsh and at 7 AM we had the pleasure of arriv^g on board the Sea Horse where we waited untill flood and then went up to the Factory at which place I had the happiness to hear every thing was well and am with the Greatest Respect

The Hon^{ble} Companys Obedient Serv^t

Philip Turnor

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

WILLIAM TOMISON

(The following sketch has been kindly supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company in London)

William Tomison was a servant of the Hudson's Bay Company for half a century, during which time he was a decided power in the affairs of the Company in the North West. He was a man of energy, and apparently esteemed by the Company, but it appears that he was not endowed with the virtue of tact, or the ability of maintaining happy relations with his fellow officers; and towards the end of his career he seems to have been universally hated by the Indians. He is accused on more than one occasion, during his superintendence of inland affairs, of doing all in his power to prevent settlement in the Athabaska and Swan river regions, through being jealously interested only in the settlements on the Saskatchewan.

Years of Apprenticeship: Tomison was a native of South Ronaldshay, one of the Orkney Isles, and was born in or about the year 1739. He entered the Hudson's Bay Company's service in 1760, and proceeded to York Factory, where he was at first employed in the capacity of "labourer". It appears that he remained here during the next few years, but in the autumn of 1766 he is referred to as steward to Andrew Graham at Severn Factory.

Voyages of Exploration: The pressure of the competition of the traders from Montreal made it desirable that the Company's servants should get a more intimate knowledge of the interior; and on June 16, 1767, Tomison proceeded inland from Severn with the object of encouraging the Indians to bring their furs down to the Factory. On his arrival at Lake Winnipeg on September 3, he found many Indians awaiting the arrival of the "Pedlars", who informed him that there were two houses at "Misquagamaw" [Red] River, half a day's paddle across the Lake, one commanded by an Englishman, and the other by a Frenchman, both of whom had, however, gone down to Montreal with their furs. The Indians also informed Tomison that further to the westward were situated three more "French" houses. On September 20 news was received that the "Pedlars" had returned, and the Indians accordingly paddled across the lake to them. Some of them returned a few days later, after having got debt from the two houses at "Misquagamaw" river. On October 2 Tomison notes in his journal that there passed by on their journey westward a "French" trader, ten "Frenchmen", and fourteen Indians, with six canoes full of trading goods. They entered Tomison's tent and smoked, and one of them informed him that they were proceeding towards "Basquea", and that they were employed by a French merchant at Montreal. Tomison's informant stated that he had been a prisoner at York "last war", when he had learned English, and added that this was his first tour of the lakes. He and his party had already been three months on their journey from Montreal, and did not expect to reach their wintering grounds for another month. He confirmed the Indians' report that there was an English and a French trader at "Musquagamaw" river and two more traders to the west of the lake. Another member of the party enquired after Louis Primeau, then a servant at York Factory.

During his sojourn at lake Winnipeg, Tomison was unable to persuade the Indians to take their furs down to the Company's forts on the bay, because they

were able to trade them so near at hand. He held the opinion that the furs traded at Albany and Severn Factories were not obtained from the Indians in whose company he had passed the winter; and further that none of them would visit the Factories if it were not for the inducement of the Brazil tobacco. Between May 16 and June 6, 1768, Tomison proceeded westward, and saw two old French houses, and he finally returned to Severn on June 30 after an absence of slightly more than a year. At the conclusion of his journal he gives the following description of lake Winnipeg:

This great lake begins near the head of Albany River and runs about N.W. 12 days paddle, and from 10 to 20 miles broad, full of Islands on which grows birch and divers kinds of pine trees; along side the lake grows ash and hazel with plenty of berries of divers kind; the Lake and also all others abounds with fish particularly pike and sturgeon.

In crossing lake Winnipeg on his return journey to Severn, Tomison's canoe overturned and he and his companions had a narrow escape. His journal was lost, and his account of this trip now in our possession is in a somewhat abbreviated form.

The following extract is taken from the Severn Factory journal kept by Andrew Graham on June 30, 1768, the day on which Tomison returned thither:

William Tomison returned from Inland with 3 Canoes, could master no more the English & french pedlars daily trading what furs the natives catches. He says he did all he could to prevent them, but to no purpose they making him this Answer

the French are nigh hand us, and it is a long way to go to Your factories.

After a year's interval, Tomison undertook a further journey to the interior, leaving Severn on July 15, 1769, for the "Miscoutté" or "Asinepoet" country. On August 14 he records his arrival at lake Winnipeg, which he crossed, and three days later proceeded in a west-north-westerly direction up "Small Kiskatchewan River". By August 26 he had reached lake Manitoba, and he then proceeded south. On September 5 he describes this lake as "but narrow but by the Indians acct. a great length Running Northward for hundred Miles". On September 10 he came upon a tent of "Susanewa" Indians, who informed him that the "Archithine" Indians had killed several of their countrymen. About a fortnight later he came upon six tents of "Mantawapowa" Indians, who, he adds, "used formerly to trad[e] at Albany Fort but of late trads with the padlers that is Settled among them".

On October 25 he relates that a man came to his tent who told him "in Indian that he was a English man born but was taken by the french when a boy and is now entirely forgot his owne Language and talks the Indian". Four days later he states that a party of Indians "returned with Several very fine horses from 13 to 14 hands high they ar of different Coulers the Same as in England". On the last day of the year Tomison records that the Indians were endeavouring to pound the Buffalo, but did not anticipate that they would be successful without the help of the "Asinepoites". On January 8, 1770, he was visited by twenty-four tents of the last-mentioned tribe; on February 4 "one tent of kewenethlew Indians came", and on March 3 he states that "Several Indians return'd from the trading houses who informed us that the traders is to Sett out from the great leake to Wenakowmiskekou [Mossy] River with trading goods the distance about one 100 miles". Tomison had now reached the prairie south of lake Manitoba, and had drifted northward to the neighbourhood of Birdtail creek, whence he passed north of the Riding mountains to lake Dauphin. There canoes were built.

In the early spring a number of Indians passed Tomison's tenting-place on their return "from the trading houses", and on March 29 he was informed by one party "that 150 trading tents is now pitching towards the trading house at Winacomiskekow River", and he appends the following observations:

What I must observe nothing more encourages these natives to go to ware then trading Houses being Settled inland.

On April 13 Tomison states that he travelled about forty miles to the northward to some Indians "with tobacco and to endeavour to get them down to trad, they mead many fair promises but as they ar so nigh to the trading house and a people of no creaded there is but little hop[els]". Passing through lake Dauphin on May 23 he "padled N.W. 12 miles down Wenakowmiskekou [Mossy] River came to above 100 tents of different tribs all waiting the traders arival from the great leak . . . could not get one to concnet to come down to trade they ar all going to ware".

Three days later Tomison was informed by some Indians that Ferdinand Jacobs, governor of York Factory, had told them that there were no goods at Severn, and that they had therefore been entrusted with conducting Tomison back to York. Tomison believed this report, and consequently returned to York, but on his arrival discovered that the Indians' report was unfounded. On June 2 he was visited by a party of twelve traders with two large canoes filled with trading goods. Not one of them could speak a word of English. A few days later he was informed by the Indians that an Englishman had been killed in the previous winter by the "Archithine" Indians.

On his journey to York Tomison proceeded down the "small Kiskachewan River", and no less than twelve days—from June 23 to July 5—were occupied in crossing the Great Lake (Lake Winnipeg). He eventually arrived at York Factory on July 18, 1770.

Shortly afterwards he returned to Severn, and in the ensuing autumn was absent from that post on a visit to Albany Factory between October 29 and December 30, and was subsequently employed by Andrew Graham as a trapper. On Graham's departure for York Factory on August 5, 1771, Tomison was left temporarily in charge at Severn until the arrival of Christopher Atkinson, and he continued to be employed at that post during the next few years. He again assumed control at Severn during the temporary absence of William Falconer on a visit to York Factory in the summer of 1774, and likewise in the ensuing year. At the end of 1775 he visited York Factory, and his departure from that place on his return to Severn was on January 5, 1776. He again left Severn on January 23, armed with a packet from York Factory on the arduous overland journey to Albany, and in the ensuing April he finally left Severn for York Factory, since he had been appointed to succeed Matthew Cocking in the charge of Cumberland House. On July 13 he left York Factory, and he arrived at Cumberland on August 30, where he assumed control pending the return of Matthew Cocking about six weeks later. Tomison remained at Cumberland House during the winter, and in May, 1777, accompanied by William Walker and five men, he set off up the Saskatchewan to proceed above the "Pedlars'" settlements, with the object of endeavouring to get the Indians of that region to go down to York Factory with their furs. He went up the river as far as the forks of the North and South Saskatchewan, and thence up the former branch, and put up on May 24 "a little above the upper French House", on the opposite side of the river. He decided that it would be of no advantage to proceed further, as the "French" house was situate at the junction of the Beaver and Snake Indian tracks.

On June 6 he embarked on his return journey to Cumberland, where he arrived four days later. The expedition on the whole failed in its object, for although some trade was obtained from the "Assine poets", it was nevertheless evident that the majority of the trade had fallen into the hands of the "Pedlars'", in spite of strenuous efforts by Tomison to undersell them.

On June 13, 1777, Tomison left Cumberland House for York Factory, where he arrived on July 19. He returned, however, to Cumberland shortly afterwards, and reached there on September 12, accompanied by six Englishmen and the "Upper Basquia" Indian leader with his tribe. The Indian leader remained at the Fort until January 16, 1778, when he left for the interior accompanied by Tomison, Malchom Ross, and James Banks, with trading goods for the purpose of intercepting the natives on their way to the "French" house. According to the instructions of Humphrey Marten, chief at York Factory, it was the intention

"to have a temporary Settlement erected at or near the Moose or Buffalo hunting Grounds for the Conveniences of procuring food and preventing the Indians from trading with the Upland traders". Tomison and Ross, however, returned to Cumberland on February 28, having left Banks with the natives in charge of the trading goods. Five days later Tomison, Ross, and a party of Home Indians set off once more with trading goods for the "Upper Basquia" Indians, in order to prevent them from going to the "Canadian" house; they returned again to Cumberland five weeks later.

Chief at Cumberland House—Organizer of the Saskatchewan trade against the "Pedlars": On April 10 Tomison took over control of this post from Joseph Hansom, and here he remained until July 2, when he left for York Factory, after handing over the charge of the house once more to Joseph Hansom. On his return to Cumberland in the autumn, Tomison was again in command during the ensuing winter of 1778-9. Shortly after his arrival, Robert Longmoor left to pass the winter above the forks of the Saskatchewan. Philip Turnor, the newly-appointed surveyor, resided at Cumberland from October 11, 1778, until March 5, 1779, when he left to join Longmoor at the Upper Settlement. An expedition under Joseph Hansom had been despatched in the autumn of 1778. Turnor and Longmoor returned to Cumberland on May 9, 1779. On his departure for York Factory on June 8, 1779, Tomison left William Walker in control at Cumberland House. He returned here on September 11, and left eleven days later to proceed up the Saskatchewan. On October 8 he began the erection of Hudson House, and after remaining here until January 30, 1780, he set out for Cumberland, leaving Longmoor in charge of the new post. In the summer of 1780 he again left Walker in control at Cumberland during his visit to the Factory, and on his return remained at the former place throughout the winter of 1780-81. Whilst Tomison proceeded to York in the summers of 1781 and 1782, George Hudson assumed control at Cumberland; and we find that from the spring of 1781 Tomison was entrusted by the Governor and Committee with the direction of inland affairs.

Five days after his return to Cumberland in the autumn of 1782, Tomison resumed his journey up the river to Hudson House, and entrusted the charge of Cumberland once more to George Hudson. On October 4, 1782, he relieved William Walker at Hudson House, and on his departure for Cumberland in the ensuing May, he left Longmoor in charge. After remaining at Cumberland for a month in the spring of 1783, Tomison left Malchom Ross in charge and made his way to York Factory. On August 6 he "arrived at the place where York Fort once stood, but now a Ruinous heap, which is a Disagreeable sight to behold". It had been destroyed by the French under La Pérouse in August of the previous year, soon after his departure for the interior. He and his party constructed here a Log Tent forty feet long, twenty feet broad, and sixteen feet high; and after waiting in vain until September 8 for the arrival of the ship, he states that being extremely short of provisions, they "made a Platform and Erected another Tent which we covered over with ten feather Edge boards then stowed the Furs in the inside of all & came away with Heavy Hearts". If they had waited only another week they would have witnessed the arrival of the Company's ship *King George*, with Humphrey Marten on board.

After remaining for the winter at Cumberland House, Tomison handed it over to George Hudson on June 18, 1784, and proceeded to York Factory, where he was received with great joy on August 1, by Humphrey Marten, the chief, and all under his command. After a short time he pursued his way back to Cumberland House, where he remained from October 1-7, and then, after leaving George Hudson in charge here, he proceeded further inland to Hudson's House where he passed the winter. In May, 1785, he left this house under the control of Robert Longmoor, and departed for Cumberland House, where he remained until June 11, and then, leaving William Walker in charge, continued his journey down to the Factory. On September 21 he was back at Cumberland House where, eight days later, he left George Hudson in command and proceeded once more to Hudson's House for the winter. In the ensuing spring he deputed the charge

here to William Walker, and departed himself for Cumberland House, and after a fortnight's sojourn here, he continued his passage to York Factory.

Chief Inland: On the retirement of Humphrey Marten from the Superintendence of York Factory in 1786, Tomison was appointed by the Governor and Committee to succeed him, with the difference, however, that he was to reside inland, seeing that the majority of the trade was obtained from there, "with full Powers to act as he shall judge best for promoting the Trade". Simultaneously, Joseph Colen was appointed resident chief at York Factory. Colen was, however, to be subordinate to Tomison when he visited the Factory, and was instructed to obey his orders at all times. Tomison from now on usually occupied the most westerly post and in his journeys to and from York Fort supervised the intermediate posts.

On August 30, 1786, we find that he departed once more for the interior, after giving Colen full instructions regarding the conduct of affairs, and making arrangements for clearing the foundation of one of the flankers and getting wood ready for proceeding with the re-building of the Factory in the ensuing spring. He was back at Cumberland House on October 1, left on October 4, and eleven days later arrived at Hudson House, where he was fully satisfied with Walker's administration during his absence. On October 17 he crossed the North Saskatchewan en route to South Branch House, where he arrived in the evening and found all well "Some building the Chimneys some putting the roof on the House, some making Mortar for the Chimneys some carrying stones for Do". The construction of this house had been commenced a short time previously by Mitchell Oman.

On October 21 he returned to Hudson House, and after a stay of four days set off for the "Upper House [Manchester House]", arriving on November 2, when the following is an extract from his journal:

... arrived at the pine Island, where the Indians pointed out for us to build on last spring, here Mr Mc Kay built last summer, and three houses more has been erected this fall for Different Interests and two more about 35 miles above this, all of which are striving against each other which I believe will put soon an End to Trade, this House is 60 foot by 22 within the walls, but much too low and very ill Constructed"

It transpires that the construction of the house had been commenced by Robert Longmoor about three weeks prior to Tomison's arrival. The latter passed the winter here and embarked on May 1, 1787, for Hudson House, where he states that "the necessity of the times obliges me to leave Mr. Longmoore up all summer and 6 Men. . . I did not intend to have left so many, but the rogues of canadians are going higher up to build so that three men is left on that account".

On May 4 he reached Hudson House, where he found William Walker and all well, and subsequently proceeded to the South Branch, where he records on May 8 that Oman had "diligently superintended" the establishment during the winter. After returning to Hudson House for a few days, he continued his journey to Cumberland, and, handing over the charge to George Hudson, re-embarked for York Factory on June 5, and arrived there at the end of the month.

Here he remained with Colen for a period of between two and three weeks, and from August 28 to September 5 he again visited Cumberland House; and then, leaving Hudson here for the winter, he pursued his journey up the Saskatchewan river accompanied by the young David Thompson. After a fortnight's journey he arrived at the South Branch, where he found William Walker and all well, and two days later set off overland to meet the canoes at an appointed place on the North Saskatchewan. By October 2 he was back at Manchester House, where he passed the winter of 1787-88. It will be observed that he did not visit Hudson House in the fall of 1787, as it had been abandoned since the previous May, but on his passage down the river in the spring of 1788, he records his arrival at the latter place on May 11, and three days later states that the men were employed "repairing the Stockades and putting Parchment on the windows".

From May 14-19, 1788, he visited South Branch House, and after spending five days more at Hudson House, he left for Cumberland, having assigned the charge of Hudson House to James Tate, assisted by David Thompson.

On June 9 Tomison handed over Cumberland House to Malchom Ross, and continued his journey to York Factory, and on July 3 he mentions his arrival "at the ruins of York Factory", where he found Colen and those under his command well. It appears that very great damage to the Factory had been caused by floods in the spring of 1788, and that in consequence Colen decided to rebuild it in a position about a mile higher up the river. Although the foundation stone of the new factory was laid on June 18, 1788, Colen did not take up his residence here until about four years later.

After spending nineteen days at York Factory, Tomison embarked for the interior, and reached Cumberland House after a passage of five weeks. Leaving Malchom Ross in charge here, he resumed his journey to the interior on September 6. Eleven days later he visited Walker at the South Branch, and after two days with him proceeded to Hudson House. He re-embarked on September 24, and arrived for the winter at Manchester House on October 3.

On his departure from here on May 17, 1789, Tomison left James Gaddy in charge, and proceeded down the river accompanied by David Thompson. On the following day he put up at the lower end of Eagle Hill "above 100 miles from Manchester House", and from May 20-22 he visited Walker at the South Branch.

After spending a fortnight with Ross at Cumberland, where he left David Thompson, who on December 23, 1788, had broken his leg, for the summer months, he travelled to York Factory, arriving on July 2. Having obtained permission from the Governor and Committee to proceed on a year's leave of absence to Europe, Tomison handed over the control of inland affairs to William Walker, and sailed in the autumn from York Factory on the Company's ship *King George*.

On the expiration of his furlough in the spring of 1790, Tomison was re-appointed by the Governor and Committee to his former capacity of "Inland Chief" from York Factory, proceeding to that place on the Company's ship *Sea Horse*. Shortly after his arrival there, he set off for the interior on September 4, 1790, and reached Cumberland House on October 12, resuming his journey two days later. On October 25 he put up seven miles above Hudson House, and on November 1 the river was already so full of ice that he was obliged to continue his journey overland. Four days later he records his arrival at Manchester House, where he assumed control from William Walker. After remaining here through the winter, Tomison departed again for the Factory on May 11, 1791, and left James Gaddy in charge at Manchester House. On May 15 he encamped four miles above Hudson House, and on May 23 he was back at Cumberland House. After a sojourn of ten days here, he left Magnus Twatt in control for the purpose of commencing some extensive repairs, and himself proceeded to York Factory, where he arrived on June 29.

On July 24 he embarked again for the upper settlements, and was accompanied by Walker as far as Cumberland House, where he arrived on August 29. Here he left Magnus Twatt once more in charge, and continuing his journey on September 14, he put up at Hudson House on the 23, at the Crossing Place on the 24, and reached Manchester House on October 3, 1791. In the ensuing spring of 1792, after deputing the charge to James Tate, he embarked for Cumberland House, and on his way down proceeded overland from the Crossing Place for the purpose of visiting William Walker, who in this year remained inland for the summer, at the South Branch House. Returning overland to the Crossing Place on May 23, 1792, Tomison passed by the site of Hudson House on the following day, "but found it laid in ashes by the Canadians last fall". He remained at Cumberland House from May 27 to June 7, and finds the "Canadians have also built a House three days Journey above this, which has *not only stopp'd the Indians from coming here*, but also prevented the Building from being carried on". Leaving Twatt once more in charge of rebuilding operations, Tomison

arrived at the new York Factory on June 29, whither Colen had removed his headquarters in the previous spring, having left George Sutherland in charge of the Old Factory. It will be recalled that Colen had commenced the construction of the new Factory situated rather less than a mile higher up the river immediately after the extensive spring flood in 1788. Four years later he considered that the work of rebuilding had not made sufficient progress, and decided to remove his residence to the new Factory, in order to hasten on that work.

After a stay at York Factory of rather less than a month, Tomison returned to the interior. He visited Twatt at Cumberland House between September 3-16, 1792. On September 18 he passed by a "Canadian" house "built this Summer" about sixty miles above Cumberland House, which he states "will cut that place off for having any Trade". On September 25, he encamped fourteen miles above Hudson House, and reached Manchester House again on October 3. Four days later he decided to proceed further up the river "as the Canadians has built a Large House near to the Moose Hills," and on October 12 the following remarks are taken from his journal:

... arrived at the place where we Intend to build about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile above the Canadian House what makes it inconvenient, being far from the River and a very bad bank to ascend.

The following description of the establishment of Buckingham House is taken from the journal of Peter Fidler, the Company's Surveyor, who arrived at the site two days after Tomison:

... came to where we are to build which is about 400 yards from the river, up a steep bank on the North side—a fine level plain above the bank & close to it plenty of Good Large Pines—this Place is called Buckingham House built here this Summer by Mr. Hughes—a fine creek running close below the House of excellent water. . . . Mr. Tomison arrived here two days before us. . . . We began to Build in 2 days after we arrived & that day 3 Weeks had the roof on the House. . . .

This new Hudson's Bay House was named "Buckingham House", and the adjacent fort of the North Westers was known as "Fort George".

After passing the winter of 1792-3 at Buckingham House, Tomison embarked for Manchester House, and owing to shortage of labour was obliged to steer one of the canoes himself on the passage down. He stayed at Manchester House from May 15-17, which was then abandoned for the summer, and on May 21 proceeded overland from the Crossing Place on a visit to the South Branch House. He subsequently rejoined the brigade of canoes on the North Saskatchewan, and on May 29 found Malcolm Ross alone in the house where he had wintered (Petahegannasepy), having already sent the remaining inmates down to Cumberland.

Tomison remained at Cumberland from May 31 to June 11, and leaving Twatt still in charge, pursued his way to York Factory, where he arrived on July 4. After a fortnight here, he commenced his return journey on July 18, visited Twatt at Cumberland from August 24 to September 16, put up on the south side of the river "abreast Manchester House" on October 4, and on the following day visited the house and found it "as well as could be expected". On October 6 he remarks that the men were occupied in putting hinges on the doors and parchment on the windows, and two days afterwards he embarked for Buckingham House, leaving seven men at Manchester. He reached the former place on October 12, 1793, and made his Headquarters here for the winter; and departing once again on May 16, 1794, he left James Spence as Master of the House. On May 18 he put up ten miles below Manchester House; on May 22 at the Crossing Place, and on the next day proceeded overland to the South Branch, where he found James Bird and all under his command in good health. Tomison remarks in his journal that there was only one Hudson's Bay Company's house here, whereas there were no less than four houses in opposition. On May 24, he returned overland to the Crossing Place, and sent the ill-fated Magnus Annal to relieve Bird at the South Branch, "Mr. Vandriel not having had sufficient ex-

perience". Annal, it will be recalled, was destined to lose his life when the South Branch House was attacked and destroyed by the Indians about four weeks later. On June 1 Tomison records his arrival "at New Cumberland House", presumably the structure recently completed by Twatt, and on June 7 he bid good-bye to the latter, and pursued his way down the river.

Establishes Gordon House, an Inland Depot: In order to get to the inland posts before the "Pedlars" and give the Indians credit and send men off to their wintering grounds before the opposition arrived, Tomison ordered Gordon House to be built at the Rock on Hill river, thereby saving about a week. In this trip he did not proceed to York Factory, but was met by Colen with trading goods at Gordon House. During his brief stay at Cumberland House in the spring of 1794, the following entry appears in Tomison's journal:

a Mr. Thompson arrives at Cumberland H^{se}. from near Muskrat River with two well loaded Canoes of Furs.

He adds that Thompson left some furs behind in the Muskrat country together with two more canoes. From Colen's journal we learn that he took his leave of Tomison at the rock on June 28, 1794, and it does not appear that the latter on this occasion proceeded further than the last-mentioned place. On August 22, Tomison was back again at Cumberland House, where he remained for ten days, and then embarked with nine canoes for "the Upper Settlement", Buckingham House, but it is impossible to furnish details of his activities during the ensuing winter of 1794-5 as his journal covering the period is not in the Hudson's Bay Company's archives. We find, however, from Twatt's Journal, that he returned to Cumberland on June 5, 1795, where he appears to have remained until September 4, when he embarked for the interior, and owing to shortage of men was obliged himself to steer one canoe on the passage up. On this occasion he left Mitchell Oman and James Swain in charge at Cumberland. On September 27 he reached Buckingham House, and after three days resumed his journey overland higher up the river. On October 5 he "arrived where the Canada Companies has built Houses during the Summer", and adds that "those sent by Water arrived at Noon. The Distance by Water is as Near as the Distance by land I compute it to be 106 West of Buckingham House & one mile above where Mr. Fidler Returned". On the following day the goods were transferred to the north side of the river and on October 7 he says "... there is not a stick near to where the House is to be erected which will cause much trouble & require a long time".

Thus was effected the establishment of the first Edmonton House, which was adjacent to the recently-erected Fort Augustus of the North West Company, a mile and a half above Sturgeon river. After remaining at the new establishment during the winter, Tomison commenced his journey down the river on May 21, 1796, leaving Alexander Flett in charge at Edmonton, assisted by John Peter Pruden and five others. From May 23-27 he stayed at Buckingham House, where he left James Gaddy and seven men for the summer. On June 1 he states that he put up where James Bird had wintered, namely at the first Carlton House on the Saskatchewan constructed in the fall of 1795, and three days later he arrived at Cumberland. Re-embarking here on July 25 he pursued his way to York Factory, arriving on August 11, and subsequently sailed from there to Europe as a passenger on the ship *King George*. During this visit to England, Tomison, together with two other officers of the Company, was presented by the Governor and Committee with a sword "as a Mark of their Esteem".

In the spring of 1797, the Governor and Committee decided that Tomison should resume his former situation inland from York Factory, and shortly afterwards he returned to Hudson Bay on the *King George*. On August 24 he landed at York Factory, and on September 2 set off for the interior accompanied by Mitchell Oman, James Sutherland and twenty-four men. He passed the night of September 6-7 at Gordon House, Hill river, that of September 18-19 at Jack river House, and from September 29 to October 2 he remained with Peter Fidler at Cumberland House. He left Carlton House on October 9, reached Buckingham

House on October 25, and six days later he crossed over to the opposite bank of the river and continued his journey overland, arriving on November 5 at Edmonton House. Here he passed the winter, and in the ensuing spring of 1798 he again left James Gaddy in charge of the house on his departure. He was at Buckingham House from May 21-24, where he reports George Sutherland had done as well as could be expected with his trade during the winter; and Henry Hallett was left in charge here for the summer, as Sutherland would not consent to remain. On May 29 Tomison arrived at Carlton House, where he found James Bird and all well, and on the following day resumed his journey, after leaving Magnus Twatt in charge. He visited Fidler at Cumberland House from June 1-7, and five days later was at Jack river (near Norway) House where Charles Thomas Isham was in control.

On June 23 he arrived at Gordon House, whither Colen had come up from the factory to meet him, and on July 1 he re-embarked for the interior. He was at Cumberland House from August 3-7; at Carlton from August 15-17, and on the last day of the month put up above Manchester House. From September 4-7 he visited Hallett at Buckingham House, and on September 11 arrived at Edmonton House, where he again remained for the winter. While he was still here, on April 15, 1799, he was stabbed through the knee by an Indian, which seems subsequently to have had a deleterious effect upon his health and to have necessitated another visit to Europe.

On May 16 he embarked at Edmonton House, leaving James Gaddy in charge, and from May 18-20 he remained at Buckingham House, where he left Pruden and seven men for the summer. He passed the night of May 25-26 at Carlton House, and on May 28 he was once more at Cumberland House, where he stayed until June 7, when he left Peter Fidler and three men in occupation. From June 18-22 he visited Oxford House, which had been established in the previous fall by William Sinclair. Here he left Magnus Twatt with several men to raft wood and build a store-house, and on June 24 he arrived at Gordon House, where he found John Ballanden, who had succeeded Colen at York Factory. Tomison refers on June 25 in his journal to the wound received two months previously, which had rendered him "unable to Conduct Inland Affairs", and which would probably render his return to England expedient.

On June 28 Ballanden returned from Gordon House to York Factory, whilst Tomison remained at the former until July 17, and then embarked for Oxford House. From July 20-25, 1799, he remained here with William Sinclair, passed the night of July 27-28 at Gordon House, and on the 29th arrived at York Factory, where a few weeks later he embarked for Europe on the ship *King George*.

In 1800, Tomison was sufficiently improved in health to permit his return to Hudson Bay, but after forty years of almost continuous service a less active life was justified. He arrived at York Factory in the autumn of 1800 as a passenger on the ship *Prince of Wales*, whence on September 12 he departed for the interior. He visited Sinclair at Oxford House from September 23-25, and on October 14 arrived at Cumberland House, where he made his headquarters for the ensuing winter. On June 7, 1801, he again embarked, leaving Fidler in charge at Cumberland during his absence, and arrived at Oxford House on June 21. He subsequently took a trip down to Gordon House, returned to Oxford House on July 13, and re-embarked for Cumberland six days later where he arrived on August 7. Thereafter he remained continuously in charge here until 1803, and did not make his customary journey down to Gordon House or York Factory in the intervening summer.

On June 19, 1803, he handed over the house to Fidler, and embarked for York Factory. He reached Oxford House on July 1, where he remained for a few weeks and then apparently returned to Cumberland. Later, he again departed for York Factory, where he arrived on August 29, and sailed four days later for Europe on the Company's ship *King George*, on his retirement from the service.

It appears that he remained in England for the next two and a half years, but on February 27, 1806, a letter from him was read at a meeting of the Governor and Committee in London:

requesting to return again to the Bay without deriving to himself any Emolument whatever but that of enjoying better Health there than he does in this Country.

and at a subsequent meeting held on March 26, 1806, it was

Resolved that Mr. William Tomison be engaged as an Inland Trader on the York or Churchill Establishment in consequence of his Request Viz To be allowed the usual Premium on the Trade he procures without any Salary.

In a letter dated May 31, 1806, directed by the Governor and Committee to William Auld, chief at Churchill, is announced Tomison's return to Hudson Bay in the capacity of "Inland Master", and he was a passenger in the summer from Europe to Churchill Factory on the Company's Ship *King George*. Shortly after his arrival at Churchill we find in a letter from Auld to Edward Raymond instructions to the effect that he was to be entrusted with the conduct of affairs in the quarter "you informed me the Natives mean to Hunt the ensuing year", and on August 23, 1806, he set out from Churchill Factory for the interior. On October 11 we find from Joseph Spence's journal of Deer lake that orders had been received from Tomison to send four men to Duck lake (now Sisipuk, on Churchill river), with a small boat. On February 26, 1807, a packet was received from the same place containing instructions from Tomison and John Charles regarding the conduct of affairs during the forthcoming spring. It appears probable that Tomison passed the winter of 1806-7 at Duck lake, for Fidler states that he built a house here in the autumn of 1806, and we find that in the spring of 1807, owing to a shortage of provisions, he undertook a journey to Cumberland House in order to obtain a supply from James Sutherland. After remaining here for one day he set out on his return journey to Duck lake on June 10, and arrived back in eight days. Fidler met him at the Birch Carrying Place whilst on his way to Cumberland in 1807, and gave him some provisions, and on July 17 he visited him at Duck lake.

According to the account books of Churchill Factory, Tomison was still stationed at Duck lake, Churchill river district, during the season of 1807-8, wherein Auld states:

he is avoided by the Natives and extremely unpleasant among the Officers most of whom are averse from having any connection with him.

From the same source we learn that he was stationed at Fish Weir lake, Churchill river district, in the season of 1808-9; and in the account book of York Factory he is mentioned as Master and Trader in charge of Sucker lake, Nelson river district, in the season 1809-10.

From a letter written by Tomison to Auld from Nelson House, Churchill river district, on August 8, 1808, we learn that he arrived at the new building at that place at noon on the previous day, after a disagreeable passage of twenty-seven days from Churchill Factory, where he had been for ten days, and he adds: "The people here has been in a starving Condition all the Summer". On Auld's arrival at Nelson House on September 22, 1808, he found it in a very wretched state, nor was he satisfied with the progress which had been made in the construction of the new house three miles off.

In addition, the natives of the district, who were usually staunch to the Company, "publicly & avowedly declared their determination not to trade at the House which Mr. T[omison] should occupy". Auld therefore appointed Adam Snodie to succeed him in the charge, whilst he was given permission to establish a post elsewhere "wherever he should think most likely to benefit the Concern", and we find that on October 3 he embarked at Nelson House for Weir lake.

From the Nelson House journal we learn that Tomison again visited this post on June 9, 1809, and four days later Auld reports in his journal that on arrival at Nelson House from Deer lake he found Tomison here, and appends the following remarks:

In consequence of the universal ill will which the Indians bear to Mr. Tomison which he hides under another cause/the ill-will of the Officers in this establishment/ he means to remove to Cumberland House. At which place I was informed he was at least equally if not more disliked by the Indians and I am particularly informed by Mr. Fidler & others on *YF* establishment that when there 5 or 6 years ago he occasioned 2 Indians to leave us & if he had staid another year almost every Indian belonging to Cumberland House would have been driven to the Canadians in consequence of his refusing to give them liquor while he had no hesitation in supplying them with Dry Goods which many exchanged directly with our rivals.

On June 30 Tomison embarked at Nelson House in a canoe for his journey to Cumberland, and exactly eight weeks later, on August 25, we find that he arrived at York Factory from Cumberland House. But he did not remain here long, for on September 12 he set out again in company with John McNab, Junior, in order to take charge of a post at "Succor" lake. Here he remained in charge through the winter of 1809-10, and on June 11, 1810, he returned to York Factory "with Furs to the amount of 301 M[ade] Beaver 141 of which were traded in the Summer previous to his arrival."

A week later he left the Factory again for Hill river and Cumberland House, there to remain until a short time prior to the departure of the ship from York Factory. He finally returned via Oxford House, arriving at York Factory on August 23, 1810, and sailed for Europe on the Company's ship *King George*.

After his arrival in London, it appears that Tomison was employed in the Accountant's Office at Hudson's Bay House, during the winter of 1810-11. On March 13, 1811, a remuneration of fifty guineas was voted to him by the Governor and Committee 'for his Exertions in the Service of the Company whilst he was in Hudson's Bay.'

In the summer of 1811, Tomison again crossed the Atlantic on the Company's ship *Prince of Wales*, and on September 11 transferred in Hudson Strait to the *Eddystone*. He returned to Europe from York Factory in the same autumn as a passenger on board the *Edward and Anne* and after this we hear no more of him. Thus terminated his period of service with the Hudson's Bay Company, which, with the exception of a brief interval from 1803-6, had lasted for half a century.

APPENDIX B

HUMPHREY MARTEN

(The following sketch has been kindly supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company in London)

Humphrey Marten was born about 1729, and was engaged by the Hudson's Bay Company in the capacity of "writer" on March 1, 1750, and in May sailed from the Thames on board the Company's ship *Prince Rupert*, Captain Geo. Spurrell, Commander. On or about August 18 he landed at York Factory, and during the next few years was employed as clerk and steward at that place. As early as 1755 he was suggested as a possible successor to Samuel Skrimsher in the command of Flamborough House, on Nelson river opposite Flamborough Head, and on the departure of James Isham in the Autumn of 1758 on a year's leave of absence to England, he was deputed to take his place at York Factory. Whilst in charge here, he was informed by an Indian leader on June 29, 1759, "that this place is to be Attacked both by Land and Sea this fall"; but these forebodings were not fulfilled, although an attack on the Company's Forts was regarded as not impossible, since the Seven Years War was then in progress. On Isham's return to York Factory in the autumn of 1759, Marten was re-engaged as "Master" at Severn and "Second" at York Factory, and proceeded to the establishment of a settlement at the first-named, no Fort having previously been occupied there since the French surrender of the place after the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). He remained in control here during the next two seasons until the summer of 1761. In the meantime Isham's death had occurred at York Factory on April 13, 1761, and he had been succeeded temporarily by Andrew Graham. In the ensuing August Marten was appointed to the command of York Factory, whilst Graham proceeded to Severn.

Marten remained in control at York Factory until September 1762 when, after handing over the Fort to Ferdinand Jacobs, he sailed for England. In the spring of 1763, however, he was again "entertained" by the Governor and Committee "as a Second at Albany Fort" under Robert Temple, and he proceeded thither in the early summer, arriving in August. Here he succeeded Christopher Atkinson as "Second", and on Temple's departure for England in the Autumn of 1764 Marten became "Chief", continuing in this position for the next four years. During his tenure of office here he was instrumental in effecting the re-establishment of Henley House in the Autumn of 1765, thus earning the approbation of the Governor and Committee.

In a letter dated May 11, 1768, to Marten and the Council at Albany, the Governor and Committee refer as follows to the function of Henley House as conceived by them:

... We are glad to hear Henley House has proved so serviceable to the Upland Indians, and We greatly approve Mr. Martens Conduct in supplying that place with proper Necessaries, but still continue to direct that Henley House be considered only as an Establishment of Assistance to the Indians in their Journeys and not as a means to prevent the Trade being brought to Albany. ...

In 1768 Marten was granted a year's leave of absence to Europe on account of ill-health, and on October 12 was welcomed home by the Governor and Committee in London. In the spring of 1769 he was re-appointed to the control of

affairs at Albany, where he had been succeeded temporarily by Thomas Hopkins; but a request for permission to return again to England without giving the customary year's notice should he suffer from a recrudescence of a disorder was granted by the Governor and Committee, such disorder being deemed incurable in Hudson Bay.

In the course of a letter to Thomas Hopkins and the Council at Albany dated May 25, 1769, the Committee expressed disapproval of an altercation which had taken place between Marten and John Richards, Master of Henley House, regarding the conduct of affairs at the latter place, and directed that in future the "Chief" at Albany be always obeyed by the master at Henley and by other subordinate servants. They stress the fact that more "positive injunctions," which could not easily be evaded should be issued by the "Chief". Another paragraph in the same letter refers in the following manner to the dealings of the Company's Officers with the "Pedlars":

... We very well approve Mr. Martens Answer to Major Rogers Letter, and We direct that in case any future Correspondence should be requested by any Pedlars or other Persons Inland no Answers be returned to them, as their sole Motive will be to dive into Our Affairs and to benefit themselves at the Company's Expence.

On Marten's return to Albany in August 1769, Hopkins left to take charge at Moose. In a letter to the Governor and Committee dated September 2, 1770, Marten embodies a request to send home to England his son John America Marten, and this request is complied with in the reply dated May 28, 1771. In the interim we find the following entry in Marten's journal under date January 24, 1771:

... at 10 minutes before 3 O Clock this morning departed this life, the Indian woman called Pawpitch, Daughter to the Captain of the Goose Hunters, by whose Death my poor Child becomes Motherless, and should Your Honours [the Governor and Committee] not Consent to his going to England/ which O my God forbid/ he will be a poor helpless Orphan indeed his Grand father being deep in Years and having a numerous family, cannot provide for him/ hard if the Son is debarr'd reaping the fruits of the Fathers honest industry.

Several years later we find that on May 24, 1780, Captain Joseph Richards of the Company's ship *Prince Rupert* represented to the Governor and Committee "that he had paid £50, for the Maintenance and Education of a Boy now at School in England belonging to Mr. Humphr[e]y Marten at Y[ork] F[actory]." Whereupon we find it was ordered "that the Said Sum be paid to Capt'n Richards and Charged to Mr. Marten accordingly."

In the summer of 1773 Marten appears again to have been afflicted with ill-health, and on May 11, 1774, we find in a letter to John Favell, Master at Henley House, the following statement in relation to his health:

Having for some time past been afflicted with a Gouty Disorder in my Stomach, which has twice rendered me insensible, and for which Mr. [Edward] Jarvis [Surgeon, and Second at Albany], has Judged necessary to blister my legs, which has confined me to my bed, and rendered me incapable of attending in the Trading Room, should Uplanders come down, and as Mr Jarvis is not yet acquainted with the Upland Language, We have thought it prudent, to dispatch John Martin, to desire you would come to the Fort, as fast as possible.

Favell's arrival at Albany in accordance with the above request is recorded on May 22, 1774, and in the same year permission was granted to Marten to return home on account of ill-health. He therefore sailed from Moose Factory for England in the autumn, when he was relieved in charge of Albany by Thomas Hutchins.

Whilst in England he made some suggestions in a letter to the Governor and Committee regarding the future conduct of trade at Albany and Henley and, in addition, presented them with a model of Albany Fort for which he was awarded the sum of 20 guineas.

In February 1775, he was re-engaged by the Company and was appointed to succeed Ferdinand Jacobs as "Chief" at York Factory. Shortly after his arrival here on August 16, 1775, Marten reported to the Committee in London that he found "affairs in a much more flourishing condition than they were last year", whilst in the same communication he expresses regret that it had been found necessary to recall Samuel Hearne from his inland expedition, that is from the charge of Cumberland House, to assume control at Churchill "at a period so Critical as is the present when it evidently requires a Person of his proved abilities, address and spirit, to compleat what he hath so happily begun".

After a lapse of little more than a year it is apparent that Marten was again apprehensive of gout, and from the following extract from a letter directed by him to Samuel Hearne dated January 4, 1777, we learn that he endeavoured by means of riding exercise to counteract the disorder:

As to Myself at present am in continued apprehensions of the Gout, yet I took much exercise on Horseback in the fall [1776], and do so still. As the frost set in before we had any snow, I had a fine opportunity of riding to the Forked-tree, Four mile galley, Sallisbury hammock, and almost to the Burnt Tent, but the old broken winded Horse did not like the Sport half so well as I did, and frequently fell on his knees probably to pray for Snow to hinder such long Journey.

Marten also states in the same letter that he was afflicted with a disorder in his eyes called "Presbyta", which had almost deprived him "of one of the greatest pleasures of Life viz Reading".

In 1778 and 1779 there appears to have been no small amount of friction between Marten and Hearne, since the former accuses the latter of enticing the North River Indians by illicit means to trade at Churchill.

In the summer of 1777, Marten received instructions from the Governor and Committee in London to give his early attention to the collection of a sufficient quantity of stones "to lay a Foundation . . . of a New Fort [at York] to the North East of the present"; to which he replied that the Fort was most certainly in need of repair.

In the following year Marten received further instructions from London to proceed with the erection of a Fort on a new site as indicated. The first duty of Philip Turnor, the recently-appointed surveyor, on his arrival in Hudson Bay in the autumn of 1778 was to make a survey of York Factory and to submit a report on the condition of the existing buildings. As a result of his recommendations it was decided that circumstances did not demand the removal of the Factory to a new site; that to the greater part of the existent structure only minor repairs were called for; and that it was necessary actually to rebuild only one flanker. Instructions to this effect were accordingly forwarded to Marten in the spring of 1779. In his general letter of September 11, 1780, Marten reports that the repairs referred to are in process of being carried out.

In the course of a letter dated February 4, 1779, to Thomas Hutchins, chief at Albany, he states that some weeks previously "as two men were tottering under a tub of scalding wort" he ran to their assistance. At that moment one of the men fell, with the result that both were severely scalded. The resultant injuries confined them for eight weeks, during which time Marten had not enjoyed "a moments freedom from pain which is situated near the left kidney". He further expresses the opinion that if he survive till "Shiptime" it will be necessary for him to proceed to Europe, and he adds the following pathetic remarks regarding the staff at York Factory:

I love and esteem the Men, and in return they love and revere me, to see the poor Fellows when I am in great pain with deep sorrow on their faces, and to be informed of the heart felt prayers offer'd up for my recovery melts me in the tenderest manner and makes me desire not to be parted from them.

In a letter written to Samuel Hearne at Fort Prince of Wales on March 29, 1779, Marten again refers to "the excruciating pain" he has suffered during the

winter; but from a communication dated June 6 it appears that he has to some extent recovered, though still troubled with pain in his left side, together with billious attacks, and a singing in his ears.

When writing to the Governor and Committee in the autumn of 1779 Marten points out that it may be necessary for him to return home in the following year, to which he receives the following reply:

We hope Mr. Martens Health will permit his remaining till We have a Years Notice of his intended return to England but if this may not be We hereby appoint Mr. Matthew Cocking to succeed as Our Chief, and William Tomison to be appointed Master at Severn House.

On June 28, 1780, one of the Indians who visited York Factory made an attempt to stab Marten, but fortunately with no evil results, and in the ensuing September Marten forwarded to London a definite application for permission to return home in 1781.

Shortly prior to his departure for England in the autumn of 1781, we find the following entry in Marten's journal of York Factory:

An old Man and family arrived from Albany, but last from Severn . . . he coming to take charge of my woman who is his daughter, and to conduct her, and her two children back to Albany.

On his departure from York Factory Marten was succeeded in command by Matthew Cocking; but on April 24, 1782, he was re-engaged by the Governor and Committee to return as "Chief" to that place. He proceeded to Hudson Bay by the Company's ship *King George*, Captain Jonathan Fowler, Master, and landed at York Factory on August 15, when he re-assumed the command from Cocking. Within five days three three-masted ships were sighted, whereupon Captain Fowler prepared for action and decided that it was expedient to make for the open sea as soon as practicable, to escape from the enemy's ships. The cargo was put on board as hurriedly as possible, and on August 22 the *King George* sailed for England with Matthew Cocking on board. Two days later Marten was obliged to surrender the Factory to the superior enemy force under the command of Admiral La Pérouse, and the following is an extract from his journal of August 24:

. . . At 11 this Morning observed the French troops in motion. Soon after about 3 or 400 of the Regiments of Armagnac Auxerrois with Artillery & Seamen in all about 700 Men came to the Fort and demanded Entrance. Before this I had hailed them and told them to halt. At first they took no Notice but on my acquainting them that if they did not halt I should be obliged to fire at them they halted. I demanded a parley which was granted. They delivered a Letter signed La Perouse and Rostaing offering us our Lives and private property but threatening the utmost fury should we resist. On which I delivered terms of Capitulation which being in the main agreed to, upon Honor I delivered up the Fort. They informed me Churchill [Factory] was taken and blown up.

Shortly afterwards, on September 1, La Pérouse, after taking and burning York, conveyed Marten and other inmates of the Factory as prisoners to France. On the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris in the ensuing year, the prisoners were released, and Marten was entrusted by the Governor and Committee with the re-establishment of York Factory. He proceeded thither by the Company's ship *King George*, Captain William Christopher, Master, and landed at the Factory on September 15, only to learn from the few Indians who were to be found in the vicinity that a party of twenty-three Englishmen had come down to the ruins of the Fort and built themselves a hut to live in; but at length, despairing of the arrival of the Company's ship, or of obtaining any augmentation of their scanty provisions, they returned inland. In point of fact, William Tomison, "Chief" of the Company's affairs inland from York Factory, had remained encamped with a party near the ruins of the Old Factory from August 6 until September 8, when he decided upon returning to Cumberland House and the Saskatchewan, so that he only missed the arrival of the *King George* and Hum-

phrey Marten by the narrow margin of one week. Immediately on his return Marten commenced the rebuilding of the Fort, but he complains of the bad condition of the new house which had been sent out in frame.

During the winter of 1784-5 he appears to have been again afflicted with ill-health, and on April 19, 1785, he states:

The Horse unfortunately fell as I was going to ride him by which my right thigh and leg with other parts of my Body are I fear badly Injured.

The Governor and Committee, when writing to Marten on May 4, 1785, refer as under to the transference of the apprentice David Thompson from Churchill to York Factory:

As an Assistant Writer is much Wanted We have ordered our Apprentice David Thompson . . . to be sent to you from Churchill: he has been instructed in the Mathematicks and writes a good Hand. We recommend him to the attention of our Chief that he may be kept from the common Men & employed in the Writings acct^s. and Warehouse Duty, so that he may by degrees be made Capable of transacting Business, and become useful in our services, As he will be under the immediate Eye of our Chief. We hope his morals and behaviour will be diligently attended to.

On September 15, 1785, David Thompson arrived at York Factory from Churchill with some Indians, who were rewarded by Marten for the care they had taken of him on the journey.

In letters directed to the Governor and Committee on September 2 and 12, 1785, Marten vindicates himself against accusations contained in the journal of William Tomison to the effect that he had not paid sufficient attention to inland affairs.

It is apparent that in the spring of 1786 he was still very much troubled by ill-health, as witnessed by the following extract from a letter written to Hearne at Churchill on March 30:

You will see by this letter the writer is not well. Indeed, I am not so, nor do I think I ever shall be free from pain; a Bilious disorder Joined to a wandering Gout, which is continually flying from head to foot destroys the few Pleasures that might be expected by a Man in his 57th Year: yet a consciousness of being honest to my Masters doth as it Must to you, sooth the pains of the Body and Blunt the points of the Rancorous darts hurled at us by those bad Men, who think we injure them by being honest to our Masters. But whilst this feeble hand can hold a pen, untill these Eyes are closed for ever, or at least whilst You and I remain in the Service I will join with You heart and hand in preventing as much as in me lies all illicit practices.

In the summer of 1786 he received intimation from London (in reply to a request submitted in the previous autumn that he be permitted to return to London) that he should be succeeded by Joseph Colen at York Factory and that Tomison should be in command over York Factory and its inland posts, but was to reside "inland".

After receiving the news of Colen's appointment, the Council at York Factory did their best to persuade Marten to remain another year here, since they considered Colen did not possess sufficient experience to assume command immediately, as he had only arrived in Hudson Bay a year previously.

We learn that Colen was greatly incensed at this proposal, which Marten did not accede to, and we find that the former when writing to the Governor and Committee at this time amply testifies in the following manner to the kind and considerate treatment he had received from Marten:

Mr. Marten hath given me great assistance ever since my arrival and with fatherly affection, and I must in justice to that Gentleman declare he has been treated unbecoming a Person of his Age which occasioned many unhappy disputes: he his [sic] hasty and passionate and I believe often erred thro a too strenuous [sic] exertion of his Authority for your

honors Interest, which I have reason to believe to be the grand ultimate wish of his heart.

It is clear that the ill-feeling between Tomison and Marten still persisted, since in July, 1786, the latter writes for information regarding inland affairs to Ballanden and Colen, since he states he is unable to obtain satisfactory answers from Tomison. Marten finally sailed from York Factory for England on board the ship *King George* on August 30, 1786, and arrived in England early in the month of October.

The balance of his account with the Hudson's Bay Company was credited to him on June 9, 1787.

After this date we hear no more of him and are unable to furnish details of his subsequent life or death.

APPENDIX C

MALCHOM ROSS

(The following sketch has been kindly supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company in London.)

Malchom Ross, said to have been a native of South Ronaldshay in the Orkneys, was born about 1755, and died in the autumn of 1799. He entered the Hudson's Bay Company's service in the capacity of "labourer" in 1774, and was at first employed at York Factory. On October 5, 1776, he set out from Cumberland House with Robert Longmoor and James Spence on an expedition up the Saskatchewan river for the purpose of obtaining some of the trade from the natives of that region which other-wise would indubitably have fallen into the hands of the "Pedlars". They returned to Cumberland House on February 7, 1777, bringing accounts of the competition existing between the "Pedlars" in the district which they had visited, and of the activities of Frobisher. In 1779, Ross is referred to as "an equal Shot with an Indian, an excellent Servant and a good Canoe Man"; and two years later as "a most excellent Canoe Man much beloved by the Indians". He was left in charge at Cumberland House in the summer of 1783, during Tomison's absence at York Factory, and in 1784-5 is described as a "canoe-man" inland from York Factory. On August 10, 1786, he set out from Churchill, accompanied by George Charles, a young apprentice, and proceeded westward across Button's Bay to the mouth of Pauk a tha kuskow river which he ascended to its source. Then he crossed to Churchill river, also known as the Mississippi or Great river, up which he paddled to the mouth of a tributary from the south called the Kississing or Cold river. Thence following up this stream to its source, he crossed the divide between the Churchill and Saskatchewan waters to Pineroot river, which he descended to Athapapuskow lake, and from there by Goose and Sturgeon-weir rivers he reached Cumberland House on September 21. During the ensuing winter Ross remained at Cumberland House, being employed occasionally on short expeditions to the neighbourhood of Beaver lake and other places. On January 20, 1787, he was sent on a trading expedition amongst the Indians of the vicinity. On May 30, 1787 he was informed by William Tomison that he would not be proceeding after all on the expedition to the interior (for the purpose of which he had originally set out from Churchill in the previous summer), owing to a shortage of trading goods and of canoes, and that he would be required instead to proceed to York Factory, and to assist in getting the furs down to that place. He returned to Cumberland House in the autumn, and here he passed the winter of 1787-8, being subsequently left in control of this establishment from June 1788 until October 7, 1789, when he was relieved by George Hudson. But after the death of the latter on April 19, 1790, Ross again assumed charge until June 9 following, when he departed for York Factory, leaving Philip Turnor in charge at Cumberland. Having been appointed by the Council at York on July 20 "Superintendent of the Northward Expedition *vice* George Hudson, deceased," he returned to Cumberland a few weeks later, when he set out with Philip Turnor and Peter Fidler in September on the Athabasca expedition. Extracts from his journal of this expedition are published in foot-notes in this volume. After wintering at Ile à la Crosse in 1790-1 the party pursued their way in the spring to Lake Athabaska and thence to Great Slave lake. They subsequently returned to

Lake Athabaska and passed the winter of 1791-2 in a house near Fort Chipewyan, where they remained until May. Their return to York Factory is recorded on July 17, 1792.

In the autumn Ross returned to Cumberland House, and on October 9 left that post on a journey to Sturgeon river. On October 13 he arrived at a "Canadian" house, "Petaheyanassepy", where two days later he commenced building. On December 10 he complains strongly in his journal of the preponderance of the "Canadians" in the vicinity, who in consequence obtained all the trade. After wintering here, Ross left for Cumberland House on June 2, 1793, arriving on June 4.

The Governor and Committee in a letter dated May 30, 1793, to Joseph Colen, Chief at York Factory, issued instructions that an expedition be organised to the Athabaska lake at the earliest possible moment, and that it be entrusted to the charge of Malchom Ross, assisted by Peter Fidler. At the same time they called attention to a letter written by Ross in the previous year pointing out that it was not desirable to proceed from York Factory to Lake Athabaska by way of Cumberland House, and suggested the possibility of finding a shorter route up Nelson river to the waters of the Churchill. At the same time, two brass sextants, two brass compasses and a number of other articles were forwarded for the use of Fidler and Ross on the intended expedition.

During the winter of 1793-4 Ross was in charge at Cumberland House, with the exception of five weeks between January 13 and February 18 when he was absent on an expedition to Nipawi. For lack of a hunter, however, he was unable to remain there for more than three weeks, as it proved impossible to secure enough meat whereon to subsist.

On June 9, 1794, Ross started once more from Cumberland House with the intention of discovering a route to Athabaska by way of Rein Deer lake, but in response to a request from the natives, he decided instead to construct a house at Reed lake, which he commenced to erect on June 22, and he remained here for the ensuing winter until June 17, 1795. He then proceeded to York Factory, where his arrival is recorded at the beginning of July. Setting out again from the Factory on July 18, Ross arrived at the entrance to Rein Deer river on September 14, 1795, where he proceeded to construct Fairford House, which remained his residence throughout the winter. Whilst here he was stricken with illness, so that his journal was not kept during the period from February 14 to May 3, 1796. Leaving Fairford House on May 26 he journeyed once more to York Factory with the trading goods, arriving there on June 21, 1796, and he left again on July 13. After remaining at Fairford House from August 26 to 30, he set off up Rein Deer river, and arrived five days later at the place selected by David Thompson, during his absence, as the site for a new establishment. This was named Bedford House, and here Ross and Thompson passed the ensuing winter. It was here that David Thompson informed Ross, on May 21, 1797, that his contract with the Hudson's Bay Company having expired, he had decided to enter the service of the "Canadians"; and forthwith Thompson departed two days later in the direction of the outflow to Rein Deer river.

Ross departed from Bedford House with the results of the winter's trade on July 5, 1797, and arrived at York Factory on August 1. A few days later he again set out for the purpose of conducting John Park and John Allan, who had been left in charge of the goods remaining at Bedford House, to Cumberland House, having arranged with them to meet him a few days journey to the westward of the former establishment. On this occasion, Ross left York Factory on August 16 accompanied by Robert Longmoor and Peter Fidler, and after performing the above mentioned object he remained for the winter of 1797-8 at Cumberland House. In the summer of 1798, in accordance with permission received from the Governor and Committee, he proceeded to England; and he returned from Orkney to Churchill Factory in the summer of 1799 by the Company's ship *Queen Charlotte*.

Ross had now been appointed "Inland Master" to superintend the Company's business in the region of Lake Athabaska, which was henceforward to be conducted from Churchill; but on the journey up to that region from the Factory he was unfortunately drowned in the autumn of 1799, through falling overboard in a rapid. His death was a severe loss to the Company, the result being that the project of forming an establishment on Lake Athabaska had, for the time being, to be relinquished. The information of his death was brought to the Factory by two Indians who arrived from Beaver river on October 17.

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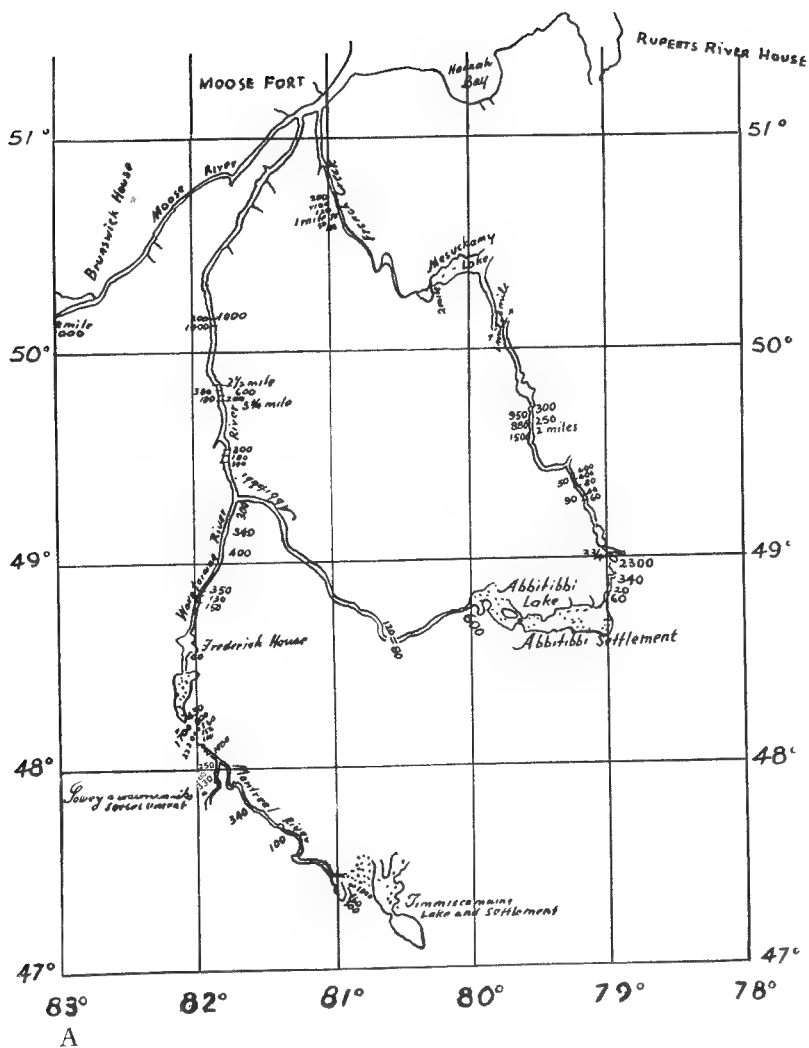
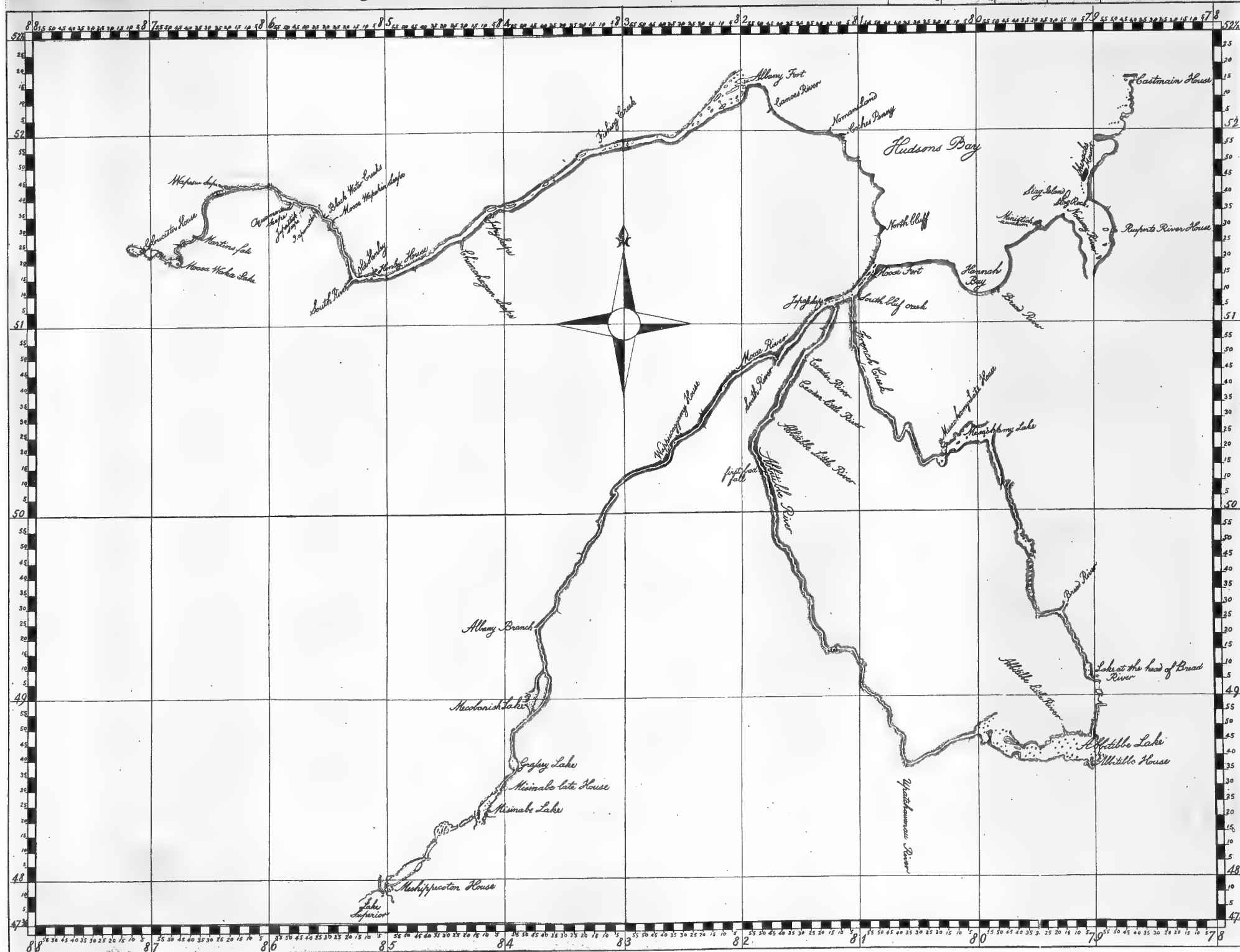


Chart of part of Hudsons Bay and Rivers and Lakes falling into it by Philip Turnor

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
BRITISH MUSEUM P. 7496
1 2 3 4



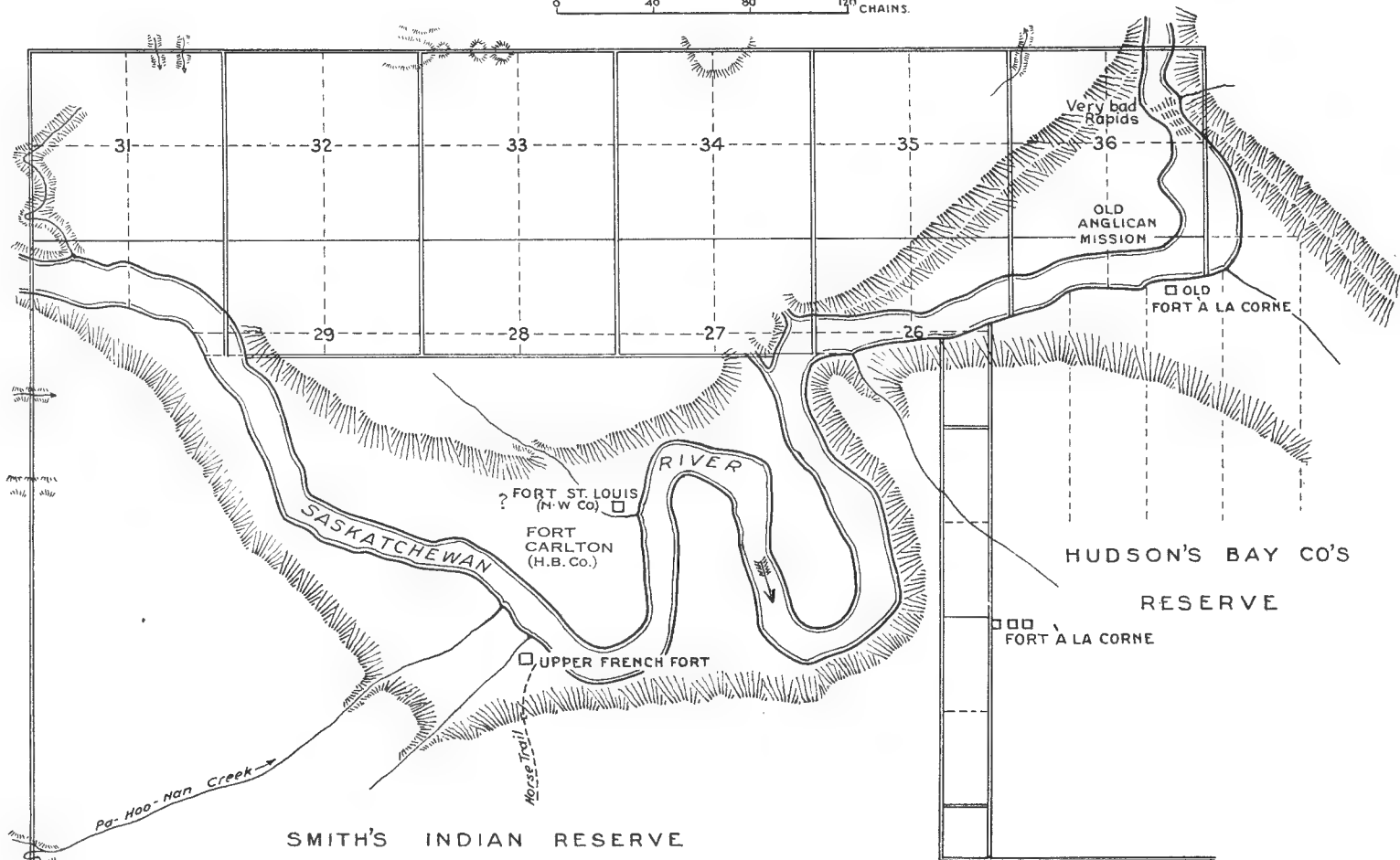
B

Albany and Moose Rivers by Philip Turnor

Reduced a little more than one half

TOWNSHIP No. 48.
 RANGE 20 WEST OF SECOND MERIDIAN
 Showing the position of
FOUR EARLY TRADING POSTS.
 ON THE SASKATCHEWAN RIVER

0 40 80 120 CHAINS.

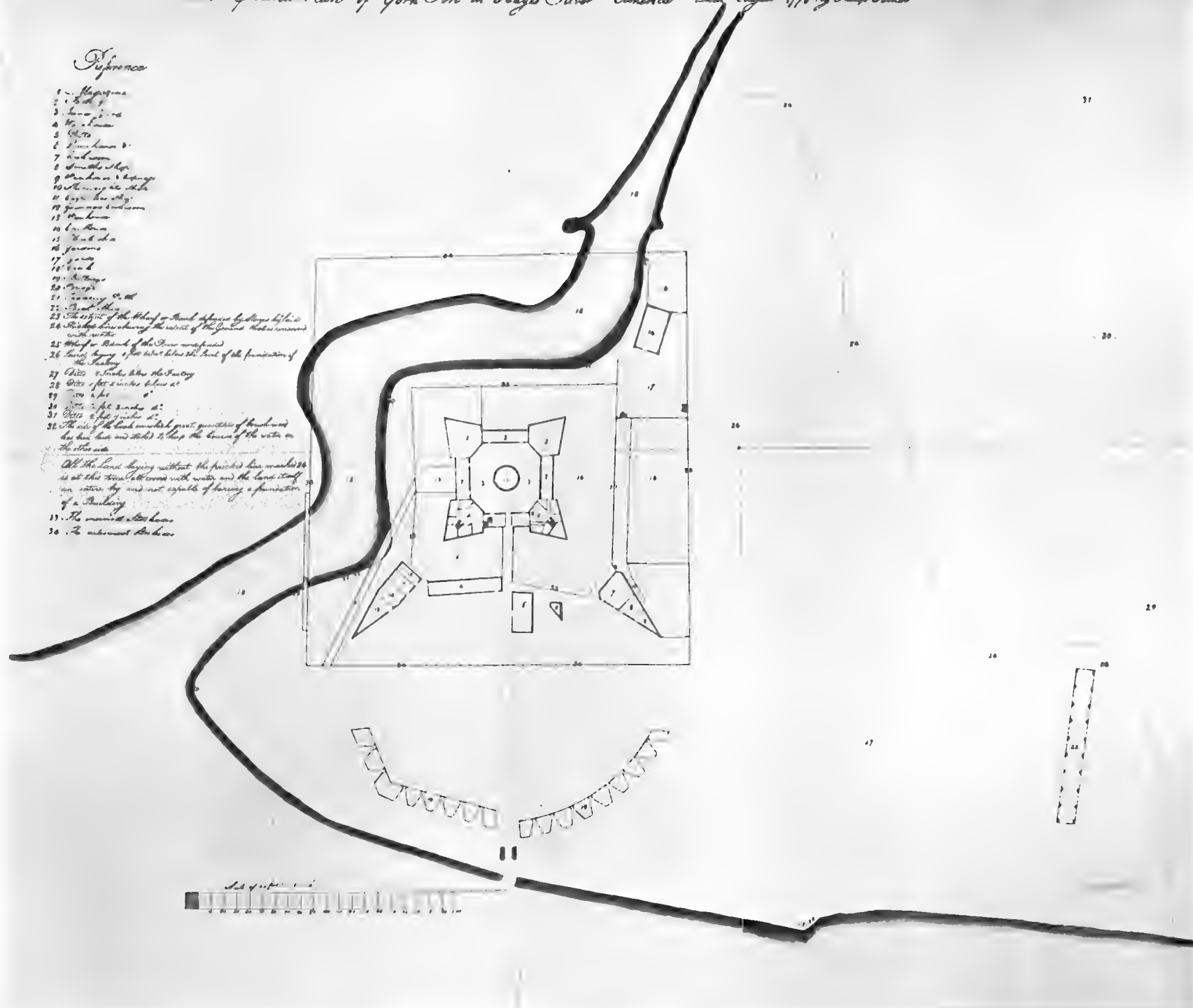


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A Ground Plan of York Fort in Hayes River America taken August 1778 by Philip Turnor

Reference

1. Flagstone
 2. Well
 3. House
 4. Kitchen
 5. Storehouse
 6. Storehouse
 7. Storehouse
 8. Storehouse
 9. Storehouse
 10. Storehouse
 11. Storehouse
 12. Storehouse
 13. Storehouse
 14. Storehouse
 15. Storehouse
 16. Storehouse
 17. Storehouse
 18. Storehouse
 19. Storehouse
 20. Storehouse
 21. Storehouse
 22. Storehouse
 23. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
 24. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
 25. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
 26. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
 27. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
 28. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
 29. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
 30. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
 31. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
 32. The site of the old fort or land defense by the river
- All the land lying without the finished line marked 26 is at this time all covered with water and the land itself is not entire dry and not capable of bearing a foundation of a Building.
33. The present water house
34. The present water house







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Title of Philip Turnor's "Map of Hudson's Bay and the Rivers and Lakes between the Atlantick and Pacifick Oceans."
It extends from North latitudes 46° to 70° and West longitudes 72° to 138°.
Size 5 feet 10 inches × 8 feet 4 inches.

Reduced to one third the size of the original.

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